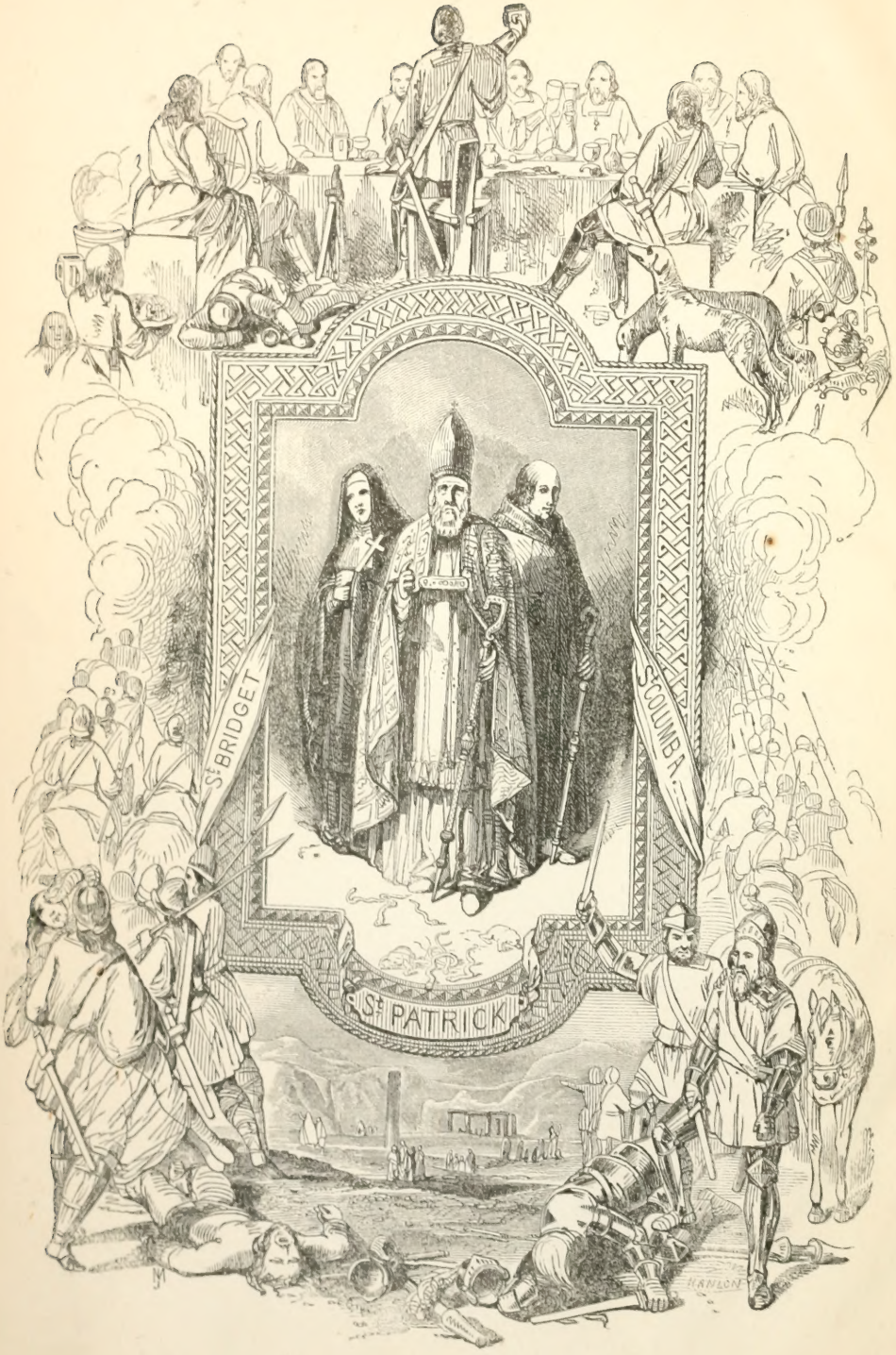
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THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

DERIVED FROM OUR NATIVE ANNALS, FROM THE MOST RECENT RESEARCHES OF EMINENT IRISH SCHOLARS AND ANTIQUARIES, FROM THE STATE PAPERS, AND FROM ALL THE RESOURCES OF IRISH HISTORY NOW AVAILABLE.

WITH COPIOUS TOPOGRAPHICAL AND GENERAL NOTES.

BY MARTIN HAVERTY, ESQ.

DUBLIN:
JAMES DUFFY, 15, WELLINGTON-QUAY.
1867.

941.5
H299

43-45561

DUBLIN:
Printed by J. M. O'Toole & Son,
6 and 7, Gt. Brunswick-st.

PREFACE.



HE work here brought to a close was undertaken with a view to supply an impartial History of Ireland, according to the present advanced state of knowledge on the subject. The labors of such eminent Irish scholars as Dr. O'Donovan and Professor Curry have opened to us new sources of information, and the researches of these and other learned and indefatigable investigators have, of late years, shed a flood of light upon our history and antiquities; but the knowledge thus developed was still unavailable for the general public; and it remained to collect, in a popular form, materials scattered through the publications of learned societies, and the voluminous pages of our native annals; buried in collections of state papers, and in the correspondence of statesmen; or concealed from the world in the government archives. We have been enabled to avail ourselves of a mass of important original documents derived from the last-mentioned source; but with what success the task of converting all these copious materials to the object of producing a popular History of Ireland has been performed in the present volume, the reader must judge: we can only say that no pains have been spared to accomplish it conscientiously.

In the progress of the work our materials multiplied, and it became necessary to extend the volume beyond the limits originally contemplated. For the same reason it became indispensable to wind up with a somewhat earlier epoch than was first intended; but the enlightened reader will perceive that this inconvenience was inevitable; and it is hoped that no lover of Irish history will

regret the increased bulk of the book after having examined its contents. In concluding with the Legislative Union, we have been able to trace the entire history of this country as a kingdom, and of the English colony planted in it. From the epoch of the Union the kingdom and the colony disappear from our history—and Ireland is seen only as a province.

To identify the ancient topography of the country with the events of its history is important and interesting; and the invaluable information accumulated by Dr. O'Donovan in his annotations to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and collected by him for the Ordnance Survey, has been freely employed for that purpose in these pages. The map of ancient Ireland, prefixed to the present volume, has been compiled with much care, and defines the boundaries of the territories with more minuteness than has hitherto been attempted; but as these boundaries varied considerably at different periods, it was impossible to exhibit at one view the changes which they underwent. They are represented for the most part as they existed about the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion; but the frontiers of Tirone and Tirconnel are drawn as they stood at an earlier date, before the warlike chiefs of the latter territory extended their bounds to the east and south.

Finally, the narrative has been interrupted as little as possible with discussions of controverted points, and the space has not been unnecessarily encumbered with extraneous matter. The authorities relied on have been sufficiently indicated in the marginal references, but the Author here desires to express his deep obligations to Dr. O'Donovan, Professor Eugene Curry, the Rev. C. P. Meehan, Dr. Wilde, Dr. R. R. Madden, and J. T. Gilbert, Esq., for the invaluable information they have kindly afforded him, in addition to that which he derived from their published works.

KILBEHA-MUIRRE, ASKEATON,
May 1st, 1860.

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ANTIENT IRELAND
Shewing the
PRINCIPAL TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS
Chiefly as they existed at the Period of the
Anglo Norman Invasion
ALBA
Inishowen
DALRIADA
Erch
KINEL
CONNELL
KINEL OWEN
TIRCONNELL
TYRONE
ULSTER
FERMANAGH
DAL ARAIDHE
Lecale
BREFFNY
ORIEL
Trawley
Hy Fiachrach
Leucy
Gailenga
Airtrach
Moylurg
Ceara
Tirhall
Lower
Joyce Country
Connaught
Cuile Toladh
Gnoebeg
Hy Many
Hy Fiachrach
Aidhne
Burren
Corcamroe
THOMOND
Tradree
Corca Bhaiscin
Hy Conell
Gavra
HY FIGEINTE
Corkaguiny
Muskerry
Averagh
Beara
Corca Laidhe
Machaire
Chonaille
Annaly
Joyce Country
Carbery
Hy Faelan
OFFALY
CUALANN
Ferbaltha
LEIX
LEINSTER
Hy Felimy
Mourroughs
Fotharta Fea
Hy Cinnselaigh
NORTH DEISI
SOUTH DEISI
MUNSTER
Hy Liathain
Feara
Moylieine
Inosmor
Duhallow
Coshmore
Coshlea
Decies
Ormond
Hy Carroll
Hy Regan
Ely O'Carroll
Hy Murray
Hy Tuhal
Hy Nanchan
Hy Bairrche
Hy Duach
Hy Briuin
Hy Kinsellagh
Hy Garrchon
Hy Failge
Hy Tuirtre
Hy Meith
MEATH
KILDARE
WICKLOW
DUBLIN
BOUNDS of the ENGLISH PALE
at the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII A.D.

The History of Ireland.

CHAPTER I.

The First Inhabitants of Ireland.—The Colonies of Parthalon and Nemedius.—The Fomorians.—The Firbolgs, or Belgians.—The Tuatha de Dananns.—The Legend of Mananan Mac Lir, &c.

ACCORDING to the ancient chronicles of Ireland, the first inhabitants of this country were a colony who arrived here from Migdonia, supposed to be Macedonia, in Greece, under a leader whose name was Parthalon, about 300 years after the deluge, or, according to the chronology adopted by the Four Masters, in the year of the world 2520. Some fables are related of persons having found their way to Ireland before the Flood, and also of a race of people, who lived by fishing and hunting, having been found here by Parthalon (or Parralaun, as the name is pronounced); but these are rejected by our ancient annalists as unworthy of credit, and merit no attention. It is said of Parthalon that he fled from his own country, where he had been guilty of parricide; that he landed at Inver Scene, now the Kenmare river,* accompanied by his three sons, their wives, and a thousand followers; that he was the

* Or, as some think, the river Corrane in Kerry.

first who cleared any part of Ireland of the primeval woods which covered it; that certain lakes, namely, Lough Con and Lough Mask, in Mayo, Lough Gara, on the borders of Roscommon and Sligo, two others which cannot now be identified by their ancient names, and Lough Cuan, or Strangford Lough, in the county of Down, were first formed during the period of his colony; that he died in the plain in which Dublin now stands, thirty years after his landing; and that, in the same plain, in A.M. 2820, that is, 300 years after their arrival, his entire colony, then numbering 9,000 persons, perished by a pestilence, in one week, leaving the country once more without inhabitants.*

It is said that Ireland remained waste for thirty years, until the next colony, which also came from the south-eastern part of Europe, or the vicinity of the Euxine Sea, led by a chief called Nemedius, or Neimhidh (pronounced *Nevy*), arrived here, and occupied the country for about 200 years. The annals record the names of the raths or forts which were constructed, and of the plains which were cleared of wood during this period; and they also mention the eruption, during the same time, of four lakes, namely, Lakes Derryvarragh and Ennell, in Westmeath, and two others not identified. Nemedius, with 2,000 of his followers, were carried off by a pestilence in the island of Ard-Neimhidh, now the Great Island, or Barrymore, near Cork; and the remnant of his people, who appear to have been engaged in constant conflicts with a race of pirates called Fomorians, who infested the coast, were at length nearly annihilated in a great battle with these formidable enemies, A.M. 3066. They attacked and demolished the principal Fomorian stronghold, called Tor-Conainn, or Conang's Tower, in Tory Island, on the north-west coast of Donegal; but succour having arrived by sea to the pirates, the battle was renewed on the strand, and became so fierce that the combatants suffered themselves to be surrounded by the rising tide, so that most

* The place in which this catastrophe happened was called *Sean-Mhagh-Ealta-Edair*, or "The Old Plain of the Flocks of Edair," a name which it received in after times from an Irish chieftain from whom the Hill of Howth was called Ben-Edair; and it extended from that hill to the base of the Dublin mountains, and along the banks of the Liffey. The memory of the event is preserved in the name of the village of Tallaght (Tamleacht), which signifies "the plague monument," from *Tamh*, a plague, and *Leacht*, a monument; and in Irish books this place is sometimes called *Tamleacht Muintir Parthaloin*, or "the plague monument of Partholan's people," to distinguish it from other plague monuments, also called Tamleachts, in other parts of Ireland. See O'Donovan's "Four Masters," and Dr. Wilde's "Report on Tables of Deaths," in the Census of 1851. The pestilence which swept away Parthalon's colony was the first that visited Ireland, and is said to have been caused by the corrupting bodies of the dead slain in a battle with the people called Fomorians.

of those who did not fall in the mutual slaughter were engulphed in the waves.* Three captains of the Nemedians, with a handful of their men, survived, and, in a few years after, made their escape from Ireland, with such of their countrymen as chose to follow their fortunes. One party, under Briotan Maol, a grandson of Nemedius, sought refuge in the neighbouring island of Albion, in the northern part of which their posterity remained until the invasion of the Picts many centuries after; and that island, as some will have it, took the name of Britain from their leader, and not from the fabulous Brutus. Another portion of the refugees passed, after many wanderings, into the northern parts of Europe, where they became the Tuatha de Danann of a subsequent age; and, finally, the third party of the scattered Nemedians made their way, under their chief, Simon Breac, another grandson of Nemedius, to Greece, where they were kept in bondage, and compelled to carry burdens in leathern bags, whence they obtained the name of Firbolgs or Bagmen.†

For a long interval—200 years, say the Bards—after the great battle of Tory Island, we are told that Ireland remained almost a wilderness, the few Nemedians who were left behind having retired into the interior of the country, where they, nevertheless, were made to feel the galling yoke of the Fomorians, who were now the undisputed masters of the coast; but at the end of the interval just mentioned, the island was restored to the former race, although under a different name. The Firbolgs having multiplied considerably in Greece, resolved to escape from the bondage under which they groaned, and for that purpose seized the ships of their masters, and proceeding to sea, succeeded in making their way to Ireland, where they landed without opposition (A.M. 3266), and divided the country between their five leaders, the five sons of Deala, each of whom ruled in turn over the entire island. The names of these brothers were, Slainghe, Rury, Gann, Geanann, and Seangann; and from the first of them the River Slaney, in Wexford, is said to have derived its name. It would appear that there were several tribes

* Who these Fomorians were, who are so often mentioned in Irish history, is a matter of speculation. They are said by some of the old annalists to have been African pirates of the race of Ham; but O'Flaherty thinks they were Northmen, or Scandinavians. Some modern writers will have it that they were Phœnicians; but their name implies in Irish that they were sea-robbers, and it is remarkable that their memory is preserved in the Irish name of the Giant's Causeway, which is Cloghan-na-Fomharaigh, or the causeway or stepping-stones of the Fomorians. See O'Brien's Dict. The Fomorians are by some called the Aborigines of Ireland.

† From *Fir*, "men," and *bolg*, which in Irish means a 'leathern bag."

engaged in this expedition, although all belonged to the same race. Thus, one section of them, called Fir-Domhnan, or Damnonians, landed on the coast of Erris, in Mayo, where they became very powerful, giving their name to the district, which has been called, in Irish, Iarras-Domhnan, that is, the western promontory or peninsula of the Damnonians; while another tribe, distinguished by the name of Fir-Gaillian, or Spearmen, landed on the eastern coast, and from them some will have it that the province of Leinster has been so named.*

Such is the account of the origin of the Firbolgs and Damnonians, given by the bardic annalists; and of this and similar relations, which we find in our primeval history, we may remark in general that, however they may be enveloped in fable, we have sufficient reason for believing them to be founded in historic truth; and that they are not lightly to be set aside, where nothing better than conjecture can be substituted. The favorite modern theory is, that the Firbolg colony came into this country from the neighbouring coasts of Britain, and that they were identical in race with the people of Belgic Gaul, and with the Belgæ and Dumnonii of Southern Britain. Then arises the question, were these Belgæ Celts, or were they of Teutonic or Gothic origin? To this we can only answer that the Irish authorities are explicit in stating that the Firbolgs were of the same race with subsequent colonies, who were confessedly Celtic, and this seems to be the generally received opinion.†

The Belgæ, or Firbolgs, had only enjoyed possession of the country for thirty-seven years, according to the chronology of the Four Masters, or for eighty years, according to that of O'Flaherty, when their dominion was disputed by a formidable enemy. The new invaders were the celebrated Tuatha de Dananns, a people of whom such strange

* The Irish name of Leinster was sometimes written Coige Gaillian; *Coige* being the word for a fifth part, or one of the five provinces; but it is more generally called simply Laighin, a word which signifies a spear or javelin.

† In the Irish version of Nennius, published for the Irish Archæological Society, the Firbolgs are termed Viri Bullorum, which, as the learned editor, Dr. Todd, remarks, might afford a derivation for the name not previously noticed; the word *Bullum*, in the Latinity of the middle ages, signifying, according to Du Cange, *Baculum pastoris*, a shepherd's staff. In the additional notes to that publication, by the Hon. Algernon Herbert, many curious suggestions are made about these and the other ancient inhabitants of Ireland, all which speculations show how exceedingly vague and meagre is the information that can be gleaned about these primitive races, and how uncertain are the theories which have been formed about them. Of the Firbolgs, however, as we shall hereafter see, we find frequent mention in what all admit to be authentic periods of Irish history; and their monuments, and even their race, still exist among us.

things are recounted, that modern writers were long uncertain whether they should regard them as a purely mythical race, or concede to them a real existence, all Irish antiquaries, however, adopting at present the latter alternative. The arrival of the Tuatha de Denanns took place in the year of the world 3303, the tenth year of the reign of the ninth and last of the Firbolgic kings, Eochy, son of Erc. The leader of the invaders was Nuadhat-Airgetlamh, or Nuad of the Silver Hand, and their first proceeding on landing was to burn their own fleet, in order to render all retreat impossible. According to the superstitious ideas of the bards, these Tuatha de Dananns were profoundly skilled in magic, and rendered themselves invisible to the inhabitants until they had penetrated into the heart of the country. In other words, they landed under cover of a fog or mist; and the Firbolgs, at first taken by surprise, made no regular stand, until the new comers had marched almost across Ireland, when the two armies met face to face on the plain of Moyturey, near the shore of Lough Corrib, in part of the ancient territory of Partry. Here a battle was fought, in which the Firbolgs were overthrown, with "the greatest slaughter," says an old writer,* "that was ever heard of in Ireland at one meeting." Eochy, the Firbolg king, fled, and was overtaken at a place in the present county of Sligo, where he was slain, and where his cairn, or the stone heap raised over his grave, is still to be seen on the sea-shore; while the scattered fragments of his army took refuge in the northern isle of Aran, Rathlin island, the Hebrides, the Isle of Man, and Britain.†

The victorious Nuadhat lost his hand in this battle, and a silver hand was made for him by Credne Cerd, the artificer, and fitted on him by the physician, Diencecht, whose son, Miach, improved the work, according to the legend, by infusing feeling and motion into every joint of the artificial hand as if it had been a natural one. Hence the surname which the king received. The story may be taken as an illustration of the surgical and mechanical skill which the Tuatha de

* Connell Mageoghegan's "Annals of Clonmacnoise."

† Book of Leacan, fol. 277; quoted in the Ogygia, Part iii., c. 9. The site of this battle is sometimes called Moyturey of Cong, from its proximity to that town, and "it is still pointed out," says Dr. O'Donovan (Four Masters, vol. i. p. 16), "in the parish of Cong, barony of Kilmaine, and county of Mayo, to the right of the road as you go from Cong to the village of the Neal. From the monuments of this battle still remaining, it is quite evident that great numbers were slain." The cairn of the Firbolg king, Eochy, is on the shore near Ballysadare, in the county of Sligo; and, although not high above the strand, it is the popular belief that the tide can never cover it.

Dananns were believed to possess; and we are further told that for the seven years during which the operation was in progress, a temporary king was elected, Breas, whose father was a Fomorian, and whose mother was of the Tuatha de Dananns, having been chosen for the purpose. At the end of that period Nuadhat resumed the authority; and in the twentieth year of his reign, counting from this resumption, he fell in a battle fought with the Fomorians, who took the field at the instigation of their countryman, the deposed king, Breas, and were aided also, we may suppose, by the Firbolg refugees. This battle was fought at a place called Northern Moyturey, or Moyturey of the Fomorians; and its name is still preserved in that of a townland in the barony of Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo, where several sepulchral monuments still mark the site of the ancient battle-field. Nuadhat was killed in this conflict by Balor "of the mighty blows," the leader of the Fomorians, who is described in old traditions as a monster both in barbarity and strength, and as having but one eye. Balor himself was killed in the same battle by a stone cast from a sling by his daughter's son, Lugh Lamhfhada, or Lewy of the long hand, in revenge for some of his crimes.

We have here followed the generally received account of the fate of the Firbolgs in the Tuatha de Danann invasion; but there is another version of it given in an ancient Irish manuscript* which is much more consistent with subsequent history. According to this latter account the battle of Southern Moyturey resulted in a compromise rather than in such a defeat as that mentioned above; and although the Firbolg king was slain, another leader of the same people, named Srang, was still at the head of a considerable force; and, after some negociations, a partition of the country was agreed to, Srang and his people retaining Connaught, and the Tuatha de Dananns taking all the remainder. MacFirbis, in his tract on the Firbolgs, seems to say that an account of the affair to some such effect existed; and unless it be admitted, it is impossible to account for the firm footing which we find these people all along holding in Ireland, and for their position at the Milesian epoch, when they were at first received as allies by the invaders, and were afterwards, for centuries, able to resist them in war. Nor is this account inconsistent with the statement that many of the Firbolgs repaired,

* The author is indebted to Professor Eugene Curry for the purport of this tract, which appears to have escaped the attention of our other Irish scholars.

on the arrival of the Tuatha de Dananns, to the islands mentioned above.

Lugh Lamhfhada, the slayer of Balor, succeeded Nuadhat as king of Ireland; and the fact that he was of Fomorian origin, on his mother's side, and a Tuatha de Danann on that of his father, as well as a like mingling of races in the person of Breas, the first king of the Tuatha de Dananns, lead to the conclusion that an affinity existed between the two races, and afford an argument to O'Flaherty, who held that both races were Northmen, or Danes.* Lugh reigned forty years, and instituted the public games, or fair, of the hill of Taillteau, now Teltown, near the Blackwater, in Meath, in commemoration of his foster-mother, Taillte, the daughter of Maghmor, a Spanish or Iberian king, and wife of Eochy, son of Erc, the last of the Firbolg kings, after whose death, in the battle of Southern Moyturey, she married a Tuatha de Danann chief, and undertook the fostering, or education, of the infant Lewy. This celebrated fair, at which various sports took place, continued to be held until the twelfth century, on the 1st of August, which day is still called, in Irish, Lugh-Nasadh, or Lugh's fair; and vivid traditions are yet preserved of the pagan form of marriage, and ancient sports, of which the old rath of Teltown was the scene.†

Lewy, having been killed by Mac Cuill at Caendruim, now the hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath, was succeeded by Eochy Ollathair, who was surnamed the Dagda Mor (the Great-good-fire), the son of Ealathan. The Dagda reigned eighty years, and having died from the effects of a wound inflicted 120 years before at the battle of northern Moyturey, with a poisoned javelin, by Kathlen, the wife of the Fomorian Balor, he was interred at the Brugh, on the Boyne, the great cemetery of the east of Ireland in the pagan times. His monument is mentioned in ancient Irish manuscripts as one of those vast sepulchral mounds which are at this day objects of wonder and interest on the banks of the Boyne, between Drogheda and Slane.

A.M. 3451.—Dealboeth, the son of Ogma, succeeded, and was followed by Fiacha; after whom three brothers, named MacCuill, MacCeacht, and MacGreine, the last of the Tuatha de Danann kings, reigned conjointly for thirty years, each exercising sovereign authority in succession for the space of one year. The real names of the three

* Ogygia, Part i. p. 13.

† See Wilde's Boyne and Blackwater, p. 150. Ogygia, Part iii. c. 13 and 86.

brothers, according to an old poem quoted by Keating, were, Eathur, Teathur, and Ceathur, and they were called, the first, Mac Cuill, because he worshipped the hazel tree; the second, MacCeacht, because he worshipped the plough, or rather, encouraged agriculture; and the third, MacGreine, because he made the sun the object of his devotions. The old bardic annalists, who, with a gallantry peculiar to their country, derive most of the names of places from celebrated women, tell us that the wives of these three kings were Eire, Banba, and Fodhla, three sisters who have given their names to Ireland; and they add that the country was called after each queen during the year of her husband's administration; and that if the name of Eire has been since more generally applied it was because the husband of queen Eire was the reigning king when the Milesians arrived and conquered the island. The names of Banba and Fodhla are frequently given to Ireland in all the ancient Irish writings.

Before we leave the Tuatha de Dananns, whose sway continued for 197 years—from A.M. 3303 to A.M. 3500—we may mention two or three remarkable circumstances connected with the accounts of that ancient people. By them the Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny, on which the Irish kings were crowned in subsequent ages, was brought into Ireland. This stone was said to emit mysterious sounds when touched by the rightful heir to the crown; and when an Irish colony invaded North Britain, and founded the Scottish monarchy there in the sixth century, the Lia Fail was carried thither to give more solemnity to the coronation of the king, and more security to his dynasty. It was afterwards preserved for several ages in the monastery of Scone, but was carried into England by Edward I., in the year 1300, and deposited in Westminster Abbey, and is believed to be identical with the large block of stone now to be seen under the coronation chair.*

Ogma, one of the Tuatha de Danann princes, is said to have invented the Ogam Craove, or occult mode of writing by notches on the edges of sticks or stones; and Orbsen, another of them, is celebrated as the mythical protector of commerce and navigation. He was commonly called *Mananan*, from the Isle of Man, of which he was king, and

* Dr. Petrie, in his History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, controverts this account of the Lia Fail, and employs some learned, though not conclusive, arguments to show that that celebrated relic of pagan antiquity is the present pillar stone over the "Croppies' Grave" in one of the great raths of Tara. O'Flaherty (Ogygia, p. 45) thinks the Stone of Destiny was not carried to Scotland until A.D. 850, when it was sent by Hugh Finnliath, King of Ireland, to his father-in-law, Keneth MacAlpine, who finally subjugated the Picts.

Maclir, son of the sea, from his knowledge of nautical affairs. He was killed in a battle in the west of Ireland by Ullin, grandson of King Nuad of the Silver Hand, and was buried in an island in the large lake, which from him was called Lough Orbsen, since corrupted into Lough Corrib, the place where the battle was fought being still called Moycullen, or the plain of Ullin.*

* Dr. O'Donovan, in a note on the Tuatha de Dananns (Four Masters, vol. i., p. 24), says:—"In Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise it is stated that 'this people, Tuathy DeDanan, ruled Ireland for 197 years; that they were most notable magicians, and would work wonderful things by magick and other diabolicale arts, wherein they were exceedingly well skilled, and in these days accompted the chiefest in the world in that profession.' From the many monuments ascribed to this colony by tradition, and in ancient Irish historical tales, it is quite evident that they were a real people; and from their having been considered gods and magicians by the Gaedhil, or Scoti, who subdued them, it may be inferred that they were skilled in arts which the latter did not understand Among them was Danann, the mother of the gods, from whom *Da chich Danainne*, a mountain in Kerry (the Pap Mountain) was called; Buanann, the goddess that instructed the heroes in military exercises, the Minerva of the ancient Irish; Badhbh, the Bellona of the ancient Irish; Abhortach, god of music; Ned, the god of war; Nemon, his wife; Manannan, the god of the sea; Diancecht, the god of physic; Brioghit, the goddess of poets and smiths, &c. It appears from a very curious and ancient Irish tract, written in the shape of a dialogue between St. Patrick and Caoilte MacRonain, that there were very many places in Ireland where the Tuatha de Dananns were then supposed to live as sprites or fairies, with corporeal and material forms, but endued with immortality. The inference naturally to be drawn from these stories is, that the Tuatha de Dananns lingered in the country for many centuries after their subjugation by the Gaedhil, and that they lived in retired situations, where they practised abstruse arts, which induced the others to regard them as magicians..... It looks very strange that our genealogists trace the pedigree of no family living for the last thousand years to any of the kings or chieftains of the Tuatha de Dananns, while several families of Firbolgic descent are mentioned, as in Hy-Many, and other parts of Connaught. See Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp. 85-90; and O'Flaherty's Ogygia, part iii. c. 11."

Manannan Mac Lir is described in Cormac's Glossary as "a famous merchant of the Isle of Man, and the best navigator in the western world." Dr. O'Donovan (Four Masters, vol. iii., p. 532, note) says: "There exists a tradition in the County of Londonderry that the spirit of this celebrated navigator lives in an enchanted castle in the *tuns* or waves of Magilligan, opposite Inishowen, and that his magical ship is seen there once every seventh year."

CHAPTER II.

The Milesian Colony.—Wanderings of the Gadelians.—Voyage of Ith to Ireland.—Expedition of the Sons of Miledh, or Milesius.—Contests with the Tuatha de Dananns.—Division of Ireland by Heremon.—The Cruithnians, or Picts.

THE old annalists preface the account of the Milesian invasion of Ireland by a long story of the origin of that colony, and of its many wanderings, by land and sea, for several hundred years, until it arrived in Ireland from Spain. There is no part of our primitive history that has been so frequently questioned, or which modern writers so generally reject as fabulous, as these first accounts of the Milesian or Gadelian race; yet they are so mixed up with our authentic history, and so frequently referred to, that they cannot be passed over in silence. We, therefore, give an outline of the narrative, chiefly as we find it related in the Duan Eireannach, or Poem of Ireland, written by Maelmura of Othain, one of the most ancient of our authorities for the Milesian tradition.*

We are told in this poem that Fenius Farsaidh came out of Scythia to Nembroth (Nimrod), and that, some time after "the building of the tower (of Babel) by the men of the world," Nel, or Niul, the son of Fenius, who possessed a knowledge of all the languages then spoken by mankind, left his father and travelled into Egypt, where the fame of his learning came to the ears of Forann (Pharaoh), who gave him his daughter Scota in marriage. Niul had a son named Gaedhuil Glas, or Green Gael; and we are told that it is from him the Irish have been called Gaedhil (Gael), or Gadelians, while from his mother is derived

* Maelmura of Othain (now Fahan, in Donegal) died A.D. 884, and the historical poem referred to above was printed, for the first time, in the Irish version of Nennius, published in 1848 by the Irish Archæological Society, with copious notes by the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., and by the Hon Algernon Herbert.

the name of Scoti, or Scots, and from Fenius that of Feni, or Fenians. The poem goes on to say that after Forann, pursuing the people of God, was drowned in the Sea Romhuir (Red Sea) the people of Egypt were angry with the children of Niul for having declined to render any assistance in the pursuit; and that the latter, through fear of being enslaved as the Israelites had been, seized the deserted ships of Pharaoh, and in the night time passed over the Red Sea, "the way they knew," by India and Asia, to Scythia, their own country, over the surface of the Caspian Sea, leaving Glas, dead, at Coronis (probably Cyrene, in the Lybian Sea), where they halted for a period.

After some time, and with some variations in the different accounts, we find Sru, son of Esru, or Asruth, son of Gadheal Glas,* acting as leader of the descendants of Niul, and proceeding to the island of Taprabana (Ceylon)† and Slieve Riffi,‡ until he settled in "fiery Golgatha," or Gaethligh, a place which is variously supposed to be Gothia, or Galatia, or Gethulia; and again, in two hundred years after, that is, according to O'Flaherty, about the time of the destruction of Troy, Brath, the son of Deagath, or Deatha, and nineteenth in descent from Fenius, led a fresh expedition from this last-named place to "the north of the world, to the islands, ploughing the Tarrian Sea (Mediterranean or Tyrrhenian) with his fleet." He passed by Creid (Crete), Sicil (Sicily), and the columns of Hercules, to "Espain, the peninsular;" and here he conquered a certain territory, his son, Breogan, or Bregond, succeeding him in the command. The city which our wanderers built in Spain was called Brigantia, believed to be Betanzos, in Gallicia; and, from a lofty tower erected on the coast, by Breogan, it is said that his son, Ith, discovered Eri, or Ireland, "as far as the land of Luimnech, (as the country at the mouth of the Shannon was called), on a winter's evening."§ Ith appears to have been of an adventurous spirit, and, no

* This name is just before written Gaedhuil Glas; and, in general, there appears to be no fixed orthography for those ancient Irish names.

† Sometimes written, in Irish MSS., Tipradfane, that is, the Well of Fenius.

‡ The Slieve Riffi, so often mentioned in Irish MSS., were the Riphean mountains, but it is by no means easy to determine what was the position of these. That they were situated in some part of the vast region anciently called Scythia is tolerably certain, and the probable opinion is that they were the Ural mountains in Russia; but they are sometimes set down in old maps as occupying the place of the Carpathian mountains, and even of the Alps, and the vague accounts we have of them would answer for any range of mountains in northern Europe.

§ The Hon. Algernon Herbert, in one of the additional notes to the Irish Nennius, shows how this legend of Ireland having been seen from the tower of Betanzos (the ancient Flavium Brigantium) may have arisen from passages of Orosius, the geographer, where mention is made of a lofty Pharos erected on the coast of Spain, "*ad speculum Britanniæ*," "for a watch-tower in the direction of Britain;" and where again, describing the coasts of Ireland, the writer says "*procul*

doubt, discovered the coast of Ireland, not from the tower of Breogan, which was impossible, but after having sailed thither in search of the land, which, according to the traditions of his race, the children of Niul were destined to possess. He landed at a place since called Magh Ithe, or the Plain of Ith, near Laggan, in the county of Donegal; and having been taken for a spy or pirate, by the Tuatha de Dananns, was attacked and mortally wounded, when he escaped to his ship and died at sea.†

The remains of Ith were carried to Spain by his crew, now commanded by his son Lugaid, who stimulated his kinsmen to avenge his death, and such, according to the chroniclers, was the provocation for the expedition which followed. Accordingly, the sons of Gollam, (who is more generally known by his surname of Miledh, or Milesius) the son of Bile, son of Breogan, and hence the nephew of Ith, manned thirty ships, and prepared to set out for Inis Ealga, as Ireland was at that time called. Milesius himself, who was King of Spain, or at least of the Gadelian province of it, and who in his earlier life had travelled into Scythia, and performed sundry exploits there, had died before the news of the death of Ith arrived; and his wife Scota, the second of the

spectant Brigantiam, Callicie civitatem," &c.—"they lie at a distance opposite Brigantiam, a city of Gallicia," &c; the words "speculum" and "spectant" having apparently led to the absurd notion that the coast of Ireland was visible from the tower. See also Dr. Wilde's communication to the Royal Irish Academy on the remains of the Pharos of Corunna, which he believes to have been the tower of Breogan.

† Whoever attempts to trace on the map of the world the route ascribed in the text to the ancestors of Milesus will find himself seriously puzzled. In all the accounts of these perigrinations two distinct expeditions are alluded to, one by the east and north, and the other westerly, that is, through the Mediterranean Sea and the Pillars of Hercules. The latter is intelligible enough, but the former would imply a passage by water, from south to north, through the central countries of Europe. The Nemedians and Tuatha de Dananns would also appear to have passed freely in their ships between Greece, or Scythia, and the Northern Seas, without going through the Straits of Gibraltar. Some got rid of this difficulty by treating the whole story as a fable founded on the Argonautic Expedition and its River-Ocean, but even that famous legend of classic antiquity stands itself in need of explanation; and with that view it has been suggested that the Baltic and Euxine Seas were at some remote period connected, and that the vast, swampy plains of Poland were covered with water. A connected series of lakes may thus have extended across the continent of Europe from north to south; and the lagunes along the present northern coast of the Black Sea may indicate what their appearance had been. Traditions of many of the physical changes which have taken place from time to time in the surface of Ireland, since the universal Deluge, such as the eruption of rivers, and the formation of new lakes and inlets of the sea, are preserved in the Irish annals; and it is probable that the Greek traditions of Deucalion's Deluge, and the theories respecting the eruption of the Euxine into the Archipelago, and of a channe between the ocean and the Mediterranean through ancient Aquataine, may refer to a period when the ship Argo, and the barques of the descendants of Niul, might have passed from the shores of Greece to the Hyperborean Seas through the heart of Sarmatia, as indicated above.—*See* "*A Vindication of the Bardic Accounts of the Early Invasions of Ireland, and a Verification of the River-Ocean of the Greeks.*" *Dublin*, 1852. Also the *Dublin University Magazine* for March, 1852.

name we have yet met in these annals, went with her six sons at the head of the expedition. Some of the accounts mention eight sons of Milesius, but the names given in Maelmura's poem are Donn, or Heber Donn, Colpa, Amergin, Ir, Heber (that is, Heber Finn, or the fair), and Heremon. Lugaid, the son of Ith, was also a leader of the expedition, and the names of several other chiefs are given; and it is probable that the principal portion of the Gadelian colony in Spain sailed on the occasion.

A.M. 3500.—It was in the year of the world 3500, and 1700 years before Christ, according to the Four Masters, or A.M. 2934, and B.C. 1015, according to O'Flaherty's chronology, that the Milesian colony arrived in Ireland. The bardic legends say the island was at first made invisible to them by the necromancy of the inhabitants; and that when they at length effected a landing and marched into the country, the Tuatha de Dananns confessed that they were not prepared to resist them, having no standing army, but that if they again embarked, and could make good a landing according to the rules of war, the country should be theirs. Amergin, who was the ollav or learned man and judge of the expedition, having been appealed to, decided against his own people, and they accordingly re-embarked at the southern extremity of Ireland, and withdrew "the distance of nine waves" from the shore. No sooner had they done so than a terrific storm commenced, raised by the magic arts of the Tuatha de Dananns, and the Milesian fleet was completely scattered. Several of the ships, among them those of Donn and Ir, were lost off different parts of the coast. Heremon sailed round by the north-east, and landed at the mouth of the Boyne, (called nver Colpa, from one of the brothers who was drowned there), and oth ers landed at Inver Scene, so called from Scene Dubsaine, the wife of A mergin, who perished in that river. In the first battle fought with the 'Tuatha de Dananns, at Slieve Mish, near Tralee, the latter were defeat ed; but among the killed were Scota, the wife of Milesius, who was b uried in the place since called from her, Glen-Scoheen, and Fas, the wife o f Un, another of the Milesians, from whom Glenofaush in the same neighbourhood has its name. After this the sons of Milesius foug nt a battle at Tailtinn, or Teltown in Meath, where the three kings of the Tuatha de Dananns were killed and their people completely r uted. The three queens, Eire, Fodhla, and Banba, were also slain; women having been accustomed during the pagan times in Ireland to take part personally in battles, and in many instances to lead the hostile armies to the fight. Among the Milesians killed in this battle, or rather in the pursuits of the Tuatha de Dananns, were Fuad, (from whom

Slieve Fuad in Armagh, a place much celebrated in Irish history, has derived its name), and Cuailgne, who was killed at Slieve Cuailgne, now the Cooley mountains, near Carlingford, in the county of Louth.

After the battle of Teltown the Milesians enjoyed the undisturbed possession of the country, and formed alliances with the Firbolgs, the Tuatha de Dananns, and other primitive races, but more especially with the first, who aided them willingly in the subjugation of their late masters, and were allowed to retain possession of certain territories, where some of their posterity still remain. Heremon and Heber Finn divided Ireland between them; but a dispute arising, owing to the covetousness of the wife of Heber, who desired to have all the finest vales in Erin for herself, a battle was fought at Geashill, in the present King's county, in which Hereman killed his brother Heber. In the division of Ireland which followed, Heremon, who retained the sovereignty himself, gave Ulster to Heber, the son of Ir; Munster to the four sons of Heber Finn; Connaught to Un and Eadan; and Leinster to Crivann Sciavel, a Damnonian or Firbolg. The people of the south of Ireland in general are looked upon as the descendants of Heber; while the families of Leinster, many of those of Connaught, the Hi Nialls of Ulster, &c., trace their pedigree to Heremon. Families sprung from the sons of Ir are to be found in different parts of Ireland; but of Amergin, the poet and ollav, little is said in this distribution of the land. He is mentioned as having constructed the causeway or *tochar* of Inver Mor, or the mouth of the Ovoca in Wicklow.

The wife of Heremon was Tea, the daughter of Lugaid, the son of Ith, for whom he repudiated his former wife Ovey, who, followed the expedition to Ireland, and died of grief on finding herself deserted; and it was Tea who selected for the royal residence the hill of Druim Caein, called from her Tea-mur or Tara—that is, the mound of Tea.* In the second year of his reign Heremon slew his brother Amergin in battle, and in subsequent conflicts others of his kinsmen fell by his hands; and having reigned fifteen years, he died at Rath-Beothaigh, now Rathveagh on the Nore, in Kilkenny.

About the period of the Milesian invasion the Cruithnigh, Cruithnians, or Picts, so called, according to the generally received opinion, from having their bodies tatooed, or painted, are said to have paid a visit to Ireland previous to their final settlement in Alba, or Scotland.

* The above etymology of Tara is evidently legendary; and according to Cormac's Glossary, quoted by O'Donovan (Four Masters, vol. i. p. 31), the name, which in Irish is Teamhair, merely signifies a hill commanding a pleasant prospect.

Having no wives, they obtained Milesian women in marriage; that is, according to some accounts, they married the widows of those who had been drowned with Heber Donn in the expedition from Spain, making a solemn compact that, should they succeed in conquering the country they were about to invade, the sovereignty should descend in the female line. The Cruithnians were of a kindred race with the Scots or Irish, and for many centuries dwelt as a distinct people in the eastern part of Ulster, where some of their descendants were to be found at the time of the confiscations under James I.; but the confused traditions about the visit of a Pictish colony at the same time with the children of Milesius are properly treated as apocryphal.*

* Bede (Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 1) gives the following account of the origin of the Picts:—"When the Britons, beginning at the South, had made themselves masters of the greater part of the island, it happened that the nation of the Picts, from Scythia, as is reported, putting to sea in a few long ships, were driven by the winds beyond the shores of Britain, and arrived on the northern coast of Ireland, where, finding the nation of the Scots, they begged to be allowed to settle among them, but could not succeed in obtaining their request . . . . . The Picts, accordingly, sailing over into Britain, began to inhabit the northern parts thereof . . . . . Now the Picts had no wives, and asked them of the Scots, who would not consent to grant them on any terms than that when any difficulty should arise they should choose a king from the female royal race, rather than from the male; which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day." See for ample details about the Cruithnians or Picts, and for all the traditions relative to their intercourse with Ireland, the annotations to the Irish Nennius.



CHAPTER III.

Questions as to the Credit of the Ancient Irish Annals.—Defective Chronology.—The Test of Science applied.—Theories on the Ancient Inhabitants of Ireland.—Intellectual Qualities of Firbolgs and Tuatha de Dananns.—Monuments of the latter People.—Celts.

HAVING thus far followed the bardic chroniclers, or seanachies, it is right to pause awhile to consider what amount of credit we may place in them; and in the next place, what are the opinions of those who reject their authority. A judicious and accomplished Irish annalist, Tighernach, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died so early as A.D. 1088, has said that all the Scottish, that is, Irish, records previous to the reign of Cimbaeth, which he fixed at the year B.C. 305, are doubtful; and we have, therefore, good authority, independent of internal evidence or of the opinions of modern writers, for placing on them but a modified reliance. We must be careful, however, not to carry our doubts too far. These ancient records claim our veneration for their great antiquity, and are themselves but the channels of still older traditions. Writings which date from the first ages of Christianity in Ireland refer to facts upon which all our pre-Christian history hinges, as the then fixed historical tradition of the country; and the closest study of the history of Ireland shows the impossibility of fixing a period previous to which the main facts related by the annalists should be rejected as utterly fabulous. There is no more reason to deny the existence of such men as Heber and Heremon, and therefore, of a Milesian or Scottish colony, than there is to question the occurrence of the battle of Clontarf; and the traditions of the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Dananns are so mixed up with our written history, so impressed on the monuments and topography of

the country, and so illustrated in the characteristics of its population, that no man of learning who had thoroughly studied the subject would now think of doubting their existence. But, as we have said, it is for the main facts that we claim this credence. These facts are, of course, mixed up with the quaint romance characteristic of the remote ages in which they were recorded, and the chief difficulty, as in the ancient history of most countries, is to trace out the substratum of truth beneath the superincumbent mass of fable.

The chronology of the pre-Christian Irish annals is obviously erroneous, but that does not affect their general authenticity. They were compiled for the most part from such materials as genealogical lists of kings, to whose reigns disputed periods of duration were attributed; and those who, in subsequent ages, endeavored to form regular series of annals out of such data, and to make them synchronize with the history of other countries, were unavoidably liable to error. The Four Masters, adopting the chronology of the Septuagint and the Greeks, according to which the world was 5,200 years old at the birth of our Saviour, refer the occurrences of Irish history, previous to the Christian era, to epochs so remote as to expose the whole history to ridicule; while O'Flaherty, endeavouring to arrive at a more reasonable computation, and taking for his standard the system of Scaliger, which makes the age of the world before Christ some 1250 years less, reduces the dates given by the Four Masters by many hundreds of years; but the degree of antiquity which even he allows to them surpasses credibility. Thus, according to the author of the Ogygia, the arrival of the Milesian colony took place 1015 years before the Christian era; that is, about 260 years before the building of Rome, making it synchronize with the reign of Saul in Israel; while, according to the Four Masters, that event occurred more than six hundred years earlier; that is, many centuries before the foundation of Troy, or the Argonautic expedition; and yet, at that remote period—sixteen hundred years, according to one computation, and at least a thousand, according to another, before Julius Cæsar found Britain still occupied by half-savage and half-naked inhabitants—we are asked to believe that a regular monarchy was established in Ireland, and was continued through a known succession of kings, to the twelfth century!*

A chronology so improbable has naturally weakened the credibility of our older annals; but neither bardic legends nor erroneous com-

* Charles O'Connor, of Balenagar, says, in his Dissertations on the History of Ireland, that the Milesian invasion cannot have been much earlier or later than the year B.C. 760.

putations can destroy the groundwork of truth which we must recognize beneath them.

The ancient Irish attributed the utmost importance to the truth of their historic compositions, for social reasons. Their whole system of society—every question as to the rights of property—turned upon the descent of families and the principle of clanship; so that it cannot be supposed that mere fables would be tolerated instead of facts, where every social claim was to be decided on their authority. A man's name is scarcely mentioned in our annals without the addition of his forefathers for several generations, a thing which rarely occurs in those of other countries.

Again, when we arrive at the era of Christianity in Ireland, we find that our ancient annals stand the test of verification by science with a success which not only establishes their character for truthfulness at that period, but vindicates the records of preceding dates involved in it. Thus, in some of the annals, natural phenomena, such as eclipses, are recorded, and these are found to agree so exactly with the calculations of astronomy as to leave no room whatever to doubt the general accuracy of documents found in these particulars to be so correct, at least for periods after the Christian era.*

Now, coming to the theories of Irish origins entertained by those who reject the authority of the old annalists either wholly or on this particular point; it is certain, according to them, that Ireland has invariably derived her population from the neighbouring shores of Britain, in the same way as Britain itself had been peopled from those of Gaul. It was thus, they tell us, that the Belgæ, or Firbolgs, the Damnonians, and the Dananns came successively into Erin, as well as, in after times, that other race called Scots, whose origin seems to set speculation at defiance. Navigation was so imperfectly understood in those ages that such a voyage as that from Spain to Ireland, especially for a numerous squadron of small craft, is treated with ridicule. The knowledge of navigation,

* For observations on the comparison of the entries of eclipses in the Irish annals with the calculations in the great French work, *l'Art de verifier les Dates*, as a test and correction of the former, see O'Donovan's Introduction to the Annals of the Four Masters, and Dr. Wilde's Report on the Tables of Deaths in the Census of 1851, where the idea of the comparison has been fully carried out. Thus, in the Annals of Innisfallen we find, "A.D. 445, a solar eclipse at the ninth hour." This is the first eclipse mentioned in the Irish annals, and it agrees with the calculated date in *l'Art de verifier les Dates*, where the corresponding entry is, "A solar eclipse visible in North-Western Europe, July 20th, at half-past five, A.M." And again, in the Annals of Tigernach, "A.D. 664. Darkness at the ninth hour on the Calends of May;" while in the French astronomical work already quoted, there is noticed for that year "A total eclipse of the sun, visible to Europe and Africa, at half-past three, P.M., 1st of May."

which all admit the Greeks, and Trojans, and Phœnicians to have possessed, is not acceded to the early colonies of Ireland; but it is argued that as people spread naturally into adjoining countries visible from those whence they proceeded, so it is only reasonable to suppose that Ireland received inhabitants from the coasts of Wales or Scotland, from which her shores could be plainly seen, rather than from Thrace or Macedon, or even from Spain. Similarity of names, also, comes to the aid of this theory; for it seems probable enough that the Belgæ and Dumnonii of Southern Britain were the same race with those bearing almost identically the same names in Ireland. As to the name of Scots, it was never heard of before the second or third century of the Christian era, when it was given to the tribes who aided the Picts in harassing the people of South Britain, and their masters, the Romans. There is no Irish or any other authority of an older date for the application of the name of Scots to the people of Erin. Irish writers themselves suggest that *sciot*, a dart or arrow, may have been the origin of the word Scythia; and with more probability might it have been that of the name Scoti, or Scots, as applied to men armed with weapons so called; and once the name, from this or any other cause, came to be applied to the natives of Ireland, it is easy, we are told, to imagine how the Irish bards built upon it a fine romance, deriving it from an imaginary daughter of King Pharaoh, and perhaps borrowing from it also the idea of claiming for their nation descent from Scythia, the region, at that time, of fabulous heroism. These theories give wide scope to the imagination, and would substitute for the traditions of the old annalists conjectures quite as vague and inconclusive, however ingenious and learned they may be.*

It is generally agreed that the Firbolgs, or Belgians, were a pastoral people, inferior in knowledge to the Tuatha de Dananns, by whom, although the latter were less numerous, they were kept in subjection.

* Fiach's hymn, admitted to be the composition of a disciple of St. Patrick, refers to the Milesian traditions of the Irish; and among the authorities most frequently quoted by Keating, O'Flaherty, and other old writers, on the period of the Tuatha de Dananns, Firbolgs, and the Milesian colony, on account of their works being still preserved, are Maelmura of Fathan, who died A.D. 884; Eochy O'Flynn, who died A.D. 984; Flan Mainistreach, who died A.D. 1056; and Giolla Kevin, who died A.D. 1072; all of whom related in verse the written and oral traditions received by themselves from preceding ages. Shortly after the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, the chronicles of the bards were replaced by regular annals, kept in several of the monasteries, and from this period we may look upon the record of events in our history as, morally speaking, accurate. The statement of Mr. Moore, and of others of his school, that the primitive traditions of Irish history were fabricated to please a fallen nation with delusions of past glories, is monstrously absurd. They were in existence, and were cherished by the people ages before the fallen circumstances which Mr. Moore contemplates.

It is also admitted that the Tuatha de Danann race were superior in their knowledge of the useful arts and in general information to the Gadelian, or Scottish colony, who, however, excelled them in energy, courage, and probably in most physical qualities. To their intellectual superiority the Danann colony owed their character of necromancers, as it was natural that a rude and ignorant people at that age should look upon skilled workmanship and abstruse studies as associated with the supernatural.

It is probable that by the Tuatha de Dananns mines were first worked in Ireland; and it is generally believed that they were the artificers of those beautifully-shaped bronze swords and spear-heads that have been found in Ireland, and of which so many fine specimens may be seen in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The sepulchral monuments, also, of this people evince extraordinary powers of mind on the part of those by whom they were erected. There is evidence to show that the vast mounds, or artificial hills, of Drogheda, Knowth, Dowth, and New Grange, along the banks of the Boyne, with several minor tumuli in the same neighbourhood, were erected as the tombs of Tuatha de Danann kings and chieftains, and as such they only rank after the pyramids of Egypt for the stupendous efforts which were required to raise them.*

As to the Firbolgs, it is doubtful whether there are any monuments remaining of their first sway in Ireland; but the famous Dun Aengus and other great stone forts in the islands of Aran are well-authenticated remnants of their military structures of the period of the Christian era, or thereabouts. That the Tuatha de Dananns were not a warlike people appears from the tradition of their remonstrance against the first landing of the Milesians, when they admitted that they had no standing army to resist invasion.†

Again the question is raised, were these Firbolgs, and Tuatha de Dananns, and Gadelians, all Celts? And, in reply, it must be said that the term Celt, or Kelt, as it is more correctly pronounced, was unknown

* See Dr. Petrie's "History of Tara Hill," and Dr. Wilde's "Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater."

† In the Book of MacFirbis, written about the year 1650, it is said that "every one who is black, loquacious, lying, taletelling, or of low and grovelling mind, is of the Firbolg descent;" and that "every one who is fair-haired, of large size, fond of music and horse-riding, and practises the art of magic, is of Tuatha de Danann descent." See these passages quoted by Dr. Wilde in an ethnological disquisition on these ancient races, founded on the peculiarities of human crania discovered under circumstances that identify them as belonging to the two races respectively. 'Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater," pp. 212, 239.

to the Irish themselves; that the word is of classic origin, and was probably as indefinite as most geographical names and distinctions at that period appear to have been. Finally, it is suggested that in all probability none of the immigrations into Ireland were unmixed, and that the first population of the island was composed of Celtic, Slavonic, and Teutonic races, mixed up in different proportions. A Scythian origin is claimed for all in the Irish traditions, in which all are traced to Japhet, the son who received the blessing, and through him to the cradle of our race.*

* O'Flaherty, in the first part of the Ogygia, gives the following as the results of his researches about the original inhabitants of Ireland:—That the first four colonies came into Ireland from Great Britain: that Partholan and Nemedius, descendants of Gomar by Riphat, came from Northern, and the Firbolg colony from Southern Britain; that these races spoke different languages; that the Tuatha de Dananns were the descendants of the Nemedians, who, after sojourning in Scandinavia, returned into North Britain, and thence, in the lapse of time, into the north of Ireland; that the Dananns being subdued by the Scots, the Firbolgs, under the latter, again flourished in Ireland, and enjoyed the sovereignty of Connaught for several ages; that the Fomorians, whether the aborigines of Ireland or not, were not descendants of Cham, nor from the shores of Africa, but from that country whence the Danes, in after ages, invaded Ireland; and finally, that the Firbolgs and Tuatha de Dananns had frequent intercourse with each other before the conquest of Ireland by the latter."



CHAPTER IV.

The Milesian Kings of Ireland.—Irial the Prophet.—Tiernmas.—Crom Cruach; the Paganism of the Ancient Irish.—Social Progress.—The Triennial Assembly or Parliament of Tara.—Cimbaeth.—Queen Macha.—Foundation of Emania.—Ugony the Great.—New Division of Ireland.—Pagan Oath.—A Murrain.—Maeve, Queen of Connaught.—Wars of Connaught and Ulster.—Bardic Romances.

FROM the conquest of Ireland (B.C. 1700*) by the sons of Gollamh, or Milesius, to its conversion to Christianity by St. Patrick (A.D. 432), one hundred and eighteen sovereigns are enumerated, whose sway extended over the whole island, independent of the petty kings and chieftains of provinces and particular districts. Of this number, sixty were of the race of Heremon, twenty-nine of the posterity of Heber Finn, twenty-four of the line of Ir, three were descended from Lugaid, the son of Ith, one was a plebeian, or Firbolg, and one was a woman. The history of their reigns is, to a great extent, made up of wars either among different branches of their own race or against the Firbolgs and others; but numerous events are also recorded which mark the progress of civilization, such as the clearing of plains from woods, the enactment of laws, the erection of palaces, &c. The breaking forth of several rivers and other natural phenomena are mentioned, and a great number of legends related, many of them curious specimens of ancient romance.

Irial, surnamed Faidh, or the Prophet, son of Heremon, began the

* We continue to employ the chronology of the Four Masters, simply turning the years of the world into the corresponding years before Christ, as being more intelligible; but the reader will observe that, as already stated, no reliance is to be placed on these dates until we arrive within a few centuries of the Christian era. All the computations at this early period are equally uncertain; and we insert the dates merely for the sake of method, to mark the order of events, the relative duration of reigns, &c.

struggle against the Fomorians and Firbolgs, the latter of whom kept the Milesian armies occasionally occupied for centuries after. The tribes of Firbolgs most frequently mentioned are the Ernai and the Martinei, the former of whom are described in one place as holding the present county of Kerry, and the latter the southern portion of the county of Limerick; and in the reign of Fiacha Lavrainne, who was killed in the year B.C. 1449, the Ernai are stated to have been routed in battle on a plain where Lough Erne, so called from them, subsequently flowed over the slain. Irial Faidh died on Magh Muai, which is supposed to be the plain near Knock Moy, a few miles from Tuam, after clearing a great many extensive plains and erecting several forts during the ten years of his reign.

B.C. 1620.—Among the early Milesian kings a prominent place is assigned to Tiernmas, who is said to have been the first to institute the public worship of idols in Ireland. The notion which we can form of the paganism of the ancient Irish is extremely obscure. Owing to the scanty information which the old manuscripts afford us on the subject every one who has written about it has had ample scope for his own favorite theory, and some of these theories have been advanced with scarcely a shadow of foundation. We shall revert to this subject again, and for the present shall refer only to the worship of Crom-Cruach, the chief idol of the Irish, which stood in Magh-Slecht, or the Plain of Adoration, in the ancient territory of Breifny.* This idol, which was covered with gold, was said to represent a hideous monster, and its name implies that it was stooped, or crooked, and also that it was black, for it is sometimes called Crom-Duv. It was surrounded by twelve smaller idols, and was destroyed by St. Patrick, who merely stretched forth towards it, from a distance, his crozier, which was called the Staff of Jesus. It is probable that Tiernmas only erected the rude statue, and that he found the worship prevailing in the country, and handed down, it may be, from the earliest Milesians; but, at all events, he was punished for his idolatry by a terrible judgment, having been struck dead, with a great multitude of his people, while prostrate before Crom-Cruach, on the Night of Savain, or All Hallow Eve. Tiernmas reigned seventy-seven, or, according to others, eighty years; and it was under him that gold was first smelted in Ireland, in the district of Foharta,

* The village of Ballymagauran and the island of Port, in the present county of Cavan, are situated in the plain anciently called Magh-Slecht. The idol stood near a river called Gathard, and St. Patrick erected a church called Donoghmore in the immediate vicinity of the place. See O'Donovan's notes at reign of Tighernmas, Four Masters A.M. 3656.

east of the river Liffey, and that goblets and brooches were first covered with gold. According to Keating, it was he who first ordered that the rank of persons should be distinguished by the number of colors in their garments: thus, the slave should have but one color, the peasant two, the soldier three, the keeper of a house of hospitality four, the chieftain of a territory five, the ollav, or man of learning, six, and in the clothes of kings and queens seven colors were allowed. This regulation is attributed by the Four Masters to the successor of Tiernmas, and the rule is also somewhat differently stated.*

In the reign of Enna Airgeach, B.C. 1383, silver shields were first made at Airget-Ross, or the Silver Wood, on the banks of the river Nore. They were given, together with horses and chariots, to the heroes and nobility. King Monemon, who died of plague, B.C. 1328, first caused the nobility to wear chains of gold on their necks and rings of the same metal on their fingers. Deep wells were first dug in the reign of Fiacha Finailches, by whom the town of Ceanannus, or Kells, was founded, B.C. 1200. Four-horsed chariots were first used in the time of Roiachty, who was killed by lightning at Dun Severick, near the Giant's Causeway, B.C. 1024. Stipends, or wages, were first paid to soldiers, and probably to other persons in public employments, in the reign of Sedna Innarry, B.C. 910; and silver coin is stated to have been first struck in Ireland, at the silver works of Airget-Ross, in the reign of Enda Dearg, who, with many others, died of plague, at Slieve Mish, B.C. 881.

But the greatest step in social progress at that remote period of Irish history was the institution of the Feis Teavrach, or triennial assembly of Tara, by Ollav Fola (Ollamh Fodhla), the beginning of whose reign is fixed by the Four Masters at the year of the world 3883, corresponding with the year B.C. 1317. If we suppose the event ante-dated even by several centuries, this assembly would, nevertheless, appear to be one of the earliest instances of a national convocation or parliament in any country. All the chieftains or heads of septs, bards, historians, and military leaders throughout the country were regularly summoned, and were required to attend under the penalty of being treated as the king's enemies. The meeting was held in a large oblong hall, and the first three days were spent in enjoying the hospitality of the king, who entertained the entire assembly during its sittings. The bards give long and glowing accounts of the magnificence displayed on these

* The Scottish plaid is traced to this early origin.

occasions, of the formalities employed, and of the business transacted. Tables were arranged along the centre of the hall, and on the walls at either side were suspended the banners or arms of the chiefs, so that each chief on entering might take his seat under his own escutcheon. Orders were issued by sound of trumpet, and all the forms were characterized by great solemnity. What may have been the authority of this assembly, or whether it had any power to enact laws, is not clear; but it would appear that one of its principal functions was the inspection of the national records, the writers of which were obliged to the strictest accuracy under the weightiest penalties. These accounts of the Feis of Tara must be taken with due allowance for the coloring which the more ancient traditions on the subject received from the later writers who have delivered them to us; but however cautiously we regard them—and no student of antiquity will now-a-days venture wholly to reject them—they should satisfy us that the pagan Irish were acquainted with the art of writing, notwithstanding the opinion to the contrary of so many moderns, who hold that letters were not introduced into Ireland before the time of St. Patrick.

Besides the establishment of the triennial assembly, Ollav Fola appears to have instituted other wise regulations for the government of the country. Over every cantred, or hundred, he appointed a chieftain, and over each townland a kind of prefect or secondary chief, all being the servants of the king of Ireland. He constructed a rath on Tara, called from him Mur-Ollavan, and died there, after a useful reign of forty years.*

A few of the Irish monarchs enjoyed very long reigns. Thus, Sirna Selach governed Ireland for 150 years; and in a battle which he fought against the race of Heber, the Fomorians having been brought in to aid the latter, a plague fell upon them during the fight, and many thousands of his enemies perished on the spot. And of king Slanoll (that is, all health) it is related that there was no sickness in Ireland during his reign; that he himself died without any apparent cause; and that his body remained uncorrupted and without changing color for several years after his death.

B.C. 716.—The reign of Cimbaeth brings us to the commencement of what, according to Tigernach, may be considered as the authentic period of the Irish annals.† It is also a remarkable epoch for other reasons,

* The real name of this king was Eochy (pronounced Achy), but he is only known by his surname of Ollav Fola, that is, the chief poet or learned man (Ollav) of Ireland (Fola).

† The Four Masters assign the beginning of his reign to A.M. 4484, corresponding with the year

and especially for the foundation of Emania, the royal palace of Ulster. The story of this palace is curious. About this period there lived three princes, Hugh Roe, or the Red; Dihorba, and Cimbaeth (pronounced Kimbahe), the sons of three brothers, and all three claimed equal right to the crown. A contest consequently arose, which was finally adjusted by a solemn engagement that they should reign in turn for seven years each; and this agreement was strictly carried out, until, at the end of his third period of seven years, Hugh Roe was drowned at Easroe, or Red Hugh's Cataract,* and left a daughter, Macha, surnamed Mongroe, or the Red-haired, who, when her father's turn to rule came round again, claimed it in his stead, and made war on the other two competitors to assert her right. A battle was fought, in which the red-haired lady was victorious; and Dihorba having been slain, Macha arranged the dispute with the survivor, Cimbaeth, by marrying him and making him king. She then, as the legend goes, followed the five sons of Dihorba into Connaught, captured them by stratagem among the rocks of Burrin, and compelled them to build her a palace, the site of which she herself marked out with the bodkin or pin of her cloak, whence the name of the new palace, *Eamhuin*, which signifies a neck-pin. At all events, it was at the desire of Macha, and in the reign of her husband, Cimbaeth, that the palace of Emania, so celebrated in the history of Ireland for many centuries after, was constructed. This was the resort of the Red-branch Knights, and the palace of the kings of Ulster for 855 years,† until finally destroyed, as we shall see, by the three Collas. After the death of Cimbaeth, Macha reigned as absolute queen of Ireland for seven years, when she was slain by her successor, Rachty Ridearg, who, in his turn, was slain by Ugaine Mor, or Ugony the Great, who had been fostered by Cimbaeth and Macha, and thus avenged the death of his royal foster-mother.

B.C. 633.—Ugony, who reigned forty years, is said to have carried his victorious arms far out of Ireland, so that his power was acknowledged "all over the west of Europe, as far as Muir-Toirrian," or the Mediterranean Sea. He divided Ireland among his twenty-five children, and

B.C. 716. O'Flaherty fixed it at the year B.C. 352; Keating about B.C. 460; and Tigernach at B.C. 305. This diversity exemplifies the uncertainty of early Irish chronology.

* Now Assaroe, or the Salmon Leap, on the river Erne at Ballyshannon, where Hugh Roe was buried in the mound now called Mullaghshee.

† Annals of Clonmacnoise. The remains of the palace of Eamhuin, or Emania, is now a very large rath, corrupt y called the Navan fort, situated about two miles west of Armagh. Near the hill is a townland which still bears in its name of Creeveroe (Cra bh-ruadh), or the Red-branch, a memorial of the ancient glory of the place.—*See Stuart's "Historical Memoirs of Armagh."*

exacted from the people an oath, according to the ancient Irish pagan form, "by the sun and moon, the sea, the dew, and colors, and all the elements visible and invisible," that the sovereignty of Erin should not be taken from his descendants for ever. This mode of binding posterity appears to have been a favorite one, as we find it again adopted, in the same precise form, by Tuathal Techtmar, one of Ugony's descendants. The subdivision of Ireland into twenty-five parts was preserved for 300 years.*

Ugony the Great experienced the same fate as nearly all these ancient sovereigns, who, with very few exceptions, were slain each by his successor; and among the most remarkable of the succeeding princes we find one named Maen, better known as Lavry Longseach, or Lowry of the Ships, who, having been driven into exile by his uncle, Covagh, son of Ugony, lived some time in Gaul, and returning thence with 2,000 foreigners, landed on the coast of Wexford, and marched rapidly to the royal residence at Dinrye, on the river Barrow, which he attacked at night, killing the king, his uncle, and thirty of the nobles, and setting fire to the palace, which was burned to the ground. He then seized the crown, and having reigned nineteen years was, according to the customary rule, killed by his successor (B.C. 523). Many legends are related of this Lowry of the Ships; and it is said that the foreigners who came with him from Gaul were armed with broad-headed lances or javelins (called in Irish *laighne*), whence the province of Leinster has derived its name.†

For some centuries, about this period, few events of note are recorded. In the reign of Bresail Bodivo (B.C. 200), there was a mortality of kine, so great that, according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise, "there were no more then left alive but one bull and one heifer in the whole kingdom, which bull and heifer lived in a place called Gleann Sawasge," that is, the Glen of the Heifer, the name of a remarkable valley in the county of Kerry, where the tradition is still preserved.

B.C. 142.—Eochy, or Achy, surnamed Feyleach, (Feidhleach) from a habit of constantly sighing, rescinded Ugony More's division of Ireland into twenty-five parts, and divided the island into five provinces, over each of which he appointed a minor king, tributary to himself. To one of these, Tinne, the king of Connaught, he gave in marriage his daughter

* Of Ugony's children twenty-two were sons, and of these only two left issue, all who claim to be of the race of Heremon tracing their descent through these two sons of Ugony.

† This origin of the name is more generally received than the similar one mentioned above when treating of the Firbolg immigration.

Maeve (Meadhbh) or Mab, or Maude, celebrated in the old poetic chronicles for her beauty and masculine bravery, with which, it must be confessed, she did not combine the quality of feminine modesty. She figures as the heroine in many of the strange romances of the period; among the peasantry her memory has descended to the present day as that of the queen of the Fairies of Connaught, and in her elfin character, although greatly metamorphosed, she is immortalized as the Queen Mab of English fairy mythology.

After the death of Tinne, Maeve reigned alone as queen of Connaught for ten years, and then married Oilioll, the commander of the martial tribe of the Gamanradians, or Damnonian knights of Iorras, a Firbolgic sept also celebrated by the bards as the Clanna Morna.* She made him king of Connaught, and survived him, although he lived to an advanced age. The Connaught palace of Cruachan was erected by her; and in her time a war which lasted for seven years broke out between Ulster and Connaught, when the Gamanradians of Iorras Domnan, and the knights of the Craev Roe, or Red Branch of Emania,† were arrayed against each other, and performed wonderful exploits of valour, queen

* The return of a number of the Firbolgs to Ireland, in the time of Queen Maeve, is an interesting fact in our history. It is stated in a MS. account of the Firbolgs, by MacFirbis (for the translation of a portion of which, as well as for the identification of the names that follow, we are indebted to Professor Eugene Curry), that the remnant of that people who continued in the Danish islands (the Hebrides) were about this period banished by the Picts, and that they passed over to Ireland, where they obtained, upon rent, the lands of Rath Cealtchair, Rath-Conrach, Rath-Comar, &c., in Meath. The rent, however, was too heavy, and they eloped with all their moveables over the Shannon, and received from Aible (as he is here called) and Meabh, the king and queen of that country (Connaught) lands running along the coast from Cruach Patrick to Loop Head, and embracing the southern parts of Galway and Roscommon, and all Clare. They were called the Clann Umoir on their coming into Ireland on this occasion, from Aengus, the Son of Umor, who was their king. The lands which they received in the west, chiefly on the sea-bord, continued to bear their names. Here are a few of them:—"Aengus, son of Umor, at Dun Aengusa, in Arann; Cutra, at Loch Cutra (near Gort); Cimè, at Loch Cimè (now Lough Hacket); Adhar, son of Umor, at Magh Adhair (poetically for Thomond); Mil, at Muirbheach Mil (now Murvagh, near Oranmore); Doolach, at Daoil (?); and Endach, his brother, at Teach n-Eandaigh (?); Bir, at Rinn Beara West (now Rinnbarrow, in Lough Dergart, in the Shannon); Mogh, at Innsibh Mogh (Clew Bay islands); Iorgus, at Ceann Boirne (Black Head); Banne Badanbel, at Laighlinne (?); Conchurn (not Conchubhar) on the Sea, in Inis Meadhain (one of the Arran islands); Lothrach, at Tulaigh Lothraigh (?); Taman, son of Umor, at Rinn Tamain, in Meadraidhe (near Galway); Conall Caol, son of Aengus, son of Umor, at Carnconaill, in Aidhne (now the barony of Kiltartan in Galway); Measca, at Loch Measca (Lough Mask); Asal, the son of Umor, at Magh Asail, in Munster (plain round Tory Hill, near Croom); Beus Beann, son of Umor, the poet, &c."

† That the ancient Irish in very remote times had certain local orders of knighthood, cannot be denied; and the statement that Cuchullainn was admitted among the Red-branch Knights of Emania at the age of seven receives a curious illustration from an incident recorded by Froissart, who relates that when four Irish kings were offered the honor of knighthood by Richard, king of England, they stated that it had been already conferred on them, according to the custom of their own country, when they were but seven years of age.—Froissart, vol. iv., chap. lxiv.

Maeve herself, at the head of her heroes, dashing into Ulster with her war-chariots, and sweeping the cattle of the rich fields of Louth before her across the Shannon. This deed has been celebrated in the ancient historic tale of the *Tain bo Cuailgne*, or Cattle-spoil of Cooley. The bards have indeed involved the whole of this period in the wildest romance, tainted, as might be expected, by pagan immorality, and darkened by deeds of cruelty in warfare.* They relate as the cause of this war a moving tale about the fair Deardry and the three sons of Uisneach, and the cruelty of Connor Mac Nessa, king of Ulster ; but the more probable account of the matter is, that Feargus Rogy, who was driven from Ulster by Connor in one of their intestine broils, fled into Connaught, and engaged the interest, together with the affections, of Queen Maeve, and by her assistance made incursions into the territory of Connor Mac Nessa. Among the champions of Emania in this war were Cuchullainn, and Conall Cearnach ; and among the Connaught heroes were Ceat Mac Magach, the brother of King Oilioll, and Ferdia Mac Damain, all names of Ossianic celebrity.

When Maeve was considerably more than 100 years old she was treacherously killed by the son of Connor in revenge for the death of his father, who was slain by Maeve's people ; and among her numerous children were three, of whom Feargus Rogy was the father, named Kiar, Conmac, and Corc, the progenitors of many of the families of the west and south of Ireland. Maeve lived about the commencement of the Christian era, her death, according to Tigernach, having taken place in A.D. 70, although, according to the Four Masters, she flourished more than a century before the birth of Christ.

This epoch is known in Irish history as that of the provincial kings ; and strange though it may seem, we have to trace to that remote date the origin of the worst ills of Ireland—namely, the subdivision of territory, and the establishment of a system of petty independent toparchs, which involved the country in perpetual local wars, and gradually extinguished every trace of a controlling power or central government.

* About this period popular resentment rose so high throughout Ireland against the fileas or bards, for their abuse of the numerous privileges which they enjoyed, and their perversion of the laws, that a general outbreak against them took place, and they were expelled, indiscriminately, from a great part of the country ; but the tide of excitement was staid by Connor Mac Nessa, who prevailed on both parties to agree to certain reforms, and set the principal fileas to work upon a codification of the laws, which was accepted by the country at large, together with the reinstatement of the expelled fileas.—(*O'Conor's Dissertations*, p. 131, ed. of 1812.)

CHAPTER V.

Pagan kings of Ireland, continued.—Creevan brings home rich spoils from Britain.—Insurrections of the Attacotti.—Massacre of the Milesian Nobles.—King Carbry the Cat-headed.—Reign of Tuathal Teachtar.—Felimy the Law-giver.—Conn of the Hundred Battles.—Wars of Conn and Eugene the Great.—New Division of Ireland.—Battle of Moylena.—Conary the Second.—The three Carbrys.—The Dalriads; first Irish Settlement in Alba or Scotland.—Oiliol Olum, king of Munster.—Lewy MacCon.—Glorious Reign of Cormac MacArt.—His Abdication.—Carbry Liffechar.—The Battle of Gavra.—Finn MacCuail and the Fenian Militia.—The three Collas.—Fall of Emania.—Niall of the Nine Hostages, &c.

[*From the Birth of Christ to* A.D. 400.]

THERE is a difference of opinion as to what Irish king reigned at the birth of Christ; for while the Four Masters, O'Flaherty, and others assign that date to the reign of Creevan Nianair, the hundred and eleventh monarch of Ireland in O'Flaherty's list, other calculations push forward the reign of Conary the Great, the fourth preceding king, to the Christian era, and make Creevan a cotemporary of Agricola, the Roman governor of Britain. The latter king has been famous for his predatory excursions against the Britons, from one of which he brought home several "jewels," or precious objects, among the rest, "a golden chariot; a golden chess-board, inlaid with a hundred transparent gems; a cloak embroidered with gold; a conquering sword with many serpents of refined, massy gold inlaid thereon; a shield with bosses of bright silver; a spear from the wound inflicted by which no one recovered; a sling from which no erring shot was discharged, &c.;" and after depositing these

spoils in Dun Creevan,* at Bin Edar, he died, as the Four Masters have it, in the ninth year of Christ.

It is thought to have been about this time that a certain recreant Irish chief waited on Agricola, in Britain, and invited him to invade Ireland, stating that one Roman legion and a few auxiliaries would be sufficient to conquer and retain the island. Agricola saw the importance of occupying a country so favorably situated, and prepared an expedition for the purpose ; but the project was abandoned for some cause not known, probably owing to the formidable military character of the people of Ireland ; and although Britain remained a province of the Roman empire for centuries after, and the natural wealth of Hibernia was well known, foreign merchants being even more familiar with her ports than with those of Britain, still a Roman soldier never set hostile foot on her much-coveted shores. The Scots of Ireland, and their neighbours, the Picts, gave the Roman legions quite enough to do to defend Britain against them from behind the ramparts of Adrian and Antoninus.†

While the Milesians were exhausting their strength in internecine wars at home, or with incursions beyond the seas, a large portion of the population of Ireland, composed of various races, and with different sympathies, was engaged upon more peaceable pursuits. Those who boasted of a descent from the Scytho-Spanish hero would have considered themselves degraded were they to devote themselves to any less honorable profession than those of soldiers, ollavs, or physicians ; and hence the cultivation of the soil, and the exercise of the mechanic arts, were left almost exclusively to the Firbolgs and the Tuatha-de-Dananns; the former people in particular being still very numerous, and forming the great mass of the population in the west. These were ground down by high rents, and the exorbitant exactions of the dominant race, in order to support their unbounded hospitality, and defray the expenses of their costly assemblies ; but this oppression must have caused perpetual discontent, and the hard-working plebeians, as they were called, must have

* Dr. Petrie and Dr. O'Donovan think that the Dun Crimhthain, or Fort of Creevan, was situated on the jutting rock where the Bailey lighthouse now stands, at Howth.

† The passage of Tacitus in which the meditated Roman invasion of Ireland is mentioned is extremely interesting. Describing the proceedings of Agricola in the fifth year of his campaigns in Britain, he says:—"Eam partem Britanniæ quæ Hiberniam aspicit cæpiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem ; siquidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quæque mari opportuna, valentissimam imperii partem magnis invicem usibus miscuerit. Spatium ejus, si Britanniæ comparetur, augustius, nostri maris insulas superat. Solum, cælumque et ingenia, cultusque hominum, haud multum à Britannia differunt. Meliùs aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitiæ in occasionem retinebat. Sæpe ex eo audivi, legione una et mædicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse."—*Vita Julii Agric.*, c. 24.

easily perceived that their Gadelian masters were running headlong to destruction, and that it only required a bold effort to shake off their yoke. It would be curious to know how this feeling developed itself until it was finally acted upon, or whether the popular discontent had any connexion with the invitation to the Roman general just referred to. Of the singular and successful revolution which was the result we have no accounts but such as reach us from a hostile source, and are colored by undisguised prejudice. According to these statements, the Aitheach-Tuatha, or Attacotti, as they are called in Latin, that is, the plebeians and helots of the conquered races, with many also of the impoverished Milesians, conspired to seize the country for themselves.* For this purpose they invited all the kings and nobles, and other leading Milesians, to a grand feast at Magh Cro, the great plain near Knockma, in the county of Galway; and to provide for a banquet on such a scale, the plebeians spent three years in preparations, during which time they saved one-third of their earnings, and of the produce of the land. A great meeting and a feast seem to have had an irresistible attraction for the Milesians, who accordingly repaired to Magh Cro from every part of Erin, and there, after being feasted for nine days, they were set upon by the Attacotti, and massacred to a man. Only three chieftains, say the seanachies, escaped, and those were still unborn ; their mothers, who were the daughters of the kings of Alba, Britain, and Saxony, having been spared in the general butchery, and having found means to escape into Albion, where the three young princes were born and educated. It is plain, however, that many others also survived, as several Milesian families, not descended from these, are subsequently found in Ireland. The annals do not say how the conspiracy was hatched, and so effectively concealed during the many years required to bring it to maturity ; but after the massacre the Attacotti elected as their king, Carbry, one of their three leaders, who through contempt is called Carbry Cinncait, or the cat-headed, from having ears like those of a cat. Carbry reigned five years, during which time there was no rule or order, and the country was a prey to every misfortune. "Evil was the state of Ireland during his reign ; fruitless her corn, for there used to be but one grain on the stalk ; fruitless her rivers ; her cattle without milk ; her fruit without plenty, for there used to be but one acorn on the oak."† In fact

* Several races were mixed up in the population of Ireland at the time of the Aitheach-Tuatha. Some say that their king, Carbry Cinnceat, was a Scandinavian. The Tuatha-Eoluirg who lived at that time in Tyrone were a Scandinavian race

† Annals of the Four Masters.

the civil war was followed by one of its natural consequences, a famine.*

A.D. 14.—After the death of Carbry, his son, the wise and prudent Morann, refused the crown, and advised those who pressed it on him to bring back the rightful heirs. The young princes were accordingly invited home from their exile; Faradach Finnfeachtnach, or the Righteous, the son of Creevan, was elected king of Ireland; and Morann, the Just, administered the law during his reign, so that peace and happiness were once more restored to Erin. "The seasons were tranquil, and the earth once more brought forth its fruit." It was Morann who made the famous collar or chain which judges after him were compelled to wear on their necks, and which, according to the legends, contracted and threatened to choke them when they were about pronouncing an unjust judgment. This collar is mentioned in several commentaries on the Brehon laws among the ordeals of the ancient Irish, and was used to test the guilt or innocence of accused persons.

The Attacotti were now subjected to more grievous oppression than ever; and on the death of Faradach a fresh rebellion broke forth. This time the provincial kings were induced to join in the outbreak, which resulted (A.D. 56) in a desperate battle at Maghbolg, on the bounds of the present counties of Cavan and Meath, where the monarch, Fiacha Finfolay, was killed. Elim, king of Ulster, who had joined the plebeians, was chosen monarch, and had a troubled reign of twenty years, the people leading lawless lives, and the very elements, as in the former case, being at war with the usurper; but at the end of this interval Tuathal Teachtar, or the Legitimate, the son of Fiacha Finfolay, and born in exile, returned on the invitation of a sufficiently powerful party, and slew Elim in battle at Aichill, or the hill of Skreen, in Meath, and once more brought back prosperity and order to the land. (A.D. 76.)

A.D. 106.—Tuathal Teachtar reigned thirty years, during which time he carried on a war of extermination against the ill-fated plebeians, no fewer than 133 battles having been fought with them in the different provinces. He established himself more firmly on the throne by exacting from the people a similar oath to that of Ugony Mor, "by the sun, moon, and elements," that his posterity should not be deprived of the sovereignty.

* Flann of Monasterboice synchronises the reigns of Carbry Cinncait and his immediate successor with the Emperors Titus and Domitian. Fifty years before the insurrection of the Attacotti. Conaire Mor, monarch of Ireland, was killed by insurgents at Bruighean-da-Dhearg, on the Dothair, or Dodder, a name which Dr. O'Donovan believes to be preserved in that of Bohor-na-Breena, the road of the Bruighean or fort.

He cut off from each of the other four provinces a portion of territory, of which he formed the separate province of Meath, as the mensal lands of the chief king; he celebrated the Feis of Tara with great state, and held provincial conventions at Tlachta, Uisneach, and Tailltinn, in the Momonian, Connacian, and Ultonian portions of Meath, and he imposed on the province of Leinster the degrading Boruwa, or cow-tribute, which continued during the reigns of forty succeeding monarchs of Ireland, being inflicted as an eric, or fine, on the king of Leinster, for having taken Tuathal's two daughters as wives, on the pretence, when he asked the second one, that the former wife was dead, the death of both being the consequence.* Tuathal's great power, or the oath he exacted from his subjects, did not save him from the usual fate of the Irish kings, as he was killed in battle by his successor, Mal, who, in his turn, was slain by Tuathal's son, Felimy Rechtar, or the Law-maker. Felimy, who died A.D. 119, was the son of a Scandinavian princess, named Baine, the daughter of Scal, king of Finland, and this connection shows the intercourse that existed between the Scots of Ireland and the Northmen at this early period. The great rath of Magh Leavna, in the present county of Tyrone, was erected by this princess. Felimy, the Law-giver, substituted for the principle of retaliation the law of Eric, or fine.

A.D. 123-157.—The reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles forms one of the most remarkable epochs in the ancient history of Ireland. His surname sufficiently indicates the military character of his career, and his heroism and exploits are a favorite theme of the bards; but Conn found a formidable antagonist in the brave and adventurous Moh Nuad (Mogh Nuadhat), otherwise called Owen or Eugene the Great (Eoghan Mor), son of Mogh Neit, king of Munster, and the most distinguished hero of the race of Heber Finn. It would appear that tribes of the race of Ir,†

* The Boruwa, or Leinster cow-tribute, which was the cause of innumerable wars, was levied every second year. Its amount is differently stated, but according to Mageoghegan's Annals of Clonmacnoise, it consisted of the following items: "150 cows, 150 hogs; 150 coverlets, or pieces of cloth to cover beds withal; 150 caldrons, with two passing great caldrons, consisting in breadth and deepness five fists, for the king's own brewing; 150 couples of men and women in servitude, to draw water on their backs for the said brewing; together with 150 maids, with the king of Leinster's own daughter, in like bondage and servitude." The tribute was enforced for 500 years. According to Tigernach, Tuathal was killed in the last year of Antoninus Pius, that is, about A.D. 160, showing, as usual, an error of the Four Masters in antedating.

† Ir, who was brother of Heber and Heremon, was ancestor of the old kings of Ulster, whose descendants settled in various parts of Ireland, as the Magennises of Iveagh, O'Connors of Corcomroe and Kerry, O'Loughlins of Burren, O'Farrells of Longford, MacRannalls of Leitrim; the O'Mores and their correlatives, the seven septs of Leix, now the Queen's County; and all the Connaught septs called Conmaicne.—*Ir. O'Donovan.*

called Erneans, and of the line of Ith,* gradually encroached on the territory of Heber's posterity, the legitimate possessors of the southern province, until they were able to seize the regal power, which they continued for some time to hold alternately to the exclusion of the line of Heber. When Eugene was still in his youth he was compelled to fly from his own country, the sovereignty of which was claimed by three princes of the hostile races, all of whom he regarded as usurpers ; and having repaired to his fosterer, Daire Barrach, son of Cathaire Mor, king of Leinster, from whom he obtained such aid as enabled him to take the field in the assertion of his rights ; and in a short time he drove those of the Erneans as would not acknowledge his authority out of Munster, and struck up a temporary alliance with the chiefs of the race of Ith. The Erneans appealed to Conn, who embraced their cause, and thus a desperate war broke out between Eugene and the monarch of Ireland, in the course of which the latter was defeated in ten pitched battles, and was so hard pressed as to be compelled to divide Ireland equally with the victorious Eugene ; the line of division being, the chain of sand hills called the Esker Riada, one extremity of which is the eminence on the declivity of which Dublin Castle stands, while its western terminus is at the peninsula of Marey, at the head of Galway Bay. The country to the north of this line was called Leath Cuinn, or Conn's half ; and all to the south Leath Mogha, or Moh Nuad's half ; and although this division held in reality only for a very short time, some say for one year, it has ever since been preserved by Irish writers, who frequently employ these names for the northern and southern halves of Ireland.

Eugene's ambition increased with his success, and he hastened to pick another quarrel with Conn, complaining that the principal resort of shipping was on the northern side of Dublin bay, in Conn's half, and insisting on an equal division of the advantages of the port. This demand was indignantly rejected by Conn, and both parties again took the field. A vivid, but fabulous, account of the brief campaign which ensued is given in the Irish historical romance of the battle of Magh Leana.† Eugene

* Ith, the uncle of Milesius, was the ancestor of the O'Driscolls, and all their correlatives in the territory of Corca-Luighe (originally co-extensive with the diocese of Ross in Cork), the MacClancys of Dartry, in Leitrim, and other families.—*Ibid.*

† This curious tract, which affords much interesting information on the manners and customs of the ancient pagan Irish, although its own antiquity is not very great, has been translated by Eugene Curry, Esq., M.R.I.A., and with a valuable introduction from that learned Irish ollav, has been published by the Celtic Society. Magh Leana, where the battle was fought, is the present parish of Moylana, or Kilbride, containing the town of Tullamore in the King's County. Tigernach places the division of Ireland between Conn and Eoghan Mor under the date A.D. 166.

in his youth had been obliged to fly to Spain, where he obtained Bera, the king's daughter, in marriage, and he was now, as the story just mentioned relates, aided by an army of Spainards, commanded by his brother-in-law, the Spanish prince Frejus. The hostile armies were drawn up in view of each other on Magh Leana; but while an overweening confidence had made Eugene careless, a sense of inferiority in point of numbers rendered his foe double wary. An attack was made by the army of the north at the dawn of day, while the southerns were yet buried in sleep, and an utter defeat and slaughter followed; Eugene and his Spanish ally being killed while slumbering in their tents by Goll, the son of Morna, one of the Belgic champions of Connaught. Two small hillocks are shown to the present day which are said to cover the ashes of the brave and ill-fated Moha Nuád, and his Iberian friend.*

After a reign of thirty-five years, and in the hundredth year of his age (A.D. 151), while engaged in making preparations for the triennial convention or Feis of Tara, Conn of the Hundred Battles was murdered by Tibraid Tirach, king of Ulster, whose grandfather had been slain by Conn's father.† His successor and son-in-law, Conary II., is remarkable as the father of the three Carbrys, the progenitors of several important tribes. Thus, from Carbry Musc, six districts in Munster received the name of Muskery, one of these being the present baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in Tipperary; and another, the barony of Muskery in Cork; Carbry Bascain the second, gave his name to the territory of Corcabaiscinn, in the south-west of Clare; and thirdly, from Carbry Riada (Riogh-fhada, *i.e.*, of the long wrist), were descended the Dalriads of Antrim, and the famous tribe of the same name in Scotland.‡

* One of the acts which have rendered the memory of Moha Nuad famous in our annals was the saving of his kingdom of Munster from a famine by his foresight in providing corn during years of abundance.

† Conn of the Hundred Battles was the ancestor of the most powerful families of Ireland, as the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Melaghlins, Mageoghegans, Maguires, MacMahons, O'Kellys, O'Conors of Connaught, O'Dowdas, O'Malleys, O'Flahertys, &c.

Cathair Mor, king of Leinster, and Conn's immediate predecessor as monarch of Ireland, was the ancestor of the great Leinster families of MacMurrough Kavanagh, O'Conor Faly, O'Dempsey, O'Dunn, MacGorman O'Murroughou (Murphy), O'Toole, O'Byrne, &c. The Leinster family of MacGillapatrick, or Fitzpatrick, of Ossory, do not trace their descent to Cathair Mor, but they and all the families mentioned in this note are of the race of Heremon, through Ugony Mor.

‡ The territory called Dalriada comprised the northern portion of the present county of Antrim, and it is probable that the name Route, applied to a part of the district, is a corruption of the ancient word. The name of Dalriada is not to be confounded with that of Dalaradia, also called Ulidia, and comprising the southern portion of Antrim and the eastern part of the county of Down. Dalaradia, or Dalaraidh, takes its name from Fiacha Araid, a king of Ulster of the Irian race, and was peopled by tribes of the line of Ir, or Rudricians (Clanna Rory), as they are frequently called from Rury, a king of Ulster of that race; whereas Dalriada belonged to the race of Heremon. A Pictish colony from Scotland settled in Dalaradia about a century before the Christian era.

This Carbry Riada is mentioned under the name of Reuda, by Venerable Bede, as the leader of the Scots, who, coming from Hibernia into Alba or Scotland, obtained, either by alliance or by conquest, from the Picts, the territory which they continued in his time to hold; and as we shall hereafter see, it was about three centuries from this migration that a fresh colony from the Dalriada of Ireland, under Fergus, the son of Erc, invaded Scotland, and laid the foundation of the Scottish monarchy.*

In the reign of Oiliol Olum, who was at this time king of Munster, a war raged, in which this king's step-son, Lewy, surnamed Mac Con, was the aggressor. Mac Con was the head of the descendants of Ith,† and with him were leagued the powerful tribe of the Erneans of Munster, and Dadera, the Druid of the Ithian tribe of Dairinni; while on the other side were the King Oiliol, his numerous sons, and the three Carbrys, sons of Conary, monarch of Ireland. A battle was fought at Ceannfavrat,‡ in which several of the leaders on both sides were slain, and Mac Con having been worsted fled to Britain, whence he returned in a few years, with an army of foreigners, and again gave battle to his foes on the plain then called Magh Mucrive near Athenry, where he gained a decided victory, the then monarch of Ireland, Art the Melancholy, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, together with seven sons of Oiliol Olum, falling in the conflict.§ Thus Mac Con obtained for himself the crown of Ard-righ, or chief king of Ireland.

* The earliest mention of the name of Scots is by Porphyry, in the third century; and the first mention of the Picts is by Eumenius, about the close of the same century. The words of Porphyry are quoted by St. Jerome—(*Epist ad Ctesiphontem contra Pelagium.*) Both Scots and Picts are referred to as nations well known at that time; but then, and for many centuries after, the name of Scots was only given to the inhabitants of Ireland. Some modern writers insist that even in the time of St. Patrick the Scots were only a tribe or section of the inhabitants of Ireland, and that the people who composed the bulk of the population were those called by the Apostle "Hiberionaces." The territory first acquired by the Gaels, or Scots, from the Picts, is the present county of Argyle, the name of which is contracted, says O'Donovan, from Airer-Gaeidheal, that is, the region or district of the Gaeidhil.

† From this Mac Con are descended the O'Driscolls, and others not reckoned among the Milesian families, as they belong to the collateral line of Ith.

‡ It is probable that Ceann-abhrat, or Kenfebrat, was the mountain now called Seefin, one of the Slieve Riach or Castle Oliver group of mountains, on the borders of the counties of Cork and Limerick. It is frequently referred to in the most ancient Irish records, and its position is indicated in the Book of Lismore, fol. 207; and the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. iii., c. 48.

§ Oiliol Olum, king of Munster, was son of Mogh Nuadhat, or Eoghan Mor, and son-in-law of Conn of the Hundred Battles. Of his numerous progeny of children, three are particularly remarkable in Irish family history; first, Eoghan Mor, or Eugene the Great, who must not be confounded with his grandfather bearing the same title. He was the progenitor of the great old South Munster families called by the genealogists Eoghanachts or Eugenians, as the M'Carthys, O'Donohoes, O'Keefs, &c.; secondly, Cormac Cas, king of Munster, and progenitor of the Dal Cassians or Thomond families, as the O'Briens, M'Mahons, M'Namaras, &c.; and thirdly, Cian, the ancestor of the families comprised under the tribe name of Cianachta, as the O'Carrols of Ely O'Carrol, O'Meagher, O'Connor of Glengiven, &c.

At this period flourished Cual, or Cumhal, father of the hero, Finn Mac Cuail, and captain of the renowned Irish legion, called the Fianna Eirion, or Irish Militia, about which marvellous stories are related by the bards and seanachies. This famous corps is supposed to have been organised after the model of a Roman legion, and to have been intended as a bulwark against Roman or other invasion. There can be no doubt that it was admirably trained, and composed of the picked men of Erin, but for its discipline and loyalty much cannot be said; for after frequent acts of treason and insubordination, the monarch was finally obliged, as we shall presently see, to disband it, and to call in the aid of other troops to effect that object. To the treachery of the Fianna Eirinn Keating attributes the defeat and death of Art in the battle of Magh Mucrive.

A.D. 227.—Cormac Ulfadha, the son of Art and grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, having removed the usurper Mac Con, and also another usurper of lesser note, named Fergus, ascended the throne of Tara, and his reign is generally regarded as the brightest epoch in the entire history of pagan Ireland. He set in earnest about the task of reducing the several provinces to a due submission to the sovereign; beginning with the Ulidians, next proceeding to Connaught, and subsequently to Munster, with occasional incursions into all the provinces, gaining many victories, (although he had some reverses in the early part of his career,) and establishing his authority and laws everywhere at the point of the sword. In that rude age means so desperate may have been necessary to sustain any authority at all; but when Cormac established his sway he made it subserve the cause of civilization and order in a manner never attempted by any of his predecessors.

It is generally admitted that Christianity had even then penetrated into Ireland, and that its benign influence had reached this monarch's mind. Cormac, it is said, at the close of his life adored the true God, and attempted to put down druidism and idol worship. It is at all events certain that he endeavoured to promote education. He established three colleges, one for war, another for history, and the third for jurisprudence. He collected and remodelled the laws, and published the code which remained in force until the English invasion, and outside the English Pale for many centuries after. He assembled the bards and chroniclers at Tara, and directed them to collect the annals of Ireland, and to continue the records of the country from year to year, making them synchronize with the history of other countries—Cormac himself, it is said, having been the inventor of this kind of chronology. These annals formed what was called the Psalter of Tara, which also

contained a description of the boundaries of provinces, canthreds, and smaller divisions of land throughout Ireland; but unfortunately this great record has been lost, no vestige of it being now, it is believed, in existence.

The magnificence of Cormac's palace at Tara was commensurate with the greatness of his power and the brilliancy of his actions; and he fitted out a fleet, which he sent to harass the shores of Alba or Scotland, until that country also was compelled to acknowledge him as sovereign. In his old age he wrote a book or tract called *Teagusc-na-Ri*, or the Institutions of a Prince, which is still in existence, and which contains admirable maxims on manners, morals, and government. There are blemishes on his character in the early part of his life, such as the employment of assassins to free himself from his enemies, and some shameful breaches of his engagements; but he nevertheless stands forth as the most accomplished of the pagan monarchs of Ireland. As an instance of the barbarous manners against which he had to struggle, we read that (most probably during one of Cormac's expeditions to a distant locality) his own father-in-law, Dunlong, king of Leinster, made a descent upon Tara, and for some cause which is not mentioned, massacred all the inmates of a female college or boarding-school, consisting of thirty young ladies of noble rank, whom some writers suppose to have been druidesses, with their three hundred maids and attendants. Cormac avenged this atrocity by causing twelve dynasts or nobles of Leinster who had been engaged in the massacre to be executed, and by exacting Tuathal's Boarian tribute, with an additional mulct, from the province.

Cormac, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, having had his eye thrust out with a spear by Aengus, son of Fiacha Suihe, brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles, abdicated, in compliance with a law which required that the king should have no personal blemish, and retired to a philosophical retreat, but not until he had inflicted chastisement on the tribe whose head had thus maimed him.* He died (A.D. 266) at Cleiteach (near Stackallan Bridge, on the south bank of the Boyne), the bone of a salmon having choked him, through the contrivances of the

* It was on this occasion that Cormac expelled the tribe of the Deisi, the descendants of Fiacha Suihe, brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles, from the territory which they held near Tara, now the barony of Deece, in the county of Meath; and it was only after a lapse of some years that these people, afterwards so frequently mentioned in Irish history, settled down in that territory of Munster, part of which has since borne their name, viz., the present baronies of Decies in the county of Waterford. The principal families of this tribe are the O'Brics, O'Phelans, O'Mearas, and O'Keans of Hy-Folay, &c.

Druids, as it was thought, for his having abandoned their superstitions for the adoration of the true God.

A.D. 268.—Carbry, son of Cormac Mac Art, and surnamed Liffechar, from having been fostered on the banks of the Liffey, was engaged during his reign in a desperate war with Munster "in defence of the rights of Leinster," and it was this quarrel which led to the battle of Gavra Aichill, celebrated in Irish bardic story.

Finn Mac Cuail, and his Clanna Baiscne, or legion of Finian Militia, were, as we have said, but unsteady supporters of the sovereign; and that illustrious warrior having been assassinated by a fisherman on the banks of the Boyne, whither he had retired in his old age, the king took the opportunity to disband the Finian Militia, while the latter, instead of submitting to the monarch's commands, repaired to his enemy, Mocorb, son of Cormac Cas, king of Munster, and made an offer of their services, which was readily accepted. Carbry, upon this, applied for succour to Aedh, the last of the Damnonian kings of Connaught, who sent a battalion of his heroic militia, the Clanna Morna, the deadly enemies both of the Clanna Baiscne and of the Munster princes. Such were the rival military tribes who fought to mutual extermination in the bloody battle of Gavra (A.D. 284). Oisin, the warrior-poet, son of Finn Mac Cuail, celebrated the deeds performed on the occasion in verses which tradition has preserved for more than fifteen hundred years. Oscar, the son of Oisin, met Carbry in the fight, and fell in the terrific single combat which ensued between them; but Carbry did not fare better; for, while exhausted with fatigue and covered with wounds, he was met by his own kinsman, Semeon, one of the tribe of Foharta which had been expelled into Leinster, and fell an easy prey to his vengeance.* Thus ended the wild heroism of Finn, the son of Cual, and of his companions in arms, whose exploits were long the favorite theme of the Irish bards, by whom they were embellished with such fables and exaggerations as have removed them almost wholly into the region of mythology and romance.†

* The tribe of the Foharta were the descendants of Eochy Finnfothart, uncle of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and who had been expelled by Art from Meath. They obtained lands in Leinster, and gave their name to the territories forming the baronies of Forth in Wexford and Carlow.

† The reader will at once be reminded by the names in the text of Macpherson's famous literary forgeries, the object of which was to rob Ireland of her Ossianic heroes and transfer them to the soil of Scotland. The cheat, however, was exploded a great many years ago. It is well known that Macpherson merely collected some of the traditional poems, which had been preserved by the Gaelic peasantry of the Scottish Highlands as well as in Ireland; and that partly by translation and partly by imitation of these remains, and without any attention to chronological order or correctness, but with innumerable perversions of sense, he composed those pretended translations of the poems of Ossian, which, for some time, enjoyed such wonderful celebrity, and which might

A.D. 322.—Fiacha Sravtinne, son of Carbry Liffecher, after reigning thirty-seven years, was slain by the three Collas, the sons of his brother, Eochy Doivlen ; but when the eldest brother, Colla Uais, had occupied the throne four years, he was deposed and expelled, together with his brothers and a few followers, into Scotland, by Muireach Tirach, king Fiacha's son, who subsequently reigned as Ardrigh thirty years. In a short time the three Collas returned, and were reconciled to their cousin, king Muireach Tirach, who supplied them with means to gratify their restless ambition; whereupon they entered Ulster with an army composed partly of auxiliaries from Connaught, and defeating the Ulster king in battle, in the present barony of Farney, in Monaghan, sacked and burned his palace of Emania—the Emania of Queen Macha, and of the Red-branch knights—and seizing a large territory for themselves, circumscribed the kingdom of Ulster within much narrower limits than before. This event took place in the year 331 ; and the territory thus seized by the three Collas, and from which they expelled the old possessors, that is, the Clanna Rory, or descendants of Ir, was called Orgialla, or Oriel, and comprised the present counties of Louth, Monaghan, and Armagh.*

A.D. 378.—Under this date we read of one of those domestic tragedies which savour of a somewhat more advanced age of civilization and intrigue. Eochy Muivone, the son of Muireach Tirach, had two queens, one of whom, Mongfinn, or the Fairhaired, of the race of Heber, had four sons, the eldest of whom, Brian, the ancestor of the O'Connors of Connaught, was her favorite, and, in order to hasten his elevation to the throne, she poisoned her brother Creevan, who had succeeded Eochy ; but, as the annalists observe, her crime did not avail her, for Creevan was succeeded, not by her son Brian, but by Niall of the Nine Hostages, the son of her husband Eochy by his former wife ; and none of her descendants attained the sovereignty, except Turlough More O'Connor,

always interest the world as curious and beautiful productions if they had not been utterly spoiled by the taint of forgery and falsehood. Finn Mac Cuail was married successively to two daughters of the monarch Carmac Mac Art ; Ailve, the second, having been given to him after Graine, the former, had eloped with his lieutenant, Diarmod O'Duivne. Gavra Aichill, where the battle was fought, is believed by Dr. O'Donovan (Ann. Four Mast. vol. i., p. 120, n. b.), to have been contiguous to the hill of Skreen, near Tara, in Meath. The name is preserved in that of Gowra, a stream in the parish of Skreen, which receives a tribute from the well of Neamhnach, on Tara Hill, and flows into the Boyne at Ardsallagh. The publications of the Ossianic Society have lately made the world familiar with many of the poems and legends about Finn Mac Cuail and his times.

* Colla Uais, the oldest of the brothers, was the ancestor of the MacDonnells, Mac Allisters, and MacDugalds of Scotland ; Colla Mean, of the ancient inhabitants of the present district of Cremorne, in Monaghan ; and Colla Dachrich, the youngest, of the MacMahons of Monaghan, the Maguires of Fermanagh, the O'Hanlons and MacCanns of Armagh, &c.

and his son Roderick, the unhappy king who witnessed the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. The wretched Mongfinn tasted of the poisoned cup herself, to remove her brother's suspicions, and thus sacrificed her own life as well as his.*

A.D. 379—Niall, surnamed Naoi Ghiallach, or of the Nine Hostages, the ancestor of the illustrious tribe of Hy-Niall, or O'Neill, was one of the most famous of the pagan monarchs of Ireland, but his energies appear to have been wholly devoted to his hostile expeditions against Albion or Britain, and Gaul. In the history of those countries we find evidence enough of the fearful ravages inflicted in these expeditions. The Scots (or Irish) were as formidable at that time as the Northmen were in a subsequent age. Their incursions were the scourge of all western Europe. According as Rome, in her decay, became unable to protect her outlying provinces, these terrible Scots, with their Pictish allies, plundered and laid waste the rich countries thus abandoned by the Roman eagle. The Britons were unable to make any stand against them. The Roman walls, when the Roman garrisons were removed, ceased to be any barrier; and while the Dalriadic and Pictish armies poured into Britain through the wide breaches made in the walls of Antoninus and Severus, the seas from north to south swarmed with the fleets of the Irish invaders. For a while Britain was wholly subdued, and we know from the Britons' own account, in their sad petition to Rome for aid, to what a miserable plight they were reduced, flying for shelter to woods and morasses, and fearing even to seek for food, lest their hiding-places should be discovered by the ruthless foe. It was to resist these Irish invaders that Britain was obliged to become an Anglo-Saxon nation. Yet, of the transactions of that eventful period our Celtic annals contain only the most meagre record. We know from other sources that Christian missionaries had at that time already penetrated into Ireland, but our annals pass over their presence in silence; and it is to the verses of the Latin poet Claudian that we must refer for the fact that troops were sent by Stilicho, the general of Theodosius the Great, to repel the Scottish hosts, led by the brave and adventurous Niall.†

* Creevan died in the Sliev Oighidh-an-righ, or "mountain of the king's death," now the Cratloe mountains in the county of Clare, near Limerick.

† At the time of the Scottish incursions into the Roman provinces, an important part was played by the people called Attacotti, a word which is believed to be a corruption of their Irish name of Aitheach-Tuatha. Some tribes of this great Firbolg race, in the course of the frequent wars waged against them in Ireland, settled in Scotland, not far from the Roman wall, and became active participators in the depredations of the Scots and Picts. Numerous bodies of them, who are supposed

During the three successive reigns of Creevan, Niall of the Nine Hostages, and Dathy, our annals record no remarkable domestic wars; but of the first of these three kings we are told that in his short reign he brought over numerous prisoners and hostages from Scotland, Britain, and Gaul; of the second, it is recorded that he was slain by Eochy, the son of Enna Kinsellagh, "at Muir-n-Icht, the sea between France and England," supposed to be so called from the Portus Iccius of Cæsar, near the modern Boulogne; while Keating says that it was on the banks of the Loire he was treacherously killed by the above-named domestic enemy, who had found his way thither in the ranks of Niall's Dalriadic allies from Scotland.* Finally, of Dathy it is related that he was killed by lightning, at Sliev Ealpa, or the Alps, and that his body was carried home by his soldiers, and interred at Rathcroghan, in Connaught, under a red pillar stone. How this Irish king, in the year of our Lord 428 penetrated to the foot of the Alps with his armed bands, traversing Europe, as Rollo did long after him, history does not particularly tell us, but it records enough about the devastating inroads of the Scots to satisfy us of its possibility.†

Dathy, although not the last pagan king, was the last king of pagan Ireland, and after him we read no more in the Irish annals of plundering expeditions into foreign countries. It was probably in the last descent

to have deserted from their allies, were incorporated in the Roman legions, and figured in the Roman wars on the continent at that period.

One of the passages of Claudian, referred to above, is that in which the poet says:—

"Totam cum Scotus Iernem
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

That is, as translated in Gibson's Camden:

"When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,
And the ocean trembled, struck with hostile oars."

* This great monarch (Niall) had fourteen sons, of whom eight left issue, who are set down in the following order by O'Flaherty (Ogygia, iii. 85):—1. Leaghaire, from whom are descended the O'Coindhealbhains, or Kendellans, of Ui Laeghaire; 2. Conall Crimhthainne, ancestor of the O'Melaghlins; 3. Fiacha, *à quo*, the Mageoghegans and O'Molloys; 4. Maine, *à quo*, O'Caharny, now Fox, O'Breen, and Magawly, and their correlatives in Teffia. All these remained in Meath. The other four settled in Ulster, where they acquired extensive territories, viz., 1. Eoghan, the ancestor of O'Neill, and various correlative families; 2. Conell Gulban, the ancestor of O'Donnell, &c.; 3. Cairbre, whose posterity settled in the barony of Carbery, in the now county of Sligo, and in the barony of Granard, in the county of Longford; 4. Enda Finn, whose race settled in Tir Enda, in Tirconnell, and in Kenel-Enda, near the hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath.— *O'Donovan.*

* The Abbè M'Geoghegan mentions a curious corroboration of this event. He says (page 94, Duffy's ed.):—"The relation of this expedition of Dathy agrees with the Piedmontese tradition, and a very ancient registry in the archives of the house of Sales, in which it is said that the king of Ireland remained some time in the Castle of Sales. I received this account from Daniel O'Mulryan, a captain in the regiment of Mountcashel, who assured me that he was told it by the Marquis de Sales, at the table of Lord Mountcashel, who had taken him prisoner at the battle of Marseilles."

of his predecessor, Niall of the Nine Hostages, upon Armoric Gaul, that the youth, Patrick, son of Calphurn, was, together with his sisters Darerca and Lupita, first carried, among other captives, to Ireland. Holy prize! thrice happy expedition! Irishmen may well exclaim; for although the conversion of their country to Christianity, in common with the rest of Europe, was an event that could not have been delayed much beyond the time at which it took place, whoever had been its apostle, it is impossible for any one who has considered, with Catholic feelings, the history of religion in Ireland, not to be impressed with the conviction that this country has been indebted in a special manner, under God, to blessed Patrick, not only for the mode in which she was converted, but for the glorious harvest of sanctity which her soil was made to produce, and for the influence of his intercession in heaven from that day to the present



CHAPTER VI.

Civilization of the Pagan Irish.—Their Knowledge of Letters.—The Ogham Craev.—Their Religion.—The Brehon Laws.—Tanistry.—Gavel-kind.—Tenure of Land.—Rights of Clanship.—Reciprocal Privileges of the Irish Kings.—The Law of Eric.—Hereditary Offices.—Fosterage.

WE have thus succinctly, but carefully, analysed the entire pagan history of Ireland; and before we proceed farther it is right to consider some interesting questions which must have suggested themselves to the reader, as we went along. As, for instance, what kind of civilization did the pagan Irish enjoy? what knowledge of arts and literature did they possess? what was the nature of their religion? what is known of their laws and customs? what monuments have they left to us?

That the first migrations brought with them into this island at least the germs of social knowledge appears to be indisputable; and although these were not developed into a civilization of arts and literature, like that of Rome or Greece, still, the social state which they did produce was far removed from barbarism, in the sense in which that term is usually understood. We have ample reason to believe, not merely that Ireland in her days of paganism had reached a point relatively advanced in the social scale, but that Christianity found her in a state of intellectual and moral preparation superior to that of most other countries. How otherwise indeed should we account for the sudden lustre of learning and sanctity, by which it is confessed she became distinguished, almost as soon as she received the Gospel, and which surely could not have been so rapidly produced among a people so barbarous as some writers would have us believe the Irish to have been before their conversion to Christianity?

While Ireland, isolated and independent, had her own indigenous institutions, and her own patriarchal system of society, Britain and Gaul lay in subjection at the feet of Rome, of whose arts and matured organization they thus imbibed a knowledge. It is true, that what Celtic Britain thus learned she subsequently lost in the invasions of Saxons and Scandinavians, and that it was Roman missionaries and a Norman conquest that again restored to her the arts of civilization; but this civilization it was, derived from Rome in the days of her decline, and modified by the barbaric elements on which it was engrafted, that created the centralised power, and sent out the mailed warriors, of the feudal ages, and that gave to Anglo-Norman England the advantages which she enjoyed, in point of arms and discipline, in her contest with a country which had derived none of her military art, or of her political organization from Rome. This connexion with Imperial Rome, on the one side, and its absence on the other, were quite sufficient to determine the destinies of the two countries. But the state of a people secluded from the rest of the world, whose curious and interesting history we have been tracing for a thousand years or more before the history of Britain commences, and whose copious and expressive language, and domestic and military arts, and costume, and laws, were not borrowed from any exotic source, is not to be held in contempt, although unlike what had been built up elsewhere on the substructure of Roman civilization. Hence, if it be idle to speculate on what Ireland, with her physical and moral advantages, might have risen to ere this in the career of mankind, had her fate never been linked with that of England, it is, on the other hand, unjust to argue as English writers do, as to her fortunes and her progress, from the defects of her primitive and unmatured institutions, or from the prostrate state of desolation to which centuries of warfare in her struggle with England and her own intestine broils had reduced her. But here we are anticipating.

St. Patrick, according to the old biographers, gave "alphabets" to some of those whom he converted, and this statement, coupled with the facts that we have no existing Irish manuscript older than his time—nor indeed any so old—and that our ordinary Irish characters, although unlike Roman printed letters, are only those of Latin MSS. of the fifth and sixth centuries, have led some Irish scholars to concede too easily the disputed point, that the pagan Irish were unacquainted with alphabetic writing.* The Ogham Craov, or secret virgular writing, formed by

* See the remarks on this subject in Dr. O'Donovan's elaborate Introduction to his Irish Grammar; in which, by quoting the opinions of Father Innes and Dr. O'Brien, without expressing

notches or marks along the arras edges of stones, or pieces of timber, or on either side of any stem line on a plane surface, was only applicable to brief inscriptions, such as a name on the head-stone of a grave; and the pagan antiquity of even this rude style of alphabet has been disputed by some;* but innumerable passages in our most ancient annals and historic poems show that not only the Ogham, which was considered to be an occult mode of writing, but a style of alphabetic characters suited for the preservation of public records, and for general literary purposes, was known in Ireland many centuries before the introduction of Christianity. This fact is so blended with the old historic traditions of the country, that it is hard to see how the one can be given up without abandoning the other also. There are indisputable authorities to prove that the Latin mode of writing was known in Ireland some time before St. Patrick's arrival, as there were unquestionably Christians in the country before that time, and as Celestius, the Irish disciple of the heresiarch Pelagius, is stated to have written epistles to his family in Ireland, at least thirty years before the preaching of St. Patrick; but we go farther, for we hold, on the authority of Cuan O'Lochain, who held a distinguished position in this country in the beginning of the eleventh century, that the Psalter of Tara did exist, and was compiled by Cormac Mac Art in the third century, and consequently that the pagan Irish possessed a knowledge of alphabetic writing at least in that age.†

One of the questions with reference to the pagan inhabitants of Ireland, on which it is most difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, is the nature of their religion The Tuatha de Dananns are said to have had divinities who presided over different arts and professions We have seen that Tiernmas a Milesian king (A.M 3580), was the first who publicly practised the worship of Crom Cruach It is quite probable that he was the first who set up rude idols for adoration in Ireland, but Crom Cruach is referred to as a divinity which the Milesians had always worshipped.‡ That a superstitious veneration was paid to the sun, wind,

dissent, he seems to grant that the Irish had no writing before St. Patrick's time. He also quotes, without comment, Charles O'Conor of Belanagar, who, in his introductory disquisition to the Ogygia Vindicated, abandons the whole story of the Milesian colony, &c., but holds that the pagan Irish had the Ogham, or virgular writing.

* The Ogham inscriptions found in the cave of Dunloe, in Kerry, decidedly of a date anterior to Christianity, ought to be conclusive on this point.

† The passage from Cuan O'Lochain's poem referring to the *Psalter of Tara* will be found in Petrie's *History of Tara Hill.*

‡ The *cloch-oir*, or golden stone, from which Clogher in Tyrone is said to take its name, would appear to have been another of the ancient Irish idols. Cathal Maguire, compiler of the "*Annals of Ulster*" (A.D. 1490), is quoted in the "*Ogygia*," part iii. c. 22, as stating that a stone covered

and elements, is obvious from the solemn forms of oath which some of the Irish kings took and administered ; and that fires were lighted, on certain occasions, for religious purposes, is also certain ; but beyond these and a few other facts, we have nothing on Irish authority to define the religious system of our pagan ancestors. They had topical divinities who presided over hills, rivers, and particular localities, but there is no mention of any general deity recognized by the whole people, unless the obscure, and not very old references to a god Beall, or Bel, be understood in that sense; nor is there any trace of a propitiatory sacrifice used by them. Their druids combined the offices of philosophers, judges, and magicians, but do not appear to have been sacrificing priests, so far as the mention of them to be found in purely Irish authorities would lead us to conjecture.* The writings transmitted to us by the ancient Irish were not composed for the use of strangers, and hence the scantiness of their information on subjects which must have been well known to those for whom they were written. The religion and customs of the Celts of Gaul were minutely described by Cæsar; but whether his description of the druidical religion of that country was applicable to the Irish druids and their form of worship, we have no certain authority to enable us to judge. On this subject a great deal is left to conjecture, and the result is that we have had the wildest theories propounded, with the most positive assertions about fire worship, pillar temples, budhism, druids' altars, human sacrifices, and sundry strange mysteries, as if these things had been accurately set forth in some authentic description of ancient Ireland; whereas the fact is that not one word about them can be discovered in any of the numerous Irish manuscripts that have been so fully elucidated up to the present day.

The laws of the ancient Irish formed a vast body of jurisprudence, of which only recent researches have enabled the world to appreciate the merits. Several collections and revisions of these laws were made by successive kings, from the decisions of eminent judges, and these are what are now known as the Brehon laws.†

with gold was preserved at Clogher, at the right side of the church entrance, and that in that stone *Kermand Kelstach*, the principal idol of the northern parts, was worshipped.

* From *drai*, or *draoidh*, a druid, comes the word *draoidheacht* (pronounced *dreeacht*), the ordinary Irish term for magic or sorcery. O'Reilly says (*Irish Writers*, p. lxxix.) that druidism cannot be proved to have been the religion of the pagan Irish, from the use of the word *drai*, which means only a sage, a magician, or a sorcerer; and he shows that Morogh O'Cairthe, a Connaught writer, who died A.D. 1067, is called by Tigernach "Ard draei agus ard Ollamh," "chief druid and ollav." The word may come from the Greek Δρυς, or the Irish *dair*, an oak.

† The labours of the Brehon Law Commission are still in progress as this History is going to

One of the most peculiar of the ancient native laws of Ireland was that of succession, called tanaisteacht, or tanistry. This law was a compound of the hereditary and the elective principles, and is thus briefly explained by Professor Curry*:—"There was no invariable rule of succession in the Milesian times, but according to the general tenor of our ancient accounts the eldest son succeeded the father to the exclusion of all collateral claimants, unless it happened that he was disqualified by some personal deformity, or blemish, or by natural imbecility, or crime; or unless (as happened in after ages), by parental testament, or mutual compact, the succession was made alternate in two or more families The eldest son, being thus recognised as the presumptive heir and successor to the dignity, was denominated tanaiste, that is, minor or second, while all the other sons, or persons that were eligible in case of his failure, were simply called righdhamhna, that is, king-material, or king-makings. This was the origin of tanaiste, a successor, and tanaisteacht, successorship. The tanaiste had a separate maintenance and establishment, as well as distinct privileges and liabilities. He was inferior to the king or chief, but above all the other dignitaries of the state. From all this it will be seen that tanistry, in the Anglo-Norman sense, was not an original, essential element of the law of succession, but a condition that might be adopted or abandoned at any time by the parties concerned; and it does not appear that it was at any time universal in Erinn, although it prevailed in many parts of it. It is to be noticed also, that alternate tanaisteacht did not involve any disturbance of property, or of the people, but only affected the position of the person himself, whether king, chief, or professor of any of the liberal arts, as the case might be; and that it was often set aside by force."

The primitive intention was that the inheritance should descend "to the oldest and most worthy man of the same name and blood," but practically this was giving it to the strongest, and family feuds and intestine wars were the inevitable consequence.

As tanistry regulated the transmission of titles, offices, and authority, so the custom of gavel-kind (or gavail-kinne), another of the ancient institutions of Ireland, but which was also common to the Britons,

press, and their result will throw, no doubt, a great deal of light upon the ancient customs and manners of Ireland. To the enlightened views and persevering exertions of the Rev. Dr. Graves, F.T.C.D., so ably sustained by the Rev. Dr. Todd, the country is indebted for obtaining this commission from the government; and to the great Irish learning of Dr. O'Donovan and Professor Eugene Curry, for carrying out its object successfully.

* Introduction to the battle of Magh Leana, printed for the Celtic Society, Dublin, 1855.

Anglo-Saxons, Franks, and other primitive people, adjusted the partition and inheritance of landed property. By gavel-kind the property was divided equally between all the sons, whether legitimate or otherwise, to the exclusion of the daughters; but in addition to his own equal share, which the eldest son obtained in common with his brothers, he received the dwelling-house and other buildings, which would have been retained by the father or kenfinè, if the division were made, as it frequently was, in his own life-time. This extra share was given to the eldest brother as head of the family, and in consideration of certain liabilities which he incurred for the security of the family in general. If there were no sons, the property was divided equally among the next male heirs of the deceased, whether uncles, brothers, nephews, or cousins; but the female line, as in the Salic law, was excluded from the inheritance. Sometimes a repartition of the lands of a whole tribe, or family of several branches, became necessary, owing to the extinction of some of the branches; but it does not appear that any such confusion or injustice resulted from the law, as is represented by Sir John Davies and by other English lawyers who have adopted his account of it.*

The tenure of land in Ireland was essentially a tribe or family right. In contradistinction to the Teutonic, or feudal system, which vested the land in a single person, who was lord of the soil, all the members of a tribe or family in Ireland had an equal right to their proportionate share of the land occupied by the whole. The equality of title and blood thus enjoyed by all must have created a sense of individual self-respect and mutual dependence, that could not have existed under the Germanic and Anglo-Norman system of vassalage. The tenures of whole tribes were of course frequently disturbed by war; and whenever a tribe was driven or emigrated into a district where it had no hereditary claim, if it obtained land it was on the payment of a rent to the king of the district; these rents being in some instances so heavy as to compel the strangers to seek for a home elsewhere.† It is within the memory of the present generation how the population of a large territory in the Highlands of Scotland continued to hold by the ancient Irish clannish tenure, and

* See Dissertation on the Laws of the Ancient Iris written by Dr. O'Brien, author of the Dictionary, but published anonymously by Vallencey the third number of the *Collectanea de Reb. Hib.* In correction of what is stated above, we may mention, on the authority of Mr. Curry, that in default of any male issue daughters were allowed a life-interest in property. The term Kenfinè, or Cean-fine, used above, was only applied to the heads of minor families, and never to any kind of chieftains.—See *Four Mast.*, vol. iv., p. 1147, note f.

† *Vide supra*, page 28, note.

were dispossessed and swept from the land, on the ground that the English system gave the owner the right to remove them.

The dignity of Ardrigh, or monarch of Ireland, was one rather of title and position than of actual power; and was always supported by alliances with some of the provincial kings to secure the respect of the others. It was thus that the chief king was enabled to assert his will outside his own mensal province or kingdom of Meath; but, in process of time, the kings of other provinces as well as Meath became the monarchs. There was a reciprocity of obligations between the several kings and their subordinate chieftains; the superiors granting certain subsidies or stipends to the inferiors, while the latter paid tributes to support the magnificence or the military power of the former.* It sometimes happened that the succession to the sovereignty was alternate between two families, as that of Munster was between the Dalcassians and the Eugenians, both the posterity of Oiliol Olum; but this kind of succession almost always led to war.

None of the ancient Irish laws has been so much decried by English writers as that of eric, or mulct, by which crimes, including that of murder, were punished by fines; these writers forgetting that a similar law existed among their own British and Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Punishment of murder by fine also prevailed under the Salic law; so that if the principle be abhorrent to our ideas at the present day, we know, at least, that it existed in other countries at the same remote period in which it was acted upon in Ireland.† It is not generally known that in cases of murder the eric might be refused by the friends of the deceased, and punishment by death insisted on; yet such was the case. The law of eric was, therefore, conditional.

All offices and professions, such as those of druid, brehon, bard, physician, &c., were hereditary; yet not absolutely so, as others might also be introduced into these professions. Among the remarkable customs of the ancient Irish those concerning fosterage prevailed, up to a comparatively recent period, and the English government frequently

* These mutual privileges and restrictions, tributes and stipends, whether consisting of bondmen or bondmaids, cattle, silver shields, weapons, embroidered cloaks, refections on visitations, drinking horns, corn, or contributions in any other shape, will be found set down in the Leabhar na g-Ceart, or Book of Rights, edited for the Celtic Society by Dr. O'Donovan. Although a compilation of Christian times, being attributed to St. Benignus, the disciple and successor of St. Patrick, it describes the customs of the kings of Ireland as they existed in the ages of paganism.

† See the laws of Athlestan; Howell Dda's *Leges Wallicæ*; the Salic law, and other authorities quoted in Dr. O'Brien's Dissertation, already referred to, pp. 394, &c. The law of Eric was abrogated before the English invasion, in the senate held by the Irish clergy, and Mortough More O'Brien, king of Munster and monarch of Ireland, A D. 1111.

made stringent laws against them, to prevent the intimate friendships which sprung up between the Anglo-Irish families and their "mere" Irish fosterers.* It was usual for families of high rank among the ancient Irish to undertake the nursing and education of the children of their chiefs, one royal family sometimes fostering the children of another; and the bonds which united the fosterers and the fostered were held to be as sacred as those of blood.†

* Fosterage and gossipred, as well as intermarriages, with the native Irish, was declared to be treason by the Statute of Kilkenny, 40th Ed. III., A.D. 1367.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, who rarely says a kind word of the Irish, observes, with an ill-natured reservation, "That if any love or faith is to be found among them, you must look for it among the fosterers and their foster-children." (*Top. Hib. Dist.* 3, ch. 23). Stanihurst says, the Irish loved and confided in their foster-brothers more than their brothers by blood: "Singula illis credunt; in eorum spe requiescunt; omnium conciliorum sunt maximè conscii. Collactanei etiam eos fidelissimè et amantissimè observant." *De Reb. Hib.*, p. 49. See also Harris's Ware, vol. ii., p. 72.



CHAPTER VII.

Social and Intellectual State of the Pagan Irish, continued.—Weapons and Implements of Flint and Stone.—Celts.—Working in Metal.—Bronze Swords, &c.—Pursuits of the Primitive Races.—Agriculture.—Houses.—Raths.—Cahirs.—Cranogues.—Canoes and Curachs.—Sepulchres.—Cromlechs.—Games and Amusements.—Music.—Ornaments, &c.—Celebrated Pagan Legislators and Poets.—The Bearla Feinè, &c.

IN some compartments of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy the visitor will see beautifully-shaped swords, spear-heads, and javelins of bronze; and in others he will find a great variety of weapons and tools composed of flint and stone, from the rudely-formed stone celt and hammer, and the small chip of flint that served for an arrow-head, to the finally-fashioned barbed spear-head of the latter material, and the highly polished and well-shaped celt of hard stone. Both classes of objects belong to the pre-Christian ages of Irish history; and the questions arise—what time elapsed between the use of the one and of the other? or what races employed each? or were both kinds of materials in use among the inhabitants of Ireland simultaneously, and from their first arrival in the island? The ancient annalists assure us that at least the Tuatha de Danann colony were acquainted with the use of metal when they first came to Ireland; and this account is now so generally received, that wherever bronze weapons are found in sepulchral mounds with human remains, the latter are looked upon as those of the Tuatha de Danann race. Making every allowance, however, for the amplifications of the bards, and for the gradual progress which the arts must have made among all primitive races, we may take it for granted that the early inhabitants of Ireland employed such materials as flint flakes and stone in the construction of their weapons and instruments for cutting; and stone, timber, and sun-baked earthen-

ware, for domestic uses; first, perhaps, exclusively, and to a greater or less extent for a long time after the use of metals became familiar; as the latter material must have been scarce for many ages, while the former were always at hand, and required comparatively little skill in their adaptation.

That the Irish became expert workers in metal at a very early period there can be no doubt, several specimens of their skill, besides bronze weapons, being preserved in the great national collection of antiquities just referred to. The occupation of smith, which included that of armourer, ranked next to the learned professions among them; and at Airgatros or the Silverwood* forges and smelting works for the precious metals were established, where silver shields, which an Irish king presented to his chieftains or nobles, long before the Christian era, were made; and where, no doubt, some of those costly gold torques, and other ornaments of the same metal that enrich our museum, and that were worn by the pagan Irish princes and judges, were so skilfully manufactured.†

The early inhabitants of Ireland were, like most primitive races, more devoted at first to nomadic than to agricultural pursuits; but while they contented themselves in the latter, for a long time, with the cultivation of only so much grain as served for their immediate wants, in the former they were restrained within certain bounds, as each tribe and family had only an allotted portion of land over which they could allow their flocks and herds to range. In process of time the population became so multiplied, and the resources of agriculture so important, that almost every available spot would appear to have been cultivated; and we now see traces of the husbandman's labour on the tops of hills, and in other places in Ireland that have ceased to be under cultivation beyond the range of the oldest tradition. Between the periods when

* Now Rathveagh, on the River Nore, in Kilkenny.

† The quantity of gold ornaments that have been discovered in Ireland is almost incredible. In digging for a railway cutting in Clare, in the year 1855, a hoard of these ancient treasures was found, worth, it is said, about £2,000 as bullion. They are frequently found in almost every part of Ireland, and besides the number accumulated in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, many are also to be seen in the windows of goldsmiths' shops, and unknown quantities of them have found their way into the crucible. "We know enough," observed the Rev. Dr. Todd, in his inaugural address as President of the Royal Irish Academy, in 1856, "to be assured that the use of gold rings, and torques, and circlets, must have been a characteristic of some of the aboriginal settlers in Ireland. Where did this gold come from? There is no evidence of any trade at so early a period between the natives of Ireland and any gold-producing clime. Geology assures us that there are no auriferous streams or veins in Ireland capable of supplying so very large a mass of gold. It follows, then, that some tribe or colony who migrated into this country must have carried these ornaments on their persons."

those mountain tracts, now covered with heath or moss, were made to produce the annual grain crop, and those far remoter ages when the first colony began to clear some of the impenetrable forests covering the surface of the then nameless Island of Erin, there must have been a vast interval and many phases of society—pastoral Firbolg, mechanical Tuatha de Danann, and warlike Scot or Gael, occupied the stage—yet to all of these our old annals, with the ancient historical poems which serve to illustrate them, seem to be tolerably faithful guides, showing us the hosts of rude warriors going to battle with slings, and with stone disks for casting, as well as the serried array of glittering spears, and the gold and silver breast-plates, and embroidered and many-colored cloaks of the later, yet still pagan, times.*

The houses of the ancient Irish were constructed for the most part of wood, or of hurdles and wickerwork plastered with tempered clay, and thatched with rushes. This use of timber for building was so general that even the churches for a long time after the introduction of Christianity were usually constructed of planed boards, which was described by Venerable Bede, in the eighth century, as a peculiar Scottish (that is, Irish) fashion;† building with stone and cement being

* See a minute description of the weapons and domestic implements used by the ancient Irish, so far as they were composed of stone, earthen, or vegetable materials, in the first part of the Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, by W. R. Wilde, Esq. Those peculiar objects called *Celts*—not from the name of the people, but from the Latin word *celtis*, a chisel—still puzzle the antiquaries to define their use. Professor Curry has communicated, from the Book of Ballymote and other ancient Irish manuscripts, an account (published at pp. 73, 74, of the Catalogue) of the manner in which the *Lia Miledh* or "warrior's stone"—whether that be the celt, or the round, flat, sharp-edged disk, of which there are some specimens in the Museum—was used in battle. The following legendary account is one of the three or four examples given:—"In the record of the battle of the Ford of Comar, near Fore, in the county of Westmeath, and which is supposed to have occurred in the century before the Christian era, it is said that, 'there came not a man of Lohar's people without a broad, green spear, nor without a dazzling shield, nor without a *Liagh-lamha-laich* (a champion's hand stone), stowed away in the hollow cavity of his shield. . . . And Lohar carried his stone like each of his men; and seeing the monarch, his father, standing in the ford with Ceat, son of Magach, at one side, and Connall Cearnach at the other, to guard him, he grasped his battle-stone quickly and dexterously, and threw it with all his strength, and with unerring aim, at the king, his father; and the massive stone passed with a swift rotatory motion towards the king, and despite the efforts of his two brave guardians, it struck him on the breast, and laid him prostrate in the ford. The king, however, recovered from the shock, arose, and placing his foot upon the formidable stone, pressed it into the earth, where it remains to this day, with a third part of it over ground, and the print of the king's foot visible on it.'"

† Thus, when St. Finian of Iona became bishop of Lindisfarne, he "built a church fit for his episcopal see, not of stone, but altogether of sawn wood, covered with reeds, after the Scotic fashion (*More Scottorum*)," Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii., c. 25. The extensive use of timber for building can be no matter of surprise when we recollect that Ireland was, at the time, abundantly supplied with primeval forests; and among the trees which seem to have been most numerous, and of course indigenous, were the oak, pine, fir, birch, and yew. It is not long since a large portion of some old English and continental towns consisted of wooden houses; and it will be long ere the method of construct-

regarded as a Roman custom, and too expensive to be undertaken by the first Christian monks in Ireland.

These wooden or hurdle houses were surrounded by strong fences of earth or stone, of which great numbers are yet to be found in every part of the island; although all traces of the actual dwellings have disappeared, owing to the perishable nature of the materials of which they consisted; unless in some few places, where small stone houses, now called cloghauns, with beehive roofs, are still preserved. The enclosures were generally circular, but sometimes oval or polygonal; and when they surrounded the habitations of chiefs or other important persons, or were situated in places exposed to hostile incursions, they were double or triple, the concentric lines of defence being separated by dikes. An earthen enclosure of this kind is usually called a rath, or lios; and one of stone a cathair (pr. caher), or caishal; both being vulgarly called Danish forts, or simply forts. The stone forts are attributed by some antiquaries to the Firbolgs, at least in those parts of Ireland where that people were longest to be found as a distinct race, as in the western province; and the earthen forts are supposed to have been the work of the Milesians. Most probably both races employed indifferently such materials as were most convenient to their hand. Of the earthen entrenchments, the walls have, in the lapse of centuries, been so washed into the dikes as partly to efface both; while in innumerable cases the hand of the agriculturist has been more ruthless than that of time, in obliterating these vestiges of our ancestors.*

Another kind of fortified retreat or dwelling used by the ancient Irish was that called a *cranogue*, or stockaded island, generally situated in some small lake, where a little islet or bank of gravel was taken advantage of, and by being surrounded with stakes or other defences, was made a safe retreat for either the lawless or the timid. In the vicinity of these cranogues are often found the remains of canoes, or shallow, flat-bottomed boats, cut out of a single tree. The boats used by the Irish on the sea coast were chiefly those called curraghs or

houses of wood be abandoned in America. There is mention of a "pillared house" (*tuireadoig*) in a poem quoted by Tighernach, under the year 601, and attributed by him to Caillach Laighneach, who wrote in the time of Hugh Allan, in the early part of the 8th century. (See Four Masters, vol. i., p. 230.)

* Among the most remarkable of the caishels or stone forts, are Dun Aengus, Dun Conchurn, and other duns of the Isles of Aran, Staigue Fort in Kerry, and the Grianan of Aileach, in Donegal; and of the earthen forts, some of the most celebrated are the royal raths of Tara Hill, Emania, Croghan, and Tailtin, and the great rath of Mullaghmast; but there are few districts of Ireland in which several remains of this character are not to be found.

coracles, which were composed of a frame of wickerwork, covered with skins. Boats of this type, save that pitched canvass has been substituted for the hides, are still used on the coast of Clare, in the islands of Aran, and in some few other places in Ireland.

From the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants we naturally turn to their sepulchral remains, of which there are different kinds. The most frequent are the mounds or tumuli, called barrows in England, which were common to all ancient nations who interred their dead. They varied in size according to the importance of the individual over whose remains they were raised, and in some instances they assumed the dimensions of considerable hills; as those of New Grange and Dowth on the banks of the Boyne. Of these vast tumuli, which there are good grounds for regarding as the tombs of the Tuatha de Danann kings, the most famous is that of New Grange, with its long gallery, and lofty, dome-shaped chamber; and it may be observed that in any of those mounds that have been examined, sepulchral chambers, or kists, have been invariably found, and frequently human remains. Monuments composed of stone-heaps are called leachts or carns, but many of these latter are modern, and are mere cenotaphs or memorials of an accidental or violent death.

The monuments called cromlechs, which are met in Wales and Britanny as well as in Ireland, and which belong unquestionably to pagan times, have been popularly regarded as Druid's altars; but the correct opinion, founded on ancient Irish authorities, that they were intended for sepulchral purposes, is now generally received; and it is probable that they may have been in some cases the chambers of sepulchral mounds, from which the covering of earth has been removed. The examination of a tumulus, opened in May, 1838, in the Phœnix Park, near Dublin, would seem to confirm this opinion; as the internal chamber, in which two human skeletons were found, was covered with a large, flat stone, in every respect like a cromlech.*

Chess was a favorite game of the Irish from very early times, but it is uncertain whether the rules of the play were the same as those known

* These monuments are invariably referred to in old Irish writings as sepulchres; and in later ages they were called *leabacha na feinne*, or the beds, *i.e.* (graves) of the Fenians—the term cromlech being a recent importation into the Irish language, and still quite unknown to the Irish-speaking population. It is not unusual at present to combine the two hypotheses by calling these mysterious remains altar-graves. For a great deal of valuable research about the cemeteries and sepulchres of the pagan Irish, and in particular about the hill-monuments near the Boyne; and also for important and authentic information touching the manners of the primitive races of Ireland, the reader is referred to Dr. Petrie's learned Essay on Tara Hill.

to moderns. In all ages the Irish were passionately fond of their own sweet, heart-touching, and expressive music, and possessed both stringed and wind instruments; and a number of bards or musicians, who sometimes played in harmony, but generally accompanied their songs with instrumental music singly, were always in attendance at the feasts of the chiefs and public entertainments.* The gold ornaments which are still preserved, the crowns of gold, worn, at least in some instances, by the Irish kings, and the accounts given by the bards of their "high drinking-cups of gold," and other objects of luxury, would show that a certain amount of splendour had been attained in the rude society of even the pagan ages of Ireland.

The names of several persons who had distinguished themselves as poets or legislators in Ireland, in the time of paganism, are still preserved, as well as some of the compositions attributed to them. Among those most remarkable in the latter class were Ollav Fola, by whom the Feis of Tara was instituted; Cimbaeth and other kings of his period; Moran, the chief judge of Ferach, the Fair and Just, at the close of the first century; and, above all, Cormac, son of Art, who has left us a tract or book of "Royal Precepts," and who, about the middle of the third century, caused the Psaltar of Tara to be compiled.

Of the pre-Christian bards or poets we have a tolerably large list, in which, selecting the most remarkable names, we find Amergin, brother of Heber and Heremon, to whom three poems still existing are attributed; Congal, the son and poet of King Eochy Feilach, who flourished A.M. 5058; and just before the Christian era a whole group of poets, among whom were Adhna, chief poet of Ireland, Forchern, and Fercirtne, the author of the *Uraicacht na n-Eigeas*, or primer of the learned; while towards the close of the third century flourished Oisin, and

* Giraldus Cambrensis (*Top. Hib. dist* iii. c. 11.), describing the performance of the Irish harpers, pays them the following tribute:—"In musicis instrumentis commendabilem invenio istius gentis diligentiam; in quibus præ omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa." "The attention of this people to musical instruments I find worthy of commendation; their skill in these matters being incomparably superior to that of any other nation I have seen." He then goes on to compare the Irish music with that of the Welsh, to which he was accustomed, describing the former as rapid and precipitate, yet sweet and pleasing, while the latter is slow and solemn. He was amazed at "the rapidity of execution," "the intricate arrangement of the notes," and "the melody so harmonious and perfect" which Irish music displayed; and was struck with the performance of the Irish musicians, who knew how "to delight with so much delicacy, and soothe so softly, that the excellence of their art seemed to lie in concealing it." Such was the impression which the music of Ireland could produce on the soul even of an enemy seven hundred years ago. Warton (History of English Poetry) says:—"Even so late as the eleventh century the practice was continued among the Welsh bards of receiving instructions in the bardic profession from Ireland."

at the beginning of the fifth century Torna Eigeas, or Torna the Learned.* Men like these would not have been produced in an entirely uncivilized state of society. The noble language of ancient Ireland had already in their time attained a high degree of perfection, being most copious in primitive roots and expressive compounds; and the productions that are attributed to the writers enumerated above, are written in a dialect which would be almost wholly unintelligible to the best Irish scholars for centuries past, were it not for the very ancient glosses that accompany them, which glosses can themselves be understood by those few only who are profoundly skilled in the Irish manuscripts.†

* Vide O'Reilly's Irish Writers.

† Of the social and political system which prevailed among the ancient Irish, a distinguished authority on Irish historical matters, thus writes:—"Of our society, the type was not an army (as in the feudal system) but a family. Such a system, doubtless, was subject to many inconveniences. The breaking up of all general authority, and the multiplication of petty independent principalities, was an abuse *incident* to the feudal system; it was inherent in the very essence of the patriarchal or family system. That system began as the feudal system ended, with small independent societies, each with its own separate centre of attraction; each clustering round the lord or the chief; and each rather repelling than attracting all similar societies. Yet the patriarchal system was not without its advantages. If the feudal system gave more strength to attack a foreign enemy, the patriarchal system secured more happiness at home. The one system implied inequality among the few, and slavery among the many; the other system gave a feeling of equality to all."—*The Very Rev. Dean Butler's Introduction to Clyn's Annals*, p. 17



CHAPTER VIII.

Irish Christians before St. Patrick.—Pelagius and Celestius.—The Mission of St. Palladius.—St. Patrick's birth-place—his parentage—his captivity—his escape—his vision—his studies—his consecration.—How Christianity was received in Ireland.—St. Patrick's arrival.—The first conversions.—Interviews with King Laeghaire.—Visits Tailtin.—The Apostle's journeys in Meath, Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster.—Destruction of Crom Cruach—St. Secundinus.—St. Fiach.—Caroticus.—Foundation of Armagh.—Death of St. Patrick.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

[Popes: St. Celestine and St. Sixtus III.—Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the East.—Valentinian III, Emperor of the West.—Attila, King of the Huns.—Genseric, King of the Vandals.—Clovis, son of Pharamond, King of the Franks.—Britain abandoned by the Romans. (A.D. 428), and the aid of the Saxons invited.—General Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431). St. Augustin died (A.D. 431).

(A.D. 400 *to* A.D. 500.)

THAT Christianity had found its way into Ireland shortly before the preaching of St. Patrick appears to be beyond doubt, although the manner in which it was introduced, and the extent to which it had spread are matters of mere conjecture. The neighbouring island of Britain had, long before this period, received the light of faith through its Roman masters; and it is probable that there was sufficient intercourse between the two countries to enable some few of the natives of Ireland to become acquainted with the Christian religion. It is, moreover, probable that these few isolated Christians were confined to the south of Ireland, and that there was no bishop in the country until St. Palladius was sent there by St. Celestine. Frequent mention is made in Irish records and lives of saints of four bishops having been in Ireland before St. Patrick's arrival, namely, St. Ailbe of Emly, St. Declan of Ardmore, St. Ibar of Begery, and St. Kieran of Saigir; but it nevertheless appears extremely

probable that these holy prelates were not the predecessors of St. Patrick in the Irish mission, although they may not have been his disciples, or have derived their authority from him.*

It is not denied that some Irishmen eminent for holiness, and who flourished on the continent about this time, had received the light of Christianity either at home or abroad, before St. Patrick's preaching. St. Mansuetus, the first bishop of Toul, in Lorraine, and St. Sedulius, or Shiel, the author of some beautiful church hymns still extant, were of this number. The fact that Celestius, the chief disciple of the heresiarch Pelagius, was a Scot or Irishman, shows that Christianity was known in this island previous to St. Patrick. Before falling into heresy Celestius resided in a monastery either in Britain or on the continent, and thence, as has been already stated, addressed to his friends in Ireland some religious essays or epistles that were highly lauded at the time.† As to Pelagius, it is generally admitted that he was a Briton, and that the Latin form of his name was but the translation of his British name of Morgan. He was a lay monk, taught school at Rome, and imbibed from Rufinus, a Syrian priest, and disciple of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, the errors of that heresiarch on grace and original sin.

While the great apostle of Ireland was yet preparing himself for the mission to which tended all the aspirations of his heart, his friend St. Germain of Auxerre, under whose guidance and instruction he had placed himself for some years before his consecration, was sent, together with Lupus, another missionary, by Pope Celestine into Britain, to expel the Pelagian heresy from the church in that country, and it is conjectured that St. Patrick accompanied them on that mission. It is also supposed, that it was in consequence of information obtained during that British mission on the destitute state of Ireland for want of Christian preachers, that St. Palladius, archdeacon of Rome, was immediately after (A.D. 431,) sent by St. Celestine to Ireland as a bishop "to those believing in Christ:" namely, to the few scattered Christians we have alluded to; and to propagate the faith in that country. This mission, however, was unsuccessful. Palladius was repulsed by the people of Leinster and their king Nathi, and after erecting three small wooden churches, he embarked to return to Rome, and was driven by a storm on the coast of Scotland, where he died after having made his way as far as Fordun.

* Dr. Lanigan (Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, chap. i.) has controverted with his usual learning the received notion of the above-named four bishops having preceded St. Patrick's mission.

† Gennadius de Script. Eccl. c. 44. The native country of Celestius is alluded to by St. Jerome in the Prolegomena to the first and the third books of his Commentaries on Jeremias.

In entering upon an account of St. Patrick's life and mission we are met at the threshold by a controversy about his birth-place. St. Fiech, a disciple of St. Patrick, and bishop of Sletty, wrote a metrical account of the apostle's life, known as Fiech's hymn, in which he states that the saint was born at Nemthur, which name a scholiast, who is believed to have been nearly cotemporary with Fiech himself, explains by the name Alcluith, a place well known to the ancient Irish, and which became the Dunbritton or Dunbarton of modern times. The old traditions of Ireland point to this locality, or to some spot in its vicinity, as the birth-place of St. Patrick, and such was the idea received by Ussher, Colgan, Ware, and other eminent antiquaries of their times. Alcluith, at the time of St. Patrick's birth, was within the territory of Britain, the Picts being then on the north side of the Clyde, and by all the old authorities we find the saint called a Briton. Some statements assigning Wales or Cornwall as the birth-place of the Irish apostle, and others calling him a Scot, that is, an Irishman, are easily shown to have been erroneous ; but another old tradition, which makes him a native of Armorica, or Brittany, has been of late generally received, and Dr. Lanigan has employed a great deal of learning and ingenuity to establish its accuracy. In his "Confession," St. Patrick says he was born at "Bonaven of Tabernia," which names it is impossible to identify as connected with any places in Britain or Scotland ; while Dr. Lanigan argues with great probability that Bonaven is the present town of Boulogne (Bononia,) in that part of ancient Belgic Gaul which had at one time the sub-denomination of Britain, and which was also a part of the territory called Armorica, a word signifying in Celtic "the Sea Coast." The name Tabernia he shows to have been changed into the modern one of Terouanne, a city whence the district in which Boulogne is situated took its name.*

One thing quite certain is, that St. Patrick was in various ways intimately connected with Gaul. His mother, Conchessa, is distinctly stated to have been a native of Gaul, being, according to some traditions, a sister or niece of St. Martin of Tours; and from Gaul Patrick, when a youth of sixteen years of age, was carried captive into Ireland, in a plundering expedition of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His father was Calphurnius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a priest, and their rank was that of Decurio, or member of the municipal council, under the Roman law. These men

* There is another theory not worth mentioning, according to which St. Patrick was born at Tours; the word Nemthur being explained as "Heavenly Tours." See Mr. Patrick Lynch's Life of St. Patrick. Dr. Lanigan is the only writer who explains all the names mentioned as applicable to his theory of Boulogne.

had entered into holy orders after the death of their wives, as it was not unusual at that time to do ; or, as is stated to have occurred in the case of Calphurnius, the husband and wife separated voluntarily, and entered into religion. The apostle received in baptism the name of Succath, which is said to signify "brave in battle," and the name of Patrick or Patricius was conferred on him by St. Celestine as indicative of his rank.

There are various opinions as to the year of St. Patrick's birth, the most probable being that he was born in 387, and that in 403 he was made captive and carried into Ireland. Those who hold that he was born at Alcluith, or Dunbarton, account for his being made captive in Armorica by supposing that his father and family had gone into Gaul to visit the friends of Conchessa. Be that as it may, the holy youth when carried into Ireland was sold as a slave in that part of Dalaradia comprised in the county of Antrim, to four men, one of whom, named Milcho, bought up their right from the other three, and employed the saint in attending his sheep, or, as some say, his swine. His sufferings were very great, as he was exposed to all the inclemency of the weather in the mountains; but he himself tells us that it was in this suffering he began to know and love God. He performed all his duties to his harsh master with punctuality, yet he found a great deal of time for prayer, and was in the habit of praying to God a hundred times in the day, and as many times at night, and that in the midst of frost and snow. After six years spent in this bondage he was warned in a vision that the time had come for him to depart, and that a ship was ready in a certain port to take him to his own country. He rose up accordingly, and leaving Milcho, he travelled two hundred miles to a part of Ireland of which he had previously known nothing, and here he found the ship that had been indicated to him ready to sail. He was first rudely repulsed by the master of the vessel, but was at length taken on board, and after a voyage of three days reached shore, but only to find himself in a desert country, where the whole party were on the point of dying of hunger until, through the prayers of Patrick, food was obtained; and ultimately, after a journey of twenty-eight days, he reached his native place.

It is stated that St. Patrick suffered a second captivity, but of this little is known, except that it lasted for only sixty days; and we are led to conclude that about this time he resolved to enter the ecclesiastical state, and for that purpose went to study in the famous college or monastery of St. Martin, near Tours, subsequently, when thirty years of age, placing himself under the direction of St. Germain of Auxerre.

In or about this period the saint had a remarkable dream or vision, in which a man named Victoricius appeared to present him with a large parcel of letters, one of which was inscribed, "The voice of the Irish;" and while reading it, St. Patrick thought he heard the cries of a multitude of people near the wood of Foclut, in the district now called Tirawley, in Mayo, saying: "We entreat thee to come, holy youth, and walk still amongst us." The saint's mind had been previously filled with a love of the Irish, and a desire for their conversion, and this vision fixed his attention more earnestly on that object.

There is some obscurity in this part of the Lives of the apostle, as he is represented as spending a great many years in study and religious retreat in Italy, and in some islands of the Mediterranean, especially Lerins; while, according to other accounts, he was constantly with St. Germain; but the probability is that he was all the time acting under the guidance of that illustrious master. At length, after much preparation, about the year 431, and within some very brief space after the departure of St. Palladius on his mission to Ireland, St. Patrick visited Rome, accompanied by a priest named Segetius, who was sent with him by St. Germain to vouch for the sanctity of his character and for his fitness for the Irish mission ; and having remained a short time, and received the approbation and benediction of the holy pontiff, St. Celestine, then within a few weeks of his death, our apostle returned to his friend and master, St. Germain, at Auxerre, and thence to the north of Gaul, where, news of the death of St. Palladius being received about the same time, Patrick immediately was consecrated bishop by a certain holy prelate named Amato, in a town called Ebovia; Auxilius, Iserninus, and other disciples of St. Patrick receiving clerical orders on the same occasion. The apostle and his companions sailed forthwith for Britain, on their way to Ireland, where they arrived safely (A.D. 432), in the first year of the pontificate of St. Sixtus III., the successor of St. Celestine, and in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire,* son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland.

Ireland, in its reception of the Christian religion, presents an example unique in the history of nations. "While in all other countries," observes an eloquent writer, "the introduction of Christianity has been the slow work of time, has been resisted by either government or people, and seldom effected without lavish effusion of blood, in Ireland, on the contrary, by the influence of one zealous missionary, and with but little

* This name, called in Latin Lœgarius, is pronounced as if written Lerey.

previous preparation of the soil by other hands, Christianity burst forth at the first ray of apostolic light, and, with the sudden ripeness of a northern summer at once covered the whole land. Kings and princes, when not themselves among the ranks of the converted, saw their sons and daughters joining in the train without a murmur. Chiefs, at variance in all else, agreed in meeting beneath the Christian banner; and the proud druid and bard laid their superstitions meekly at the foot of the cross; nor, by a singular blessing of providence—unexampled, indeed, in the whole history of the Church—was there a single drop of blood shed, on account of religion, through the entire course of this mild Christian revolution, by which, in the space of a few years, all Ireland was brought tranquilly under the dominion of the Gospel."*

It is strange that even the glorious distinction thus referred to was made a charge against Ireland by a Christian writer; Giraldus Cambrensis asserting that "there was not one among them found ready to shed his blood for the church of Christ."† Whether the soil of Ireland was capable of producing martyrs after ages showed; but it must be observed that Christianity was not established in Ireland altogether without resistance, some of the pagan Irish having shown an inveterate hostility to its progress, and several attempts having been made on the life of St. Patrick himself.‡

St. Patrick first landed at a place called Inver De, which is supposed to be the mouth of the Bray river, in Wicklow; but having been repulsed by the inhabitants, he returned to his ship, and sailing towards the north, landed on the little island of Holm-Patrick, near Skerries, off the north coast of Dublin, where he made a short stay for the purpose of refreshing the crew and the companions of his voyage. He then resumed his voyage, and proceeded as far as the coast of the present county of Down, where, entering Strangford Lough, he landed in a district called Magh-inis, in the present barony of Lecale. On the appearance of the strangers an alarm was raised that pirates had arrived, and Dicho, the lord of that place, came at the head of his people; but the moment he saw the apostle he perceived that he was no pirate, and he invited the saint and his companions to his house, where, on hearing the true religion announced, he and all his family believed and were baptized. This was the first fruit of St. Patrick's mission in Ireland.

* Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i., p. 203.

† Topographia Hiberniæ, dist., iii., c. 28. Cambrensis holds the unenviable position of being at the head of the long list of the British calumniators of Ireland.

‡ O'Donovan's Four Masters, an. 432 (note).

The apostle celebrated the Divine Mysteries in a barn belonging to Dicho, which was henceforth used as a church, and was called Sabhall Padruic, or Patrick's Barn, a name that has been still preserved in that of Saul. A church and monastery were afterwards founded there, and the place always continued to be a favorite retreat of St. Patrick's.

After a stay of a few days with Dicho, the apostle set out by land for the habitation of his old master, Milcho, who resided somewhere near Slieve Mis, in the present county of Antrim, then part of the territory called Dalaraida, in a portion of which dwelt a tribe of the Cruithnians, or Picts. Milcho's heart was hardened, and rather than allow St. Patrick to approach his house, he set fire to it in a fit of passion, and was himself consumed in its ruins, together with his family, except, as some say, a son and two daughters, who subsequently became converts and embraced a religious life.

St. Patrick returned to Saul, and the next important event we meet is his journey by water, in the early part of the next year (A.D. 433), southward, to the mouth of the Boyne, where he landed at a small port called Colp, and thence set out, through the plain of Bregia, in the direction of the royal palace of Tara. On his way thither, he staid a night in the house of a respectable man named Seschnan, who was converted and baptized, with his whole family, one of his sons receiving from the apostle the name of Benignus, as indicating the gentleness of his manners. This holy youth attached himself from that moment to St. Patrick, and became famous in the history of the Irish Church as St. Benan, or Benignus, the successor of the apostle in the primatial see of Armagh.

The next day was Holy Saturday, and St. Patrick, on reaching the place now called Slane, caused a tent to be erected, and lighted the paschal fire about night-fall, preparatory to the celebration of the Easter solemnity. It so happened that the princes and chieftains of Meath were at this time assembled at Tara, with King Laeghaire, for the purpose of holding a pagan festival, which some writers suppose to have been that of Beltinne, or the fire of Bal or Baal, as the kindling of a great fire formed a portion of the rites ;* and as it was contrary to the law to light any fire, on that occasion, in the surrounding country until the fire from the top of Tara hill was first visible, the king became indignant on seeing the flame which the

* Dr. O'Conor (Rer. Hib. Scrip. vol. 1), labors to show that this festival was that of Beltinne or Bealtaine, and Dr. Petrie, in his Essay on Tara Hill, appears to adopt that view; but Dr. O'Donovan, in his remarks on the division of the year among the ancient Irish, in the introduction to the Book of Rights, proves that there is no authority for this opinion, and that in fact the fire of Beltinne was always lighted at the hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath. The festivity which Laeghaire was celebrating was probably that of his own birth-day, as is stated in the Life of St. Patrick in the Book of Lismore.

saint had kindled, and which his druids, who had, no doubt, ascertained who it was that had come into their neighbourhood, told him would cause the destruction of his and their power if not immediately extinguished. Accordingly, Laeghaire, with his druids, chieftains, and attendants, went to ascertain the cause, and, on approaching the place, ordered the apostle to be brought before him, having first given directions that no one should rise, or show the stranger any mark of respect. When St. Patrick with his attendant priests appeared, notwithstanding the king's mandate, Erc, the son of Dego, rose to salute him, and was converted ; and this Erc was subsequently bishop of Slane, where his hermitage is an object of interest to the present day. The result of the interview was an invitation to the saint to come next day to Tara, for the purpose of holding a discussion with the magi or druids ; the king secretly resolving to place men in ambush who would murder the Christain missionaries on the way.

The scene which passed next morning—Easter Sunday—in the royal rath of Tara, was one on which it is impossible to reflect without a lively interest. The king, conscious of the treacherous preparations which he had ordered to be made along the road, could hardly have expected to see the strangers come, but was nevertheless seated in barbaric state in the midst of his satraps and nobles to receive them. St. Patrick, on his side, was not unaware of the pagan perfidy practised against him, but placing his confidence in the protecting power of God, and chanting a solemn Irish hymn of invocation,* which he composed for the occasion, he advanced at the head of his priests in processional order, along one of the five ancient roads that led to the top of the royal hill, where he arrived unharmed. The old authorities describe the appearance of the saint as characterized by singular meekness and dignity. He was always clothed in white robes, and on this occasion he wore his mitre, and carried in his hand the crozier called the staff of Jesus.† Eight priests who attended him were also robed in white, and along with them came the youthful Benignus, the son of Sechnan. Thus, confronted with the monarch and his

* This hymn is preserved in the celebrated Liber Hymnorum, a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and which Ussher pronounced to have been a thousand years old in his time. It is published with a translation and notes by Dr. Petrie, in his Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill, pp. 57, &c., of the Academy's Edition. This hymn, which is written in the *Bearla-Feine*, or language of the Brehon Laws, is a singular relic of ecclesiastical antiquity, and Dr. Petrie describes it as "the oldest undoubted monument of the Irish language remaining."

† This crozier is said to have been given to St. Patrick while secluded in an island of the Mediterranean, by some mysterious person who received it, for that purpose, from our Lord himself. The staff of Jesus was burned, along with several other sacred relics of the greatest antiquity, among the rest, a statue of the Blessed Virgin, in High-street, Dublin, in the year 1538, by order of George Brown, the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin.—See Ware's Annals; Dalton's Archbishops, &c.

druids, and objects of wonder to the pagan assembly, stood the illustrious apostle and his train of missionaries, come from afar to plant Christ's religion in Ireland. Here, as on the evening before, it had been arranged that no mark of honor should be shown to him; but, as on the previous occasion, there was one found to disobey the tyrant's instructions, Dubtach, the arch poet, or head of the bards of Erin, rising, and paying his respects to the venerable stranger. Dubtach was the first convert that day. St. Patrick became greatly attached to him, and his name is afterwards mentioned with honor.

Having soon silenced the druids in argument, the saint expounded the doctrines of Christianity to the monarch and his assembly, and made many converts; but notwithstanding some statements to the contrary, it appears certain that Laeghaire himself was not among these, but remained an obstinate pagan to the last. It is stated with more probability that the queen was converted on this occasion; and it also appears that St. Patrick made so favorable an impression even on Laeghaire, as to obtain from him permission to preach wherever he chose, on condition that he did not disturb the peace or deprive him of his kingdom.

From Tara St. Patrick repaired next day to Tailtin, where the public games were commencing, and where he had an opportunity of preaching to a great assemblage of the people, including, most probably, those whom he had met the day before at Tara; and he remained for a week, making many converts. On this occasion he was repulsed and his life threatened by Carbry, a brother of King Laeghaire; but another of the royal brothers, named Conall Creevan, was shortly after converted, and at his desire the apostle founded the church of Donough Patrick in Meath.*

Such was the commencement of St. Patrick's mission, in which he continued to labor with unremitting zeal for more than thirty years. We shall not attempt to follow him through the intricacies of his many journeys into every part of Ireland, or to enumerate the number of churches which rose up everywhere in his track, and the multitude of holy pastors whom he prepared by his instructions and placed over them. The diversity of accounts given by his biographers and by other old

* According to the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick every church in Ireland of which the name begins with *Donough* was founded by that apostle, and they were so called because the saint marked out their foundations on a Sunday, in Irish *Domhnach*. *Trias Thaum.*, *p.* 146. The Conall mentioned above became a great friend of the apostle's; but when he wished to enter the church as an ecclesiastic St. Patrick told him that his vocation was to be a military man, adding that although he was not to be a churchman he would be a defender of the church; and the holy prelate thereupon marked on Conall's shield the figure of a cross with his crozier, and the shield was ever after called *Sciath-Bachluch* or the shield of the crozier.—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 142; also Jocelyn, c. 138. Dr. O'Donovan says this is the earliest authentic notice he has found of armorial bearings in Ireland.

authorities has involved the subject in much obscurity, which is increased by erroneous dates and doubtful topography; and to enter minutely into it would be impossible in a work of this nature.

The apostle preached for some time in the western part of the territory of Meath, and on this occasion proceeded as far as Magh Sleaghta, in the present county of Cavan, where the idol, Crom Cruach, was worshipped, and by his prayers caused the destruction of that abomination and of the smaller idols by which it was surrounded. He then set out for Connaught, and when near Rath Cruaghan, he met at a well, whither they had come in patriarchal fashion to perform their ablutions, the princesses Ethnea and Fethlimia, daughters of King Laeghaire, who were there under the tuition of certain druids or magi, and who acquired from the saint at that meeting a thorough knowledge of the truths of religion, and subsequently took the veil in a nunnery which he established.* He then traversed almost every part of Connaught, preaching, as he did on all occasions, with the sanction of miraculous power, converting the people, and founding churches. He fasted during a Lent on the mountain in Mayo then called Cruachan Aichle, or Mount Eagle, and since known as Cruach Patrick. In the land of Tirawley,† he converted and baptized the seven sons of King Amalgaidh, together with twelve thousand people; this occurrence taking place not far from the wood of Foclut, whence the voices inviting him to Ireland appeared to come in the vision which he had in Gaul. After seven years thus spent in Connaught, he passed by a northern route into Ulster, and there made many converts, especially in the present county of Monaghan; meeting, however, as was also the case in Connaught, several repulses accompanied sometimes with danger to his life.

Returning into Meath, St. Patrick appears to have appointed, about this time, his nephew, St. Secundinus, or Sechnal, who was bishop of the place which has been called after him Domnach-Sechnail, or Dunshaghlen, to preside, during his own absence in the southern half of Ireland, over the northern churches, the see of Armagh not having been yet founded.‡ The apostle then directed his steps southward, and

* St. Patrick tells us in his "Confession" that a great number of women embraced a religious life in Ireland, notwithstanding the harsh opposition which they often encountered from their unconverted parents.

† Tirawley (Tir-Amhalghaidh) was so called from the Amhalghaidh or Awley, son of Fiachra, son of Eochy-Muivone, and king of northern Connaught, whose sons were converted by St. Patrick on this occasion.

‡ See the interesting account of St. Sechnal, and the hymn which he composed in honor of St. Patrick, in the first fasciculus of the *Liber Hymnorum*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd for the Archæological and Celtic Society.

visited several parts of Leinster, making numerous converts, and laying the foundations of churches wherever he went. He placed his companions, bishops Auxilius and Isserninus, the former at Killossy, near Naas, and the latter at Kilcullen, both in the present county of Kildare. In the territory of Hy-Kinsellagh, comprising parts of the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, and Carlow, he visited his friend, the poet Dubtach, who introduced to the saint his disciple, Fiech, who was already acquainted with Christianity, and was admitted into the ecclesiastical state by the apostle. This Fiech was subsequently the holy bishop of Sletty, in the Queen's County, with jurisdiction over all Leinster, and to him the famous metrical life of St. Patrick, known as *Fiech's Hymn*, is attributed. He was the first Leinsterman who was raised to the episcopacy.

A.D. 445.—After passing through Ossory, where he converted great numbers of people, and founded many churches, St. Patrick entered Munster, and bent his steps towards the royal city of Cashel, whence King Aengus, the son of Natfraich, who had already obtained a knowledge of Christianity, came forth to meet him, receiving him with the utmost veneration. At this king's baptism an incident occurred which is often mentioned as an interesting example of fortitude. The pastoral staff which the saint carried terminated at the bottom in a spike, by which he could fasten it erect in the ground, and it appears that on this occasion he planted it inadvertently on the king's foot, which it penetrated. Aengus bore the wound without the slightest movement, supposing that it was a part of the ceremony, and being, no doubt, animated at the moment with an ardent feeling of devotion. This good king, in the course of a long reign, afforded material aid to the cause of religion in this part of Ireland.*

The apostle spent seven years in Munster, visiting various parts of Ormond and the territories corresponding with the present counties of Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, receiving everywhere vast multitudes into the fold of Christ. A great number of people from Corca Baiscin, the south-western part of Clare, crossed the Shannon in their curaghs, or hide-covered boats, when the saint was on the southern side, in Hy-Figeinte, and were baptized by him in the waters of that mighty river; and at their entreaty the apostle then

* Dr. Lanigan calculates with much probability that Aengus had not yet succeeded his father at the time of his baptism, and that he was, therefore, only taniste, or heir apparent, of Munster; he was, at all events, still very young at the time of St. Patrick's visit.

ascended a hill which commanded a view of their country, and gave his benediction to the whole territory of the Dalcassians.*

It was probably during St. Patrick's stay in Munster, that a British prince, Caroticus, who, although nominally a Christian, was a pirate and a very wicked man, made a descent on the south-eastern coast of Ireland, and carried off a number of Christian captives who had just received baptism, for the purpose of selling them as slaves to pagans in North Britain. This outrage elicited from the saint a pastoral, or circular epistle, still extant, in which he pronounced excommunication against Caroticus, and stigmatized him with the odium which he deserved. We may also presume that it was about the time of his return from Munster, and while visiting a territory now comprised in the King's County, that a certain pagan chieftain named Failge formed a plan to murder the apostle, which, coming to the knowledge of Odran, the saint's charioteer, this good man managed to change seats with St. Patrick, and thus received the fatal blow that was intended for his master. Odran was the only martyr who suffered death for the faith at the hands of an Irishman, during the conversion of this country from paganism.

About the year 455, St. Patrick founded the see of Armagh, and the remaining years of his life he passed between that city and his favorite retreat of Saul, in the county of Down, at which latter place he died, according to the Annals of Ulster, the Four Masters, Ussher, Ware, and Colgan, on the 17th of March, A.D. 493, but according to the very ably argued inference of Dr. Lanigan, in A.D. 465. The duration of his mission in Ireland was, according to this latter opinion, thirty-three years, while, according to the former, it would have been about sixty years, and his age, which the old authorities represent as 120 years, is reduced to 78 years by Dr. Lanigan's process of reasoning. His obsequies continued for twelve days, during which the light of innumerable tapers seemed to turn night into day, and the bishops and priests of all Ireland congregated together on the occasion. A fierce contest ensued between the people of Down and Armagh for the possession of his sacred remains, but it was finally settled by his body being deposited in Down,

* There can be no doubt that the hill from which the apostle gave his blessing to the territory of Thomond, or Clare, is that now called Cnoc Patrick, near Foynes Island. The local traditions are quite positive on the subject; and it answers, besides, the conditions of situation and purpose, and is the only hill in view of Clare with which the name of St. Patrick is associated. In the prose life of St. Senanus, translated by Colgan from the Irish, its site is particularly described, but both there and in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, it is called the Hill of Findinis, a name now obsolete.

while a portion of the holy relics were conveyed to his metropolitan church of Armagh.*

Thus was the faith planted in Erin by St. Patrick, and from that day to the present it has never failed. In this respect Ireland has been exempt from the changes which so many other countries have undergone; and a large and interesting portion of our history will relate to the struggles which that steadfastness entailed upon her.

* Each of the events in the life of our Apostle, briefly narrated in the text, has been made a subject of discussion among antiquaries and hagiologists; but we have given what we deemed the most reasonable results without the arguments. Nor have we entered into the controversy respecting the existence of other saints of the same name, as Sen-Patrick, or Patrick Senior, who was venerated on the 24th of August; or the Abbot Patrick, who was buried and subsequently venerated at Glastonbury; or St. Patrick of Auvergne. Whether some of the acts of one of these saints may have been attributed to another of them would involve an inquiry unsuited to our pages. It is enough that the identity of our Apostle and of the leading events of his life have been established beyond the reach of all doubt. Those who would enter more deeply into the subject are referred to Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*; Messingham's *Florilegium*; O'Sullivan's *Decas Patriciana;* Harris's Ware's Irish Bishops; Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland; Keating's History of Ireland; Mageoghegan's History of Ireland; Lynch's Life of St. Patrick; Petrie's History of Tara Hill, &c., &c.



CHAPTER IX.

Civil History of Ireland during St. Patrick's Life.—The Seanchus Mor.—King Laeghaire's Oath and Death.—Reign of Oilioll Molt.—Branches and Greatness of the Hy-Niall Race.—Reign of Lughaidh.—Foundation of the Scottish Kingdom in North Britain.—Falsification of the Scottish Annals.—Progress of Christianity and absence of Persecution.—The First Order of Irish Saints.—Great Ecclesiastical Schools.—Aran of the Saints.—St. Brigid.—Her great Labors.—Her Death.—Monastic tendency of the Primitive Church.—Muircheartach Mac Earca and Tuathal Maelgarbh.

(A.D. 432 *to* A.D. 538).

FEW events are recorded in the civil history of this country during the period of St. Patrick's mission ; the most remarkable being the revision of the laws of Ireland, and the compilation of the *Seanchus Mor*, or great book of laws, in the year 438. The annalists say that three kings, three Christian bishops, of whom St. Patrick was one, and three bards or antiquaries, conducted this revision ; but this account is obviously a poetic figment. It is probable that as soon as the Christian religion began to prevail extensively in Ireland, a modification of the ancient pagan laws became necessary ; and also, that St. Patrick himself, assisted by a converted bard, may have laid the foundation of such revision, his name being subsequently employed to give it a sanction ; but it is plain that the apostle did not sit on a committee for the purpose with pagan kings, even if his authority had been so recognised at the time assigned for the event.* Fragments of the Seanchus Mor are still preserved in the manuscript library of Trinity College, and in the British Museum, and the entire work is known to have existed at least as late as the 12th or 13th century

* Petrie's "Tara Hill," p. 79

It has been erroneously stated by some old writers that St. Patric purified the annals as well as the laws of Ireland ; and this probably le to the assertion that he destroyed a large number of the druidical books which had been delivered to him. O'Flaherty gives this statement on the authority of the eminent antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis, and mentions it to account for the ignorance in which we are left of the religion of the pagan Irish;* but nothing has been discovered in the writings of Mac Firbis to justify O'Flaherty's reference to his authority.

King Laeghaire waged war against the Leinster men to enforce payment of the Borumean tribute, and in the year 453 he is said to have gained a battle over them ; but this success was followed, in A.D. 457, by a defeat at Ath-dara, on the river Barrow, where he was made prisoner, being afterwards liberated on swearing by "the sun and moon, water and air, night and day, sea and land," that during his life he would not again demand the tribute. This was the old pagan oath ; and from its use, as well as from other circumstances, it is concluded that Laeghaire had not, up to that time, embraced Christianity. In the next year, regardless of his engagement, he made an incursion into Leinster, and carried off a prey of cattle for the tribute ; and as he was struck dead by lightning, or died in some sudden manner while returning home, the bards say that he was killed by the sun and the elements for breaking the oath which he had taken on them.

A.D. 459.—Oilioll Molt, son of Dathi, and who had been king of Connaught,† succeeded as monarch, and, according to the Four Masters, celebrated the Feis, or great feast and convocation of Tara, in 463, and again in 465, which is probably a double entry of the same event, as these meetings were not held so frequently. Nothing certain is known of the religion of this prince, but it is presumed that he lived and died a pagan, as his successor certainly did.

Two men, remarkable as the ancestors of some of the most celebrated clans mentioned in subsequent Irish history, died in this reign, namely, Conall Gulban, and Eoghan, sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages; the former of whom was the ancestor of the Kinel-Connell, or race of Conall, that is, of the O'Donnells and their correlative families in Tirconnell ; whilst from the latter are descended the Kinel-Owen, or O'Neills, and some other families of Tyrone. All of the race of Niall come under the great tribe name of Hy-Niall ; but the illustrious families we have mentioned, that is, the O'Neills and O'Donnells, descendants of Eoghan

* Ogygia, part iii., c. 30. p. 219. † Ogygia, part iii., c. 93, p. 129.

and Conall Gulban, are styled the northern Hy-Niall, to distinguish them from the southern Hy-Niall, who were descended from Conall Creevainn, another son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, as the O'Melaghlins, &c., who were located in Meath. Of Conall Gulban, who received his surname from Benbulben, formerly called Ben Gulban, in Sligo, where he was fostered, and whose exploits rank with those of the Ossianic heroes, the annalists tell us that he was slain by the "old tribes of Magh Slecht," that is, by descendants of the Firbolgs who occupied the district in the present county of Cavan where the idol Crom Cruach was worshipped, while he was returning from a predatory excursion with a great prey of horses; and they say that Eoghan died of grief for his brother and was buried at Eskaheen in Innishowen.

A.D. 478.—Oilioll Molt, after a reign of twenty years, was slain in the battle of Ocha, by Lughaidh or Lewy, the son of Laeghaire, who was too young at his father's demise to compete for the succession, and who now obtained the crown by the aid of a strong confederacy of provincial kings and toparchs. The battle of Ocha forms an epoch in this period of Irish history, and took place, according to the Annals of Ulster, A.D 482 or 483. Lughaidh died an inveterate pagan, having, after a reign of twenty-five years, been killed by a thunderbolt while uttering some blasphemy at the sight of a church erected by St. Patrick, at a place called Achadhfarcha, or the field of lightning, near Slane. In his reign, Aengus, the good king of Munster, and his queen Eithne were killed in battle, at a place now called Kelliston, in the county of Carlow;* and St. Ibar, of Beg-Erin, one of the four bishops who are said to have been in Ireland before St. Patrick, died, A.D. 500.

A.D. 503.—The foundation of the kingdom of Scotland by a colony from Ireland, is set down by most chronologists under this date.† It has been already mentioned in the reign of Conaire II., towards the close of the second century of the Christain era, that a colony of Scots was led into Alba or Albany by Carbry-Riada, from whom the Dalriads both of Antrim and Scotland took their name. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Picts, they still retained their footing in their new territory,

* "This Aenghus, who was the first Christian king of Munster, is the common ancestor of the families of Mac Carthy, O'Keeffe, O'Callaghan, and O'Sullivan."—O'Donovan; *Four Masters, anno*, 489, (*note*).

The Four Masters record the death of St. Patrick under the date of 493, adding that he was then 122 years old; that he had erected 700 churches, consecrated 700 bishops, and ordained 3,000 priests. Dr. Lanigan however shows very clearly that no reliance is to be placed on these dates and numbers.

† The event is entered by the Four Masters at the year 498; but Dr. O'Donovan shows from the authority of Tighernach and of Flan of Monasterboice, that the true date of the Dalriadic invasion was most probably A.D. 506.

but did not receive much aid from Ireland until the period at which we have now arrived. At this time, however, after a defeat by the Picts, who drove them from the country, a strong force of the Irish Dalriads, under the leadership of Loarn, Aengus, and Fergus, the three sons of Erc, son of Eochadh Muinramhair, invaded Alba, and gradually subjugating the Picts, established the Scottish monarchy. Muircheartach or Murtough, who succeeded Lughaidh as king of Ireland, was a relative of the sons of Erc, his mother being Erca, the daughter of Loarn ; and he stimulated the adventurers in their enterprise; as some say, sending the Lia Fail, or stone of destiny, to Scotland, in order that his kinsman, Feargus, might be crowned upon it with all the traditional solemnity.* It is remarkable that the present reigning family of England owes its right to the throne to its descent, through the Stuart family, from these Irish Dalriads. From that people also North Britain derives its name of Scotia or Scotland ; a name which, from the first mention we find of it in the third century, was, for several hundred years, exclusively applied to Ireland ; while, on its being at length given to the country acquired by the Scots in Alba, Ireland was still for a long time called Scotia Magna, to distinguish it from the lesser Scotland, and its people termed Hibernian Scots, those of the latter country being called Albanian or British Scots.† The Scottish colony in Britain was at first confined to the Western Highlands, now called Argyle, and to the islands ; and it was only in the year 850 that the Picts were finally subdued by Keneth MacAlpin, who was the first king of all Scotland, and who removed the seat of power to Scone, in the southern part of that country.

On the subject of this settlement of the Scottish race in North Britain, one of the most remarkable impostures ever attempted in the history of any country was successfully practised, and passed current for several centuries. The original records of Scotland were wholly destroyed by Edward I. of England, when he overran that country in the year 1300, for the purpose, if possible, of obliterating by their destruction the nationality of the people ; but before the close of the same century a new account of the history of Scotland was given to the world ; a long series of Scottish kings, who never had any existence, being coined to fill up

* Ogygia, part i., p. 45.

† Ireland was known by many names from very early ages. Thus, in the Celtic it was called Inis-Fail, the isle of destiny; Inis-Ealga, the noble island ; Fiodh-Inis, the woody island; and Eire, Fodhla, and Banba. By the Greeks it was called Ierne, probably from the vernacular name of Eire, by inflection Erin ; whence also, no doubt, its Latin name of Juverna; Plutarch calls it Ogygia, or the ancient land; the early Roman writers generally called it Hibernia, probably from its Iberian inhabitants, and the later Romans and mediæval writers, Scotia and sometimes Hibernia; and finally its name of Ireland was formed by the Anglo-Normans from its native name of Eire.

an interval of some hundred years before the time of Fergus, the son of Erc, mentioned above. The first name on the spurious list was also Fergus, and the real person of that name was, therefore, called Fergus II.; and in support of the fictitious catalogue a great many statements were invented, and were adopted by subsequent Scottish historians. Finally, Macpherson, the forger of Ossian, carried the fraud so far, although it had been rejected by the Scottish antiquary, Father Innes, as to assert that North Britain was the original Scotland, and Ireland only the colony, with no title to the name of Scotia, and consequently that all the ancient saints and celebrated persons who are called Scots by foreign writers, were really natives of the modern Scotland. It may be easily imagined that such an assumption, put forward in the face of the most positive evidence, and repeated by scores of able writers, century after century, almost up to the last generation, was very provoking to Irish historians, and that an angry and protracted controversy was the result. All that has been written on the subject is now, however, so much waste paper, as the ancient fraud has been long since abandoned, and the true history of the relations between the two countries is received in Scotland as well as in Ireland.

From the meagre records of the civil history of the period, we turn with pleasure to the accounts of the great religious change which was then passing in Ireland, and which was entirely independent of the course of civil events. While pagan kings still ruled at Tara, surrounded by their druids, and still upheld at least the semblance of their ancient superstition, Christian bishops were preaching in every corner of the land; Christian churches, although of humble dimensions, everywhere appeared; monasteries and nunneries sprung up in many places; Christian schools, which were destined in a little while to shed a lustre on all Europe, began to fill with students; and above all, a host of saints, who became the wonder of after ages, diffused throughout Ireland an odour of holiness. To this age belonged the first and most perfect of the three orders of Irish saints, mentioned in the old catalogue published by Ussher and Father Fleming, and whose characteristics are described in the prophetic vision which St. Patrick is said by some of his biographers to have had, when Ireland first appeared to the apostle as if enveloped in a flame, then the mountains only seemed to be on fire, and finally there was only a glimmering, as it were, of lamps in the valleys. All the disciples and attendants of St. Patrick have obtained places in the calendar of the ancient Irish Church; and it is probable that almost all those who received ordination at his hands, or who first ministered in the Church of

Ireland, have merited the same honor; so intense was the devotion with which the Irish people opened their whole hearts to the faith of Christ, and so abundant was the grace which flowed everywhere from the preaching of their great apostle. Nor should it be forgotten as a proof of the existence of a humanized state of society in Ireland, notwithstanding its feuds and wars, that this great movement was allowed to advance without any attempt on the part of the pagan princes to impede it by persecution. It is argued, indeed, that if there had been anything very gross or sensuous in the paganism of the Irish, as in that of other nations, the triumph of Christianity among them would not have been so easily accomplished.

Among the great ecclesiastical schools or monasteries founded in Ireland about this time, were those of St. Ailbe of Emly, of St. Benignus of Armagh, of St. Fiech of Sletty, of St. Mel of Ardagh, of St. Mochay of Antrim, of St. Moctheus of Louth, of St. Ibar of Beg-Erin, of St. Asicus of Elphin, and of St. Olcan of Derkan. To this same fifth century, which Colgan calls the golden age of the Irish Church, belongs the foundation of the celebrated monastic institutions of Aran of the Saints, by St. Enda, or Endeus. This holy Archimandrite, who was of a noble family of Oriel, obtained the island of Aranmore, at the entrance to Galway Bay, from Aengus, the king of Munster, through the interposition of St. Ailbe, and founded there those primitive communities who lived in groups of monastic cells or cloghans, of which the traces are still to be seen in many parts of the island. Aran, the Iona of Ireland, became for the next couple of centuries the resort of several of the Irish saints, and of holy men from other countries, who repaired to it for the purpose of practising extreme penitential austerities; and an ancient biographer of St. Kieran, founder of Clonmacnoise, described it as a place in which there lay the remains of "innumerable saints, unknown to all save Almighty God alone."

Of St. Ailbe, the great bishop of Emly, it is related that after many years of arduous labor in converting the people from paganism, and establishing the Church in his diocese, he was about to retire into solitude, and to fly for that purpose to Thule, or Iceland, when he was respectfully coerced by King Aengus to remain in Ireland, where he died in 525.

But of all the Irish saints of the first century of Christianity in this country, the highest position, next to that of St. Patrick himself, is unanimously yielded to St. Brigid. This extraordinary woman belonged to an illustrious race, being lineally descended from Eochad, a brother

of Conn of the Hundred Battles, monarch of Ireland in the second century, and was born about the year 453, at Fochard, to the north of Dundalk, where her parents, although a Leinster family, and therefore belonging to Leath Mogha, or the southern part of Ireland, were then sojourning. As she was remarkable for sanctity from her childhood, it is possible that she had become known to St. Patrick, by whom her biographers say she was baptized. She received the veil from St. Maccaille, in one of the earliest convents for religious women founded in Ireland, and her zeal for establishing nunneries was exercised throughout her life with wonderful results. She travelled into various parts of Ireland for this purpose, being invited by many bishops to found religious houses in their dioceses; and at length the people of Leinster became jealous of her attention to the other provinces, and sent a deputation to her in Connaught entreating her to return, and offering land for the purpose of founding a large nunnery. This was about the year of 480, or shortly after; and it was then that she commenced her great house of Kildare, or the Church of the Oak, which soon became the most famous and extensive nunnery that has ever existed in Ireland. A bishop was appointed to perform the pontifical duties connected with it, an humble anchorite named Conlaeth being chosen for that office; and the concourse of religious and pilgrims who flocked to it from all quarters soon created in the solitude a city which became the chief town of all Leinster. The vast numbers of young women and pious widows who thronged round St. Brigid for admission into her convent present a singular feature in a country just emerging from paganism; and the identity of that monastic and ascetic form which Christianity, in all the purity and fervour of its infancy, thus assumed in Ireland, as in all other countries, with the form which it has continued to retain, in all ages, in the Catholic Church, must strike every student of history. St Brigid has been often called "The Mary of Ireland;" a circumstance which shows, not that the primitive Irish Christians confounded her with the Mother of Our Lord—a silly mistake which some modern writers have thoughtlessly attributed to them—but that they felt that the most exaggerated praise which they could bestow upon their own great saint was to compare her with the Blessed Virgin.* One of the most distinguishing virtues of St. Brigid was her humility. It is related that she sometimes attended the cattle on her own fields; and whatever may have been the extent of the land bestowed upon her, it is

* See first part of the *Liber Hymnorum*, edited by Dr. Todd for the Archæological and Celtic Society.

also certain that a principal source of subsistence for her nuns was the alms which she received. The habit of her order was white, and for centuries after her time her rule was followed in all the nunneries of Ireland. The Four Masters record the death of St. Brigid at the year 525; and according to Cogitosus, one of her biographers, her remains were buried at the side of the altar, in the Cathedral Church of Kildare, and not, as some late traditions have it, in the same tomb with the apostle of Ireland in Downpatrick.

During the first years of the sixth century the galaxy of holy persons whose sanctity shed such effulgence on the dawn of Christianity in Ireland was gradually disappearing, to be succeeded by the no less brilliant constellations of the second and third centuries of the Irish Church. Many of the venerable bishops who had received consecration from the hands of St. Patrick were still alive, and had the happiness to see the religion of Christ on the throne of Tara, and firmly established in all the provinces. Muircheartach Mac Earca, who succeeded Lughaidh, the son of Laeghaire, A.D. 504, was the first Christian monarch of Ireland. He was, however, engaged in perpetual warfare, fought several bloody battles with the Leinster men to enforce that most oppressive and unjust of imposts, the Borumean tribute, and ultimately was drowned in a butt of wine, into which he had thrown himself to escape from the flames of his house at Cletty, near the Boyne. Descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, by his son Eoghan, he belonged to the race of Northern Hy-Niall, but on his death (A.D. 528), the crown reverted to the Southern Hy-Niall, in the person of Tuathal Maelgarbh, grandson of Cairbre, by whom St. Patrick had been persecuted. Tuathal reigned eleven years, and was killed treacherously by the tutor of his successor.



CHAPTER X.

First Visitation of the Buidhe Chonnaill—Reign of Diarmaid, son of Kerval.—Tara cursed and deserted.—Account of St. Columbkille.—Persecution of the Saint by Diarmaid.—Battle of Cuil Dremni.—Foundation of Iona.—Reign of Hugh, son of Ainmire.—Convention of Drumceat.—Battle of Dunbolg.—Deaths of Saints.—Feuds of the Northern and Southern Hy-Nialls.—Battle of Magh Rath.—The second Buidhe Chonnaill.—Remission of the Borumean Tribute.

COTEMPORARY EVENTS.

The Justinian Code Promulgated, A.D. 529.—The Flight of Mahomet, A.D. 622.—The Saxon Heptarchy established.—The Saxons Converted to Christianity.—Conquest of Gaul by the Franks.—Kingdom of the Vandals destroyed, A.D. 532.—The Visigoths in Spain—The Lombards in Italy.

(*The Sixth and Seventh Centuries*).

A TERRIBLE and mysterious pestilence marks the year 543 as an epoch in our history, "an extraordinary universal plague," as the old annalists express it, "having prevailed throughout the world, and swept away the noblest third part of the human race." This plague is called in the Irish annals *Blefed*, or *Crom Chonnaill*, or *Buidhe Chonnaill*, names implying a sickness which produced yellowness of the skin, resembling in color stubble or withered stalks of corn, which in Irish were called *Connall.** It appears to have been general throughout Europe, originating in the East; and in Ireland, where it prevailed for about ten years, it was preceded by dearth, and followed by leprosy. Several saints and other eminent persons were swept off by this plague in Ireland; St. Berchan of Glasnevin, also called Mobhi Clarineach, or Movi of the Flatface, and St. Finnen of Clonard, who, from the multitude of holy

* See the accounts of this pestilence collected from ancient records by Dr. Wilde in his report on the Tables of Deaths in the Irish Census for 1851, where he gives, on the authority of Mr. Eugene Curry, as above, the first explanation that has been afforded of the name of the sickness.

persons among his disciples, was called the preceptor of the Saints of Ireland, being among its first victims.

Diarmaid, son of Feargus Kerval, of the Southern Hy-Niall race, was Ardrigh of Ireland during this period, having succeeded Tuathal Maelgarbh, in 538, and reigned at least twenty years. He is highly praised by some Irish writers for his spirit of justice, but this quality was not unaccompanied by faults, and his reign is marked by several misfortunes. Notwithstanding the pestilence which was desolating the country, domestic wars and dissensions were not suspended. Diarmaid waged war against Guaire, king of Connaught, probably to enforce payment of a tribute; although it is stated that the monarch's object was to chastise Guaire for an alleged act of injustice, which is quite inconsistent with the character for piety and fabulous generosity which this latter king bears in Irish history. Diarmaid was the last king who resided at Tara. He held the last feast or convention of the states there in the year 554; and shortly after that date, owing to a solemn malediction pronounced on the place by St. Rodanus of Lothra, in Tipperary, in punishment for the violation of the saint's sanctuary by the king, the royal hill was deserted. No subsequent king dared reside there, but each selected his abode according to the dynasty to which he belonged. Thus, the princes of the Northern Hy-Niall family resided in the ancient fortress of Aileach, near Derry; and the Southern Hy-Niall kings lived at one time at the Rath, near Castlepollard, now called Dun-Turgeis, from having become the residence of the Danish king Turgesius, and subsequently at Dun-na-Sciath, on the margin of Lough Ainninn, now Lough Ennell, near Mullingar. Thus, thirteen hundred years ago, the royal raths of Tara were condemned to desolation, although, even yet, their venerable traces have not been effaced from the grassy surface of the hill.*

The crowning misfortune of Diarmaid's reign appears, however, to

* Keneth O'Hartigan, who died in 975, described the Hill of Tara as even then a desert, overgrown with grass and weeds. Among the ancient remains which have been identified by Dr. Petrie on the royal hill of Tara, by the aid of such venerable Irish authorities as the Dinnseanchus, the poems of Cuan O'Lochain and others are—the Rath na Riogh, or rath of the kings, which embraces within its great external circumvallation the ruins of the house of Cormac, the rath called Foradh, and the Mound of the Hostages; the Rath of the Synods, near which were the Cross of Adamnan, and the Mound of Adamnan, the latter being now effaced; the Teach Michuarta, or great banqueting hall; the Mounds of the Heroines, or women-soldiers; the Rath of Graine, the faithless wife of Finn Mac Coul; the Triple Mound of Nesi, the mother of Conor Mac Nesa: the Rath of King Laeghaire, in which St. Patrick preached; and the Well of Neavnach, the stream of which turned the first water-mill, erected by Cormac Mac Art, in the third century.—*See Petrie's Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill.*

have been his hostility to St. Columbkille, and the unhappy consequences resulting from it ; and this subject leads us to an account of one of the most illustrious persons of whom we read in the history of Ireland.

St. Columba, or, as he is generally called, Columbkille, that is Columba-of-the-church, was born in Gartan, a wild district of the county of Donegal, about the year 518 or 521, and was connected with the royal families of Ireland and British Dalriada.* On leaving his fosterage. Columba commenced his studies at Moville, at the head of Strangford Lough, where he became a pupil of the famous bishop St. Finnian ; and from this seminary, when in deacon's orders, he proceeded to Leinster, where, after remaining some short time with an old bard named Gemman, he entered the monastery or college founded by another St. Finnian at Clonard. Thence he proceeded to the monastery of Mobhi Clarainach at Glas Naoidhen, the present Glasnevin, near Dublin ; but this community being broken up by the pestilence, which carried off its principal, in 544, he returned to the North, having previously been ordained priest by the bishop of Clonfad. Already Columba was distinguished, not only for talent and learning, but for extraordinary sanctity ; and some miracles are said to have been performed by him before this time. In 545 or 546 he founded the monastery of Doire-Chalgaigh, the Derry of modern times, and about the year 553 laid the foundation of his great monastery of Darmhagh, now Durrow, in the King's County, the chief house of his order in Ireland.† The battle of Cooldrevny, which is popularly said to have taken place on his account, as we shall presently see, was fought, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 561, and two years after, being then forty-two years of age, he left Ireland, accompanied by twelve chosen disciples, for the island of Hy, or Iona, which was given to him by his relative, Conall, the king of the Albanian Scots,‡ and which became the seat of one of the most celebrated monastic institutions of Northern Europe, and the head of his order. From this St. Columba proceeded on missionary journeys with his monks into the country of the Picts, whom he converted to Christianity.§ Innumerable miracles are related of him,

* St. Columba's father, Fedlime, was the grandson of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and (by his mother Erca) grandson of Loarn, one of the sons of Erc, who planted the Dalriadic colony in Scotland; and the saint's mother, Ethnea, was descended from Cathair Mor, king of Ireland, A.D. 120, and was thus of the royal race of Leinster. Such being the saint's parentage and connections, it is no wonder that his name should be mixed up in the state affairs of his time.

† The name *Doire* signifies an "Oak-wood" (*Roboretum*) and that of *Darmhagh* signifies the "Plain of the Oak," *Campus Roborum*, as Bede (Hist. Eccl. Lib. iii. c. 4.) translates it.

‡ Bede and the Saxon chronicle say that Iona belonged to the Picts when St. Columba came there.

§ When he first went to announce the faith to the Pictish king, Brude, he was refused admission to the interior of the royal fort; but at the saint's command the gates miraculously flew open, and

and even without these marks of divine favor, the account which is left to us by his biographer, St. Adamnan, of his singular holiness and many exalted qualities, is sufficient to enrol his name on the calendar as that of a great saint. St. Columba is regarded as the apostle of both the Picts and Scots of North Britain, although the latter had brought with them some knowledge of Christianity from Ireland, and he has shared with St. Patrick and St. Brigid the honor of being the joint patron of his native country. Iona for a long time furnished missionaries and bishops for many parts of Britain, and its monks took a leading part in the conversion of the Saxons, supplying the Saxon church with many prelates and priests for at least a couple of centuries. This relation between pastors and their spiritual children produced the friendly feeling of the Irish towards the Saxons of which Venerable Bede makes mention; and when the Christian Britons, in their hatred of their Saxon conquerors, refused to preach Christianity to them, or hold any communion with them after their conversion, their Scottish or Irish neighbours willingly performed that Christian duty for them. Aidan, king of the Scots of Britain, came to St. Columba in Iona to be inaugurated; and the saint having received instructions from heaven in a vision to perform the ceremony, anointed and blessed him ; this being the first recorded instance, not only in these countries, but in Europe, of the Christian ceremony of anointing kings at their inauguration. In Ireland forms handed down from pagan times remained still in use, while the kingdom of the Scots in Albion, commencing under Christian auspices, was more suited for a new order of things.*

As to the quarrel with the king of Ireland and the battle of Cooldrevny, various circumstances are related by the old annalists, which show a degree of animosity against the saint on the part of the king. It is stated that St. Columbkille copied a portion of the sacred Scripture from a book which had been lent to him by St. Finnen, without having the permission of the latter to do so. At that time a book was a most important object, and a discussion arising on the subject, King Diarmaid was chosen arbitrator, and decided against St. Columbkille, giving the copy as well as the book to St. Finnen, and assigning, as a ground for his unjust judgment, the maxim that "the calf should follow the cow." Another oppor-

the king, filled with wonder at the event, came forth to receive him and was converted by his preaching. It is a remarkable circumstance, noticed more than once in the lives of the saint, that when he preached to the Picts he employed an interpreter to explain his words, thus showing that the Picts and Scots were not identical in race and did not speak the same language.

* See Adamnan's Life of St. Columba edited for the Archæological and Celtic Society, by Dr. Reeves of Ballymena. Also Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga.

tunity of showing Diarmaid's ill-feeling towards Columba presented itself about the same time. At the last assembly of Tara, already mentioned, a dispute took place between Curnan, a son of the king of Connaught, and another person, in which the latter was killed. Curnan fled for refuge to Columbkille, but Diarmaid dragged him from his sanctuary, and, notwithstanding the intercession of the saint, got him instantly put to death. It is said that St. Columba upon this threatened the king with the vengeance of his relatives, the Hy-Nialls of the North ; but this is scarcely probable, as the saint endeavoured to effect his escape, which Diarmaid tried to prevent, ordering the frontiers of Meath to be watched. Columba first retired to Monasterboice, and then made his way across the hills into Oriel; and with the provocation which had been offered it must have been easy to stir up the hot blood of the warlike clans of Tirconnell, Tyrone, and Connaught. St. Columba may only have related what occurred and then prayed for the success of his friends when they went to battle. Moreover, as Cooldrevny, or Cuil-Dremni, the site of the battle, was in Carbury, to the north of Sligo, the very position of the armies would show that Diarmaid was all through the aggressor. This king's ideas of religion may be conjectured from the fact that he had druids in his camp, and trusted to their magic for success; but he was vanquished, with a slaughter of 3,000 of his men, while the army which was protected by the prayers of St. Columba came off with scarcely any loss.* A large number of the clergy of Meath were induced by the representations of Diarmaid to hold a synod at Teltown for the purpose of excommunicating St. Columba; but St. Brendan of Birr, St. Finnian of Moville, and other eminent ecclesiastics who were present protested against their proceedings, and the object of the synod was not carried out. It is said that battles were fought about the year 580 or 587, in which St. Columba also felt an interest; but the allusions to them are very obscure. His departure from Ireland was voluntary, and he returned there some years after to attend the convention of Drumceat, and to visit his house of Durrow, and St. Kiaran's famous monastery of Clonmacnoise. He died in Iona, about the year 597 (the Four Masters erroneously have it 592), in the 77th year of his age and the 35th year of his pilgrimage to that island.

On the death of Diarmaid, who was killed (A.D. 565) by Black Hugh,

* After this battle the copy of St. Finnen's book was restored to St. Columba. "This manuscript," says Dr. O'Donovan, "which is a copy of the Psalter, was ever after known by the name of *Cathach* (Præliator). It was preserved for ages in the family of O'Donnell, and has been deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, by Sir Richard O'Donnell, its present owner." Four Masters, an. 555, note, and an. 1497., note.

a prince of the Pictish race of Dalaradia, against whom both the northern and southern Hy-Niall waged war, Ireland was ruled by two kings, reigning jointly, as frequently happened in subsequent times.

After some short and unimportant reigns, Aedh, or Hugh, son of Ainmire, came to the throne, and reigned twenty-seven years. By him was summoned, in 573, the great convention of Drumceat, the first meeting of the States of Ireland held after the abandonment of Tara.* The leading members of the clergy attended, and among them was St. Columbkille, who came from Iona for the purpose, accompanied by a great number of bishops and monks; the saint, although a simple priest, taking precedence of all the prelates of North Britain, in his capacity of Apostle or founder of the church in that country. The king was friendly to St. Columba, being of the same family, but some of his court had little welcome for the saint, and a mob was employed to insult his clergy. Partly, however, through the veneration in which he was held, and partly by the terror of the wonders which it pleased God to work by his hands among the rude people whom he taught, the saint induced King Hugh and his convention to decide as he recommended. One of the points to be settled concerned the relations between the Scottish colony of Alba (of which the king, Aidan, St. Columba's friend, was present,) and the mother country; and the saint, foreseeing the wars to which this matter would give rise, prevailed on the king of Ireland to abandon his claims against Alba, thus establishing the independence of the Scottish colony, and severing it for ever from the mother country. Another question related to the immense number of bards, or, according to others, of idle, worthless persons under the name of students, with which the country was encumbered. The king wished to get rid of them altogether by a sweeping measure; but St. Columba induced him to adopt the wiser and more moderate course of merely diminishing their number, and limiting it for the future by certain rules.

A.D. 594.—Hugh Ainmire, while endeavouring to enforce that perpetual plague of ancient Ireland, the Leinster tribute, was killed in battle at Dunbolg,† or the fort of the bags, a place so called from a memorable circumstance connected with it. Bran Dubh, then king of Leinster, finding his army on this occasion unequal to that of the monarch in point of numbers, had recourse to stratagem, and entering Hugh's camp

* The name of Drumceat is translated *dorsum cete*—"The Whale's Back." The place where the synod, or convention, was held was a long mound in Roe Park, near Newtown Limavaddy, now called the Mullagh, and sometimes Daisy-hill. (Ordnance Survey of Londonderry.)

† Now Dunboyke, near Hollywood, in the county of Wicklow.—O'Donovan.

disguised as a leper, he spread a report that the Leinstermen were prepared to submit, and were in fact coming with provisions and presents for the king's army. In the dusk of the evening a vast number of bullocks laden with leathern bags were seen approaching, and the drivers being challenged by the sentinels, announced that they were coming with provisions for the army of the king of Ireland; and this statement bearing out the story of the pretended leper, they were allowed to enter the camp, and to deposit their burthens without further inquiry until morning. Each bag, however, contained an armed man, and in the course of the night the chosen band thus introduced into the camp fell upon their enemies, and the slaughter lasted until morning, when the monarch was killed by Bran Dubh himself, and the remnant of his army put to flight. Thus was the Borumean tribute forfeited for that occasion. In the year 597 the annalists mention "the sword-blows of Bran Dubh in Bregia," showing that he had carried hostilities into the territory of Meath; but in four years after we find him crushed by the combined power of the Hy-Niall races at the battle of Slaibhre, where he was defeated; and after the battle he was treacherously killed by one of his own tribe, the herenach, or hereditary warden of Senboth-Sine.*

The Irish annals, about this time, record the deaths of several holy persons. Thus, St. Brendan of Birr died in 571; St. Brendan of Clonfert, who in his seven years' voyage in the Western Ocean is believed to have been the first European discoverer of America, died at Enach Duin, or Annadown, near Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway, in 577; St. Canice, or Cainnech, to whom Kilkenny owes its origin and its name, died in 598; and St. Kevin of Glendalough, who is said to have reached the age of 120 years, died in 617.

The Hy-Niall dynasty had now for a long time enjoyed the sovereignty of Ireland, but as the northern and southern branches of the race were almost constantly engaged in wars against each other, their broils lowered the position and weakened the power of the monarch. In process of time the southern Hy-Nialls, or Meath family, fell greatly in the estimation of the country, while of the northern Hy-Nialls it must be said, that whatever were the faults of some of their princes, they always maintained a character for the most chivalrous bravery. About this time, two kings who ruled the island jointly were murdered by Conall Guthvin, a prince of the southern Hy-Niall; and the indignation of the

† Now Templeshanbo, at the foot of Mount Leinster, in Wexford.

country was so excited by the crime that his family was excluded from the throne of monarch for several generations. Congal Caech, king of Ulidia, of the Rudrician line, also drew upon himself public abhorrence by the crime of murder. He killed the reigning sovereign, Suivne Meann (A.D. 623), and was vanquished in the battle of Dunkehern, the following year, by Suivne's successor, son of Hugh Ainmire, and obliged to fly into Britain, where he remained nine years, and where he ingratiated himself so well with Saxons, Britons, Picts, and Albanian Scots, as to secure their aid against his countrymen.

Congal began (A.D. 634) the fatal game of introducing foreign auxiliaries into Ireland, and of showing them the weakness to which factions were capable of reducing his native country. It so happened, however, that in this instance there was no weakness displayed. Donnell, the reigning monarch of the northern Hy-Niall race, was able to muster an army capable of meeting the invading force together with Congal's own Ulidians, and in the battle which ensued, and which was renewed for six successive days, Congal's combined forces were almost annihilated and he himself slain, so that the remnant of his foreign auxiliaries found it difficult to escape back to their respective countries. This was the great battle of Magh Rath, or Moyra, in the county of Down, one of the most famous and important conflicts mentioned in the ancient annals of Ireland.* St. Adamnan laments the part which Donnell Breac, then the king of the Albanian Scots, took in that war, combining as he did with foreigners to invade the country of his ancestors, and, by breaking the bond between them, paving the way to future calamities for both countries.

A.D. 656.—This year commenced the second visitation of the *Buidhe Chonnaill*, which had ravaged the country a little more than a hundred years before, and which on the present occasion is said to have swept away two-thirds of the whole population. It was ushered in by a total eclipse of the sun the preceding year; and as at its former visit, it continued for about ten years, making its appearance about the beginning of August each year. After the year 667, this sickness is not again mentioned in the Irish annals. An improbable fable is related by some annalists to account for this visitation. It is said that the population had become so dense that food enough could not be produced by the entire soil of the country; and that, apprehending a famine, the rulers invited the clergy to meet together and pray that the lower class, or

* See the ancient historic tale of the Battle of Magh Rath translated and edited by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archæological Society, 1842.

"inferior multitude" might be thinned, lest all of them should starve. The displeasure of heaven was intimated through an angel, and the pestilence was sent to sweep away the higher as well as the lower classes. The two joint monarchs of Ireland, the kings of Ulster and Munster, and many other persons of rank were among its victims; and we read also that it carried off several abbots and holy personages, as St. Fechin of Fobhar, St. Ronan, St. Aileran the Wise, St. Cronan, St. Manchan, St. Ultan of Clonard, and others. Another St. Ultan, bishop of Ardbraccan, collected the infants who had been deprived of their mothers by the plague, and caused them to be fed with milk through the teats of cows, cut off for the purpose. This is the first instance we have of an hospital for orphan children founded in Ireland. Venerable Bede describes the ravages of the pestilence at the same time in Britain, and in doing so bears most interesting testimony to the learning, enlightened generosity, and hospitality, of Ireland. He says:—"This pestilence did no less harm in the island of Ireland. Many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation were there at that time, who, in the days of bishops Finan and Colman, forsaking their native land, retired thither, either for the sake of divine studies, or of a more continent life. The Scots (that is the Scoti of Ireland) willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, gratis."*

Finnachta Fleadhach, or the Hospitable, who began his reign in the year 673, rendered his name memorable by yielding to the prayers and representations of St. Moling, and remitting the Borumean tribute, which he had just succeeded in forcing from the Leinstermen in a bloody battle. After this act of piety and generosity we are not surprised to find, by the Annals of Ulster, that Finnachta in the same year (687) abdicated, and embraced a religious life. In the year 684 an army sent by Egfrid, the Saxon king of Northumbria, made an unexpected and unprovoked descent on the Irish coast, and laid waste the rich lands of Bregia, that is, the territory extending between the Liffey and the Boyne, sparing neither churches nor monasteries in their sacrilegious plunder, and carrying off a great number of the inhabitants as slaves to Britain. Venerable Bede denounces and laments this act of rapine, and attributes the defeat and death of King Egfrid, the following year, in an expedition against the Picts, to the just vengeance of heaven

* All the authorities on this pestilence are collected by Dr. Wilde, in his Report on the Tables of Deaths, pp. 49, &c., *Census of* 1851.

for this aggression.* St. Adamnan, the celebrated abbot of Iona, went on a mission into Northumbria, on the death of Egfrid, to reclaim the captives who had been taken from Ireland the preceding year. He was received with great honor, performed many miracles, and his application was granted without difficulty.†

* Bede thus describes the event:—"In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 684, Egfrid, king of the Northumbrians, sending Berctus, his general, with an army into Ireland (Hiberniam) miserably wasted that inoffensive nation, which had always been most friendly to the English (nationi anglorum semper amicissimam); insomuch that in their hostile rage they spared not even the churches or monasteries. The islanders, to the utmost of their power, repelled force with force, and imploring the assistance of the Divine mercy, prayed long and fervently for vengeance; and though such as curse cannot possess the kingdom of God, it is believed that those who were justly cursed on account of their impiety did soon after suffer the penalty of their guilt from the avenging hand of God; for the very next year that same king, rashly leading his army against the Picts, ... was drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains, and slain with the greater part of his forces, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign."—*Eccl. Hist.* lib. iv. c. 26.

† The dates of several of the events mentioned in this chapter are thus fixed in the Leabhar Breac, or Speckled Book, an Irish MS. preserved in the Royal Irish Academy:—"33 years from the death of Patrick (493) to the death of Bridget, in her 70th year (523); 36 years from the death of Bridget to the battle of Cuil Dremni (559); 35 years from the battle of Cuil Dremni to the death of Columbkille, in the 76th year of his age (594); 40 years from the death of Columbkille to the battle of Moira (637); 25 years from the battle of Moira to the (second) Buidhe Chonaill (662, *recte* 663); 25 years from the Buidhe Chonaill till Finachta, son of Maelduin, son of Aedh Slaine, remitted the Boru to Moling (687)."



CHAPTER XI.

The Primitive Church in Ireland.—Its Monasticism.—Its Missionary Character.—St. Columbanus, his Life and Labors.—Foundation of Bobbio.—His Letter to the Pope.—Unity with Rome.—St. Gallus.—St. Aidan and the Church of Lindisfarne.—St. Colman.—The Paschal Controversy.—National Prejudices of the Irish.—Sectarian Misrepresentation.—Synod of Old Leighlin.—Saint Cummian.—Conference of Whitby.—Innisbofin.—Saint Adamnan.—"The Law of the Innocents."—Saint Frigidian.—Saint Degan.—Saint Livinus.—Saint Fiacre.—Saint Fursey.—Saint Dicuil.—Saint Killian.—Saint Sedulius the Younger.—Saint Virgilius.—SS. Foilan and Ultan.—Saint Fridolin "the Traveller."—Clemens and Albinus.—Dungal.—Donatus.—Irish Missions to Iceland.

SCARCELY was Ireland thoroughly converted to Christianity when, as already observed, great monastic schools began to spring up in various parts of the country. The most celebrated of them, after that of Armagh, were Clonard, in Meath, founded early in the sixth century by St. Finan, or Finian; Clonmacnoise, on the banks of the Shannon, in the King's County, founded in the same century by St. Kiaran, called the Carpenter's Son; Bennchor, or Bangor,* in the Ards of Ulster, founded by St. Comgall in the year 558, and Lismore, in Waterford, founded by St. Carthach, or Mochuda, about the year 633. These, and many other Irish schools, attracted a vast concourse of students, the pupils of a single school often numbering from one to three thousand, several of whom came from Britain, Gaul, and other countries, drawn hither by the reputation for sanctity and learning which Ireland enjoyed throughout Europe. The course of instruction embraced all branches of knowledge as it then existed, and more especially the study of the Holy Scriptures; and as the

* This celebrated monastery and school, of which all that now remains is the churchyard, was situated on the south side of Lough Laigh (Stagnum Vituli) now Belfast Lough, in the county of Down, and must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Wales.

students were not only taught, but supported gratuitously, their numbers became so burdensome to the country—whose hospitality indolent laymen often abused under the pretext of seeking after knowledge—that legislation on the subject became necessary so early as the synod or convention of Drumceat (A.D. 575).

The number of monasteries, the extent to which religious education was carried, but, above all, the fervour which characterized the early ages of the Irish Church, had the effect of filling Ireland with holy ascetics, living either in communities or in total solitude; so that scarcely an island round the coast, or in the lakes of the interior, or a valley, or any solitary spot, could be found which, like the deserts of Egypt and Palestine, was not inhabited by fervent cœnobites and anchorites. In the lives of some of these holy persons who thus peopled the wild, tempest-beaten rocks round the Irish coast, it is not unusual to read of others again who were found occasionally tossed on the waves in the frail boats of that period, "seeking," as the phrase was, "for a desert in the ocean;" and when they came to a resting place on earth, they only looked upon it as their "*locus resurrectionis*"—the place where their ashes should await the day of the resurrection. It was an age of simplicity and fervour, and may well be called the golden age of Ireland; for while barbarian swarms were inundating Europe, each wave of desolation plunging the nations over which it passed in social chaos and demoralization, Erin was engaged in prayer and study, and the general gloom of Europe only made her light shine the more brilliantly by the contrast, and enhanced her glorious distinction as the "Island of Saints."

As soon as religion had been thus matured by sacred study in the schools, and by divine contemplation and penitential discipline in the cloisters and in the cells and caves of anchorites, it quickly assumed a more active development, for which the Irish mind exhibited an equally happy adaptation. We refer to the missionary career of the Irish church, which dates from the time of St. Columbkille. A few Irishmen prior to that epoch were engaged in the diffusion of Christianity in other countries, but it was only then that the missionary duty may be said to have been taken up by them with a steady and organized zeal. We have seen how St. Columba himself preached Christianity to the Picts. For that purpose he often crossed from Iona into Albion; and passing the *Dorsum Britanniæ*, or Grampian Hills, accompanied by his monks, travelled into the northern regions of that country. After his death (A.D. 597), his institution of Iona, and his other monasteries in those parts, continued to be supplied with Scottish monks from Ireland, who were the ordinary

missionaries of the Picts and British Scots;* their mission being extended still farther south, when they were invited into Northumberland in 635 by King Oswald, and founded there the diocese and Columbian monastery of Lindisfarne.

The great father, however, of Irish foreign missions into countries beyond Britain, was St. Columbanus.† This illustrious saint was a native of Leinster, and was of noble extraction. He was born about the year 539, studied under St. Comgall in Bangor, and, according to the most probable account, left Ireland in the year 589, accompanied by twelve other monks, for Gaul, passing through Britain, where he made only a brief stay. The former country being then in the possession of the Franks, we may call it by its modern name of France. Here our Scottic missionaries having penetrated into the territory which formed the kingdom of Burgundy, then ruled by King Thierry, or Theodoric, they (A.D. 590), founded the monastery of Luxovium, or Luxeuil, in the midst of a forest at the foot of the Vosges, where St. Columbanus established the rigid discipline of his native country, as he had received it from his master, St. Comgall. The fame of our countryman's sanctity soon spread to a distance, and the concourse of those who came to join his order, or to seek instruction, was so great that he was obliged, in a short time, to establish another monastery, to which he gave the name of Fontaines. Religion having been totally neglected under the barbarian sway of the Franks, the active zeal and rigorous life of the Irish monks strangely contrasted with the lax and torpid Christianity of all classes of the population by whom they were surrounded; and in denouncing the prevalent vices our saint did not spare those of King Theodoric himself or of his demoralized court. This zeal drew upon him the wrath both of the king and of the evil-minded queen dowager, Brunehault, and St. Columbanus became an object of relentless persecution. The privileges originally conceded to his monasteries were withdrawn, and his rule for excluding the laity from the interior of the cloisters having given offence, the king went himself, accompanied by a retinue of nobles, to intrude forcibly into the sacred enclosures. Having penetrated some distance, however, Theodoric became terrified at the prophetic denunciation of the

* The Scottish colony in North Britain, owing to various causes, does not appear to have devoted much attention either to religion or learning for a long time after this period; and hence are the unfounded assumptions of Dempster, and modern Scotch writers, in claiming all the celebrated Scots of those early ages as their own countrymen, the more absurd.

† The name of this saint is sometimes written Columba; and he has been often confounded, especially by foreign writers, with the great Apostle of the Picts and founder of Iona.

saint, and desisted, contenting himself with ordering St. Columbanus to leave the country, and permitting only the Irish and British monks to accompany him.

A.D. 610.—The heroic Scot refused to leave his beloved monks unless torn from them by force; whereupon a company of soldiers were sent to carry out the tyrant's orders, and St. Columbanus was dragged from his cloister at Luxeuil, where he had spent twenty years, and conveyed with those monks who were allowed to share his fortunes as far as Nantes, where an attempt to ship them off to Ireland having been, as it would seem, miraculously frustrated, they were permitted to go at large.

St. Columbanus then repaired to the court of Clothaire, king of Soissons, by whom he was entertained in the most friendly manner. Thence he passed through the territory of Theodobert, king of Austrasia, who, although the brother of Theodoric, treated our saint with the utmost kindness and distinction; and ascending by the Rhine into the country now called Switzerland, he there found that the population, who were Alemanni, had relapsed into idolatry, and that the Christian churches were converted into temples for idols. St. Columbanus preached here in different places, and sojourned for a year at Bregentz, at the south-eastern extremity of the lake of Constance, where he left one of his Irish disciples, St. Gallus, or Gall, who was then sick, setting out himself with the remainder of his companions for Italy.

A.D. 613.—In the third year after his expulsion from the Vosges, St. Columbanus arrived at Milan, where he was received in the kindest manner by Agilulph, king of the Lombards, and his accomplished queen, Theodolinda. He was permitted to choose a site for a monastery, and selected for that purpose a place in the Appenines called Bovium or Bobbio, where he founded a great monastery, and built near his church an oratory dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. By this time his friend Clothaire had become king of all France, having seized the dominions of Theodoric after the death of the latter, who had only just before slain his brother Theodobert and taken his kingdom. St. Columbanus was thereupon pressingly invited by Clothaire to return to Luxeuil; but he declined, and contented himself with transmitting his advice for the government of his old monasteries, where his rule continued to be strictly adhered to.

St. Columbanus found northern Italy in a state of schism, owing to a theological controversy, known as that of the "Three Chapters;" and he was prevailed on by King Agilulph to write to Pope Boniface on the

subject. The free tone of this epistle, so consistent with the unflinching character of the man, as well as with the spirit of those rude times; and also our saint's unaltered adhesion to the mode of computing Easter, and to the form of liturgy which he had learned in his own country, and which had been introduced there by St. Patrick, are particularly dwelt on by those who wish to draw a distinction between the religion of the ancient Irish and that of Rome; but the attempts to show any such distinction are utterly fruitless. The discrepancies on points of discipline were only such as might have existed without detriment to the unity of the church; and St. Columbanus, as well as every other Irish ecclesiastic who visited the continent of Europe in those early ages, found himself in the most perfect unison in matters of faith with the church of Rome, that is, with the Universal Christian church of that age. St. Columbanus told the Pope, "that although dwelling at the extremity of the world all the Irish were disciples of SS. Peter and Paul, receiving no other than the evangelical and apostolical doctrine; that no heretic, or Jew, or schismatic, was to be found among them, but that they still clung to the Catholic faith, as it was first delivered to them by his (the Pope's) predecessors, that is, the successors of the holy apostles; that the Irish were attached to the chair of St. Peter, and that although Rome was great and renowned, it was only on account of that chair it was so with them. Through the two apostles of Christ," he added, "you are almost celestial, and Rome is the head of all churches, as well as of the world."*

St. Columbanus died at Bobbio, on the 21st of November, 615, at the age of 72 years; and his memory is still highly venerated both in France and Italy. In the latter country his name is preserved in that of a small town in the district of Lodi, called from him S. Colombano. From his writings it is obvious that he was acquainted with Greek and Hebrew, besides being an accomplished scholar in other respects; and as he did not leave his own country until he was about fifty years of age, and was afterwards occupied constantly in active duties, we may infer tha he acquired all his knowledge in the schools of Ireland.†

* The letters and other writings of St. Columbanus that have been preserved may be seen in Fleming's *Collectanea*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. 12, Ed., 1677. Some of them are published in Ussher's *Sylloge*.

† The Benedictines, in the *Hist. Litteraire de la France*, say:—"The light which St. Columbanus disseminated, by his knowledge and doctrine, wherever he presented himself, caused a cotemporary writer to compare him to the sun in his course from east to west; and he continued after his death to shine forth in numerous disciples whom he had trained in learning and piety." See also Muratori, *Annali di Ital.* ad. an. 612, where he describes the monastery of Bobbio, as one of the

We have seen that Gallus or Gall, one of the disciples of St. Columbanus, was left in Helvetia, being prevented by sickness from accompanying his master. He was an eloquent preacher, and being acquainted with their language, a dialect of that of the Franks which he had acquired in Burgundy, he evangelized the Alemanni, and is called their apostle. He died on the 16th of October, about the year 645, in the 95th year of his age; and over his ashes rose a monastery which became the nucleus, first of an important town and then of a small state, with the rank of a principality, called after the holy Irish monk. It was not until the year 1798 that the abbey lands of St. Gall, as the territory was called, were aggregated to the Swiss Confederation as one of the cantons. The old abbey church is one of the chief attractions in the city of St. Gall, and for the Irish traveller there are many objects of interest there in the relics of his ancient national literature and piety, and in the various associations with his country. The life of St. Gall was written by Walafridus Strabus, a writer of the ninth century.

A.D. 635.—Meanwhile St. Aidan, a monk of Iona, chosen by his brethren as a missionary for Northumbria, on the invitation of King Oswald, who had been for some time a refugee in Ireland, converted the Saxons of that country to Christianity, and established the see of Lindisfarne, of which he was the first bishop. He was accompanied by many of his countrymen on this mission; a monastery of the Columbian order was founded at Lindisfarne, and Irish masters were also obtained to instruct the children of the Northumbrian nobles in the rudiments of learning. St. Aidan, A.D. 651, was succeeded by St. Fintan or Finan, another Irishman and monk of Hy, who sent missionaries to preach the Gospel to the Middle and East Angles, and consecrated as first bishop of the former and also of Mercia, Diuma, an Irishman, who was succeeded by another Irishman, named Kellach. St. Fintan, who died about the year 660, was succeeded as bishop of Lindisfarne, by his countryman St. Colman; so that the church of the northern Saxon kingdoms was for a long time at that period almost wholly in the charge of Irish ecclesiastics. Colman was deeply involved in the controversy about the celebration of Easter, which had for some time been a subject of anxious discussion in Ireland and Britain; and as the question holds a prominent place in the history of the Irish church of that age, it is necessary to enter into a brief explanation of it here.

most celebrated in Italy; Fleury, Hist. Eccl., Liv. xxxvii., and all writers who have treated of the religious and literary history of Europe during the period in question. The life of St. Columbanus was written by Ionas, an Irish or British monk, the cotemporary of some of the saint's disciples.

It must be premised that a wide difference existed between the practice with regard to Easter as upheld so long in Britain and Ireland, and that which formed a matter of dispute some centuries before with the churches of the East. A question arose in the very infancy of Christianity, whether the Christian Pasch should be solemnized, like that of the Old Law, on the fourteenth day of the moon which falls next after the vernal equinox, whatever day of the week that might be; or whether it should not always be observed on a Sunday, the day which our Lord had consecrated by His resurrection. The former practice was invariably disapproved of in the western church, and was condemned in the Council of Nice (A.D. 325), and a few churches of Mesopotamia, which persisted in it, and which were besides infected with Nestorianism, were consequently pronounced heretical. This constituted the Quartodeciman heresy; but in the Catholic church there still remained some obstacles to uniformity in the computation of Easter. Thus, while at Alexandria, which had the best astronomers, the cycle of nineteen years was employed for ascertaining the moon's age, the old Jewish cycle of eighty-four years continued to be received for a long time at Rome; and a difference of opinion also prevailed as to whether Easter-day should be held on the fourteenth of the moon when it fell on Sunday, or on the next succeeding Sunday; but these and some other details were finally adjusted between Rome and the principal churches of the East; the main point thus settled being that the fourteenth day should under no circumstances be taken for Easter. General harmony now prevailed on the subject throughout Europe and the East, when it was found that the insulated Scottish (that is, Irish) church still adhered to the old practice that had been introduced by St. Patrick, and that, apparently quite unaware of the discussion on the subject which had formerly agitated the rest of the world, and had been long since disposed of, the Irish clergy still celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day, if that day happened to be Sunday, and were only acquainted with the antiquated cycle of eighty-four years which St. Patrick had been taught to use in his time, both in Gaul and Rome, but which had been since laid aside for a computation of greater scientific accuracy.

Veneration for the customs of their fathers has always been a characteristic of the Scottic race. In this case they held on to the tradition of the great saints who planted Christianity in their country, and enriched it with their virtues, and no arguments could for a long time convince them that a usage sanctified by Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille, was erroneous. They were certainly guilty of obstinacy,

and for that they deserve no praise. It is amusing to observe how little weight either science or authority had with them against the tradition which they held from those whom they loved and venerated; but there cannot be a greater perversion of the truth than to pretend that this usage of the Irish church indicated an Eastern origin, or an essential negation of conformity with Rome, seeing that that very usage had been brought from Rome itself. This point is important, as gross misrepresentation has been practised on the subject. Perfect uniformity even in matters of discipline was desirable; and a diversity of practice, from which it often followed that while some were still observing the fast of Lent, others in the same community or household were chanting the alleluias of Easter, was most objectionable; but the Irish and their brethren of Britain could not be brought for some time to yield up an old custom for the sake of uniformity in such matters; while on the other hand their adhesion to that custom did not exclude them from the unity of the Catholic church, or prevent some of its warmest advocates, such as St. Columbanus, who wrote a strong letter on the subject to St. Gregory, from ranking as saints in the Roman martyrology.*

A.D. 630.—This year, in consequence of an admonitory letter from Pope Honorius I., a synod was held by the Irish clergy at Lena or Old Leighlin, to consider the paschal question. St. Laserian advocated the Roman practice, and St. Fintan Munnu, the Irish one; and both, it will be observed, are saints of the Catholic church. It was decided that messengers should be sent to Rome to consult "the head of cities," and the ecclesiastics so deputed brought back word, after three years' absence, that the Roman discipline was that of the whole world. From the date of this announcement (633), the new Roman cycle and rules for Easter were received in the southern half of Ireland, embracing with Munster the greater part of Leinster, and part of Connaught. The attachment of the Columbian monks to the old practice still retarded the adoption of the correct one in the northern half of Ireland; and it was nearly a century after when the wrong method of finding Easter was finally abandoned by the community of Hy. St. Cummian, who belonged to

* It is a remarkable fact that thus, some two hundred years after the preaching of St. Patrick, no point of difference could be found between the faith and discipline of the church of Ireland and the faith and discipline of the church of Rome, except this slight one of the computation of Easter, and that of the tonsure, or mode of shaving the heads of the monks; a pretty conclusive evidence that whatever the religion of Rome was in the sixth and seventh centuries, such was also the religion of Ireland found to be at the same period; and it is humiliating to find some writers at the present day so blinded by sectarianism as to assert the contrary, and to pretend that the religion which St. Patrick brought into Ireland was not the religion of the western church!

the Columbian order, embraced the Roman custom at the synod of 630, and addressed a learned epistle to the abbot and monks of Hy, in vindication of himself, and of the practice of the universal church;* and a few years after the clergy of Ulster addressed a letter to the Holy See, which was received there a little before the death of Pope Severinus, and was replied to by the Roman clergy while the see was vacant; but the admonition of these latter on the Easter question appears to have had no effect upon their Scottish correspondents.

Such was the state of the controversy when it was renewed with increased vehemence in Northumbria, at the time (A.D. 664) that Colman succeeded Finan in the see of Lindisfarne. A conference was held that year at Whitby, at which kings Oswin and Alcfrid presided; St. Wilfrid, a learned Saxon bishop, advocating the Roman observance, and St. Colman with the Irish clergy supporting their own national practice, while St. Ceadda, bishop of Mercia, and an adherent of the Scots, acted as interpreter between the parties. The proceedings of this conference were most interesting, and resulted in a decision against Colman's usage; the kings and the bulk of the assembly declaring in favor of Wilfrid. St. Colman consequently resigned the see of Lindisfarne, and taking with him all the Irish and about thirty of the English monks of his establishment, he withdrew to the remote island of Innisbofin, or the "island of the white cow," off the western coast of Ireland, where he founded a monastery for his Irish monks, building another shortly after for his English followers on the plain of Mayo, called on that account Mayo-of-the-Saxons. He himself resided in Innisbofin, until his death, in the year 676.†

* This celebrated letter is published in Ussher's *Sylloge*; and its style and the learning it displays are highly creditable to the venerable Irish ecclesiastic by whom it was written.

† Venerable Bede (Ec. Hist. B. iii., chap. 25) gives a detailed account of the important conference of Whitby. Describing, in the following chapter, the departure of St. Colman and the Irish monks from Lindisfarne, he pays them the following tribute, which may be received as applicable to the Irish monks in general of that period:—"The place which he (Colman) governed, shows how frugal he and his predecessors were, for there were very few houses besides the church found at their departure, indeed no more than were barely sufficient for their daily residence; they had also no money, but only some cattle; for if they received any money from rich persons they immediately gave it to the poor; there being no need to gather money or provide houses for the entertainment of the great men of the world; for such never resorted to the church except to pray and hear the word of God. . . . . For the whole care of those teachers was to serve God, not the world—to feed the soul, and not the stomach." And again (B. iii., chap. 27)—"During the time of Finan and Colman, many nobles and others of the English nation were living in Ireland, whither they had repaired either to cultivate the sacred studies, or to lead a life of greater strictness. Some of them soon became monks; others were better pleased to apply to reading and study, going about from school to school through the cells of the masters; and all of them were most cheerfully received by the Irish, who supplied them *gratis* with good books and instruction."

A.D. 684.—It was related at the close of the preceding chapter how Egfrid, king of Northumbria, sent an army on a piratic excursion into Ireland, to gratify, as it is believed, his private resentment; his brother Alfred having sought refuge in Ireland from his treachery, and been hospitably received there.* The next year, or the following one, Alfred succeeded him on the throne; and it was then (A.D 685 or 686) that St. Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Hy, who is celebrated not only for his sanctity, but as the accomplished biographer of the great St. Columba, was sent into England to recover the captives and property of which Ireland had been plundered. Adamnan's mission to the friendly court of Alfred was most successful; and he appears to have repeated his visits there more than once in after years. This holy and learned abbot was one of the most strenuous promoters of the new paschal computation, which he succeeded in introducing into the northern parts of Ireland, although his own monastery of Hy persisted in declining it for some years longer. In the year 697, he proceeded to Ireland from Hy, and took part in a synod or legislative council, held at Tara, which place, although it had ceased to be a royal residence, was still occasionally used as the seat of legislation. On this occasion he procured the enactment of a law, which was called the Canon of Adamnan, or the "Law of the Innocents," and sometimes "the law not to kill women."

It was usual amongst the pagan Irish, as we have seen, for women to go with the men to battle, but as we generally read of one woman being killed by another, it is probable that the female combatants of opposite armies encountered each other. This barbarous custom may have fallen partially into disuse after the conversion of the country to Christianity, although we are not told that such was the case; but there was certainly no law against it, or any to exempt women from attending hostings in warfare until the time of St. Adamnan; and a characteristic incident is related in the Leabhar Breac, and the Book of Lecan, to account for that saint's interference in this matter. It happened, according to the story, that Adamnan was travelling one day through the plain of Bregia, while yet a young man, with his mother, Ronait, on his back, when they saw two armies engaged in conflict. The mother of Adamnan observed a woman with a sickle plunged into the breast of

* Alfred and Oswald were not the only foreign princes who had been sheltered in Ireland; Dagobert II., king of Austrasia, having, in his youth, lived for fifteen years (655 to 670) in the monastery of Slane on the Boyne, whither he had been sent on the death of his father by Grimoald, mayor of the palace.

another woman, and thus dragging her about the field; and horrified at the spectacle, she exacted a solemn promise from her son that he would obtain a law to exempt women from warfare. Adamnan did not lose sight of the injunction of his parent, and it is likely that he employed his influence, as soon as it was powerful enough, to introduce the law in question.* He celebrated Easter, according to the canonical computation, in the northern half of Ireland, in year 703, and died the following year; and it was reserved for a Northumbrian monk, named Egbert, to bring the community of Hy to uniformity on this point, in the year 716, a hundred and fifty years, according to Bede, after the controversy on the subject had commenced in these countries.

Returning to those Irish saints who, by their virtues and learning, spread the fame of their native land into foreign countries, we shall only enumerate the more celebrated of them. St. Frigidian was bishop of Lucca for twenty-eight years in the sixth century, and his memory is still held in great veneration in that part of Italy. Of St. Molua, or Lugid, it was said by the great Pope St. Gregory, that his monastic rule was like a hedge which reached to heaven. St. Degan travelled to Rome early in the seventh century, at the commencement of the paschal controversy, and embraced the canonical mode of computation. St. Livinus, an Irish bishop, erroneously called archbishop of Dublin, suffered martyrdom in Flanders, in the year 633, and his memory has always been venerated in that country, whither he had gone to preach the Gospel. Some beautiful verses, written by him in good classic Latin, have been preserved. St. Fiacre, who flourished in the year 622, erected a monastery in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in a forest near Meaux, in France, and the fame of his sanctity rendered the pilgrimage to his tomb or hermitage so popular, that his name was given to the hackney coaches of Paris, of which so many were employed in conveying the citizens thither. St. Fursey, who died in the year 648, founded a monastery in England, and another at Lagny, in France; and his disciples, St. Foilan, St. Gobban, and St. Dicuil, were the companions of his labors in those countries. St. Arbogast, an Irishman, was consecrated bishop of Strasburg in 646. St. Kilian, the illlustrious apostle of Fronconia was martyred with his two companions, in the year 689. This great saint, faithful to the spirit of the Irish

* This law protected women and children against the barbarities of war, and hence it was called the *lex innocentium*, or law of the innocent or weak. The assembly in which it was enacted was held in the "Rath of the Synods" on Tara Hill, near which rath, according to the Dinnseanchus, was the *Lathrach Fupaill Adamnain*, or "Site of the tent of Adamnan."

church, would not commence his mission among the pagans of Wurtzburg, although he saw its necessity, until he had gone to Rome to obtain the sanction and blessing of the Pope. Two other saints of the same name flourished on the continent, one a disciple of St. Columbanus, and the other abbot of St. Martin's monastery at Cologne.

To this period belongs the illustrious patron of the metropolitan city of Tarentum, St. Cathaldus, whom some old continental writers erroneously supposed to have flourished in the second century. He was a native of Munster; was first a student, and then a professor at Lismore, where he is said to have erected a church in honor of the Blessed Virgin; and as that renowned seminary was not founded until the year 633, it must have been some years later, perhaps about 650, when he left Ireland. Returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he passed through Tarentum, and having performed some miracles as he approached the town, he was received by the inhabitants with veneration, unanimously chosen as their bishop, and continued to govern the diocese with great zeal for many years. His brother, St. Donatus, probably travelled with him, as we find that he was bishop of Lecce, another city of the kingdom of Naples, and both are said to have lived for many years as hermits near a small town now called San Cataldo.*

St. Cuthbert, the celebrated bishop of Lindisfarne, who died in the year 687, was, according to many distinguished authorities, an Irishman, but it is at least certain that he was educated by Irishmen.† St. Maccuthenus, who died about this time (A.D. 698), composed a hymn in praise of the Blessed Virgin. St. Sedulius, the younger, assisted at a council held in Rome, in the year 721, during the pontificate of Gregory II., and was sent on an ecclesiastical mission from Rome into Spain, being previously consecrated bishop of Oreto in that country. On his arrival in Spain, in order to show his claim to the regard and

* The life of St. Cathaldus was written in prose by Bartholomeo Moroni, of Tarentum, and in verse by his brother, Bonaventura. His acts, written by others, are also extant. See them collected by Colgan, AA. SS. Hib. at the 8th of March; and a great deal concerning him in Ussher's *Primordia*, pp. 392, &c., folio edition. The poetic life of St. Cathaldus describes in beautiful language the conflux of students from different parts of Europe to the school at Lismore.

† Colgan, Ussher, Ware, and Harris, make St. Cuthbert an Irishman, but there does not appear to be any Irish authority for the story of his birth related in the life quoted by Colgan from Capgrave. Professor Eugene Curry, in a note addressed to the author, says, "St. Cuthbert's name is not to be found in the lists of Irish saints preserved in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, Lecan, M'Firbis, or the Calendar of the Four Masters; but it does appear in what is called the Martyrology of Tamlacht, copied by Father Michael O'Cleary. In this he is set down, at March 20th, as Cubrichta Saxonis, of Inis Menoc; and in the Festology of Aengus Cele De, Inis Menoc, or rather Inis Medcoit, is explained as an island on the north coast of Little Britain (rectè Great Britain), in which St Aedan lived."

attention of the people, he wrote a book to prove that being of Irish birth, he was consequently of Spanish descent, thus satisfactorily showing how fixed the traditions of the Milesian colony were at that early age on the minds of Irishmen.* It is generally admitted that there were two Irish saints of this name: the elder Sedulius, called the Venerable, who flourished in the fifth century, and is celebrated for his sacred poetry, still used in the church offices; and the younger Sedulius, just mentioned, who wrote commentaries on some portions of the Scriptures.

Few of these ancient Irish missionaries have excited more interest than St. Virgilius, who is called "Ferghil the Geometer," in the Irish annals, and Solivagus, or, the "Solitary Wanderer," by Latin writers. He startled Europe by his scientific opinions in the eighth century, teaching that the earth was a sphere, and consequently that there were antipodes; but it is utterly false that, as some say, he was persecuted by the church for this opinion. This remarkable Irishman set out from his own country, where he had been abbot of Aghaboe, in Ossory; and on his arrival in France he was graciously received by Pepin, then mayor of the palace, and afterwards king of France. Our saint next travelled into Bavaria, about the year 745, and while on the mission at Saltzburg, a theological question arose between him and St. Boniface, a bishop whose jurisdiction extended to that place. The latter required that baptism, which had been administered in an ungrammatical form of words, should be repeated, and St. Virgilius held the contrary opinion, which is the correct one. The question was referred to Pope Zachary, who decided with St. Virgilius. But soon after a complaint was forwarded to the Sovereign Pontiff against the distinguished Irishman, accusing him of teaching that there was another world under this one, inhabited by men who were not of the race of Adam, and who consequently were not redeemed by Christ. That St. Virgilius gave a satisfactory explanation in answer to the charge is obvious, as in 756 he was appointed bishop of Saltzburg by Pope Stephen II. and king Pepin, a sufficient proof that his character was not stained by any blemish in the eyes of these high authorities. This Irish saint died at Saltzburg in the year 785, after a visitation of his vast diocese, which included Carinthia. He obtained his philosophical knowledge in the schools of his native land, as did also St. Dicuil, another Irishman, who about the close of the eighth century wrote a treatise, "De mensura orbis terræ," describing the then known world, upon the authority of the earlier geographers

* Harris's Ware's Irish Writers, p. 47.

and of the commissioners appointed by the emperor Theodosius to measure the provinces of the Roman empire.*

Even then Ireland was famed in foreign countries for its sweet and expressive music; and we find that saints Foilan and Ultan, the brothers of St. Fursey, were invited along with other Irishmen, by St. Gertrude, daughter of Pepin and abbess of Nivelle, in Brabant, to instruct her community in sacred psalmody. These holy men erected a monastery at Fosse, near Nivelle, and the religious houses at both places were considered to be Irish. St. Ultan also became the first superior of the monastery of St. Quintin, near Peronne, and lived until about the year 676.

St. Fridolin, "the Traveller," the son of an Irish king, founded monasteries in various parts of France, in Helvetia, and on the Rhine. He flourished about the close of the seventh and the commencement of the eighth century, and his memory has been preserved with veneration in many parts of the continent. A little later flourished Albuin, called also by the Saxon name of Wittan, or White, who preached the Gospel in Thuringia, or Upper Saxony, and was appointed by the Pope bishop of Buraburgh, near Fritzlar, in the year 741.

About a year after Charlemagne had become sole monarch of France —that is, A.D. 772—two remarkable Irishmen made their appearance in his territories. Their names were Clemens and Albinus; and the method which they adopted to attract attention is related as a curious sample of the manners of the times. Observing that commerce of one kind or other occupied the people, they went about announcing that they had wisdom to sell, and thus collected crowds to hear their instructions. Their fame soon reached the ears of the great monarch, who was just then intent on the intellectual improvement of his people. He sent for them; entertained them for some time in his palace, and then placed them over two public schools which he founded, committing that of Paris to Clemens, and one founded at Pavia, in Italy, to his companion, Albinus. The names of these two eminent Irishmen were subsequently thrown partly into the shade by that of Alcuin, a Saxon, who, according to the custom of the age of taking Roman names, assumed the name of Albinus Flaccus. Alcuin arrived in France several years after our countrymen, Clemens and Albinus; he afforded great assistance to Charlemagne in his efforts to revive learning, accompanied him for the purpose of teaching a school of nobles in his palace,

* This ancient geographical treatise was published with a critical dissertation and copious notes, by M. Letronne, in Paris, A.D. 1814.

and has been rendered famous by his correspondence with the emperor and with other illustrious persons of his time. Charlemagne, however, patronised all the learned foreigners whom he could attract to his court, and while he lived repaid with his friendship and support the two Irishmen we have mentioned.*

A few years after Albinus, Dongal, another Irishman, and one of the most learned men of his time, was appointed professor of the school of Pavia by king Lothaire. He is celebrated, among other things, for an epistle which he wrote to Charlemagne on the two solar eclipses of 810; for a valuable gift of books, some of them relating to secular literature, which he made to the monastery of Bobbio; and for a work in defence of the use of sacred images in churches against Clodius of Turin. St. Donatus, an Irishman, who flourished in the middle of the same (ninth) century, was made bishop of Fiesole, in Italy, and his disciple, Andrew, who had accompanied him on a pilgrimage to Rome, was deacon of the same church.†

Turning, finally, towards the north, we find that Irish monks were not only the first Christians, but most probably the first inhabitants, of the inhospitable region of Iceland, which they called Thule, or Tyle. Dicuil, who, as we have seen, flourished in the latter part of the eighth, and beginning of the ninth century, states that thirty years before he wrote his geographical work, he had got an account of Thule from some ecclesiastics who had been sojourning there; and when, in the latter part of the ninth century, the pagan Norwegians planted a colony in Iceland, the Irish monks, who fled on their arrival, left behind them sundry memorials of their religion, such as Irish books, small bells, and pastoral staffs. This circumstance is related by various Icelandic writers,

* The Monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne in the ninth century, and who is believed to have been the celebrated Notkerus Balbulus, makes particular mention of Clemens and Albinus as "Scots of Ireland." Muratori, *Annali di Italia*, *anno* 781, refers to the learning and teaching of Albinus in Italy. See Lanigan, Ware, &c. Guizot omits all mention of them in his History of Civilization; he and some other modern writers, who have only glanced at the subject, having confined their attention to Alcuin and his disciples.

† To Donatus, the holy bishop of Fiesole, we are indebted for the graceful tribute to Ireland contained in the well-known lines:—

Finibus occiduis describitur optima tellus,
Nomine et antiquis Scotia scripta libris.
Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, et auri:
Commoda corporibus aere, sole, solo.
Mella fluit pulchris, et lacteis Scotia campis,
Vestibus, atque armis, frugibus, arte, viris.
* * * * *
In quâ Scotorum gentes habitare merentur,
Inclyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide.

who add that these Irish monks were called *papas* by the Norwegian settlers. When the first effort was made to introduce Christianity among the pagan colonists, two Irishmen, who are called Ernulph and Buo by their Icelandic biographer, Arngrim Jonas, were the missionaries; and another old Icelandic writer, Ara Multiscius, mentions an Irishman named John, in his enumeration of early Icelandic bishops.*

In the preceding account of the Irish saints and scholars of those early ages, we have omitted the name of one most remarkable Irishman, who could scarcely be placed in the same category with any of those whom we have mentioned. This was John Scotus Erigena, or "the Irishman," who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, and whose extraordinary learning and eccentric genius filled Europe with amazement. John was not an ecclesiastic, nor was he a sound theologian. He mingled divinity with Platonic philosophy, and fell into the wildest errors about the nature and attributes of the Deity, grace and predestination, the future state of reward and punishment, and other subjects; and some of his books were condemned by the church. He resided chiefly in Paris, where he taught philosophy, and was on terms of friendship with the emperor Charles the Bald, at whose desire he translated the supposed works of Dionysius the Areopagite from Greek into Latin. He was the first who combined scholastic and mystic theology; and notwithstanding his pantheistic and other errors, he is said to have led an exemplary life. He died in France some short time before the year 875; and no other schoolman of his age attracted so much notice, or was the object of such diversity of opinions, both during his life and in after ages.†

* Some account of Ernulph and Buo is given in Colgan's AA: SS. Hib. Feb. 2 and 5. Ara Multiscius (*Schedæ de Islandia, cap.* 2) relates how, in the first years of Harold Harfagre, who became king of Norway, A.D. 885, Ingulph, the first Norwegian, fled into Iceland, and was soon followed by so many of his countrymen that it was feared Norway would be left desert, and he says:—"At that time Iceland was covered with woods, and there were then in it Christian men, whom the Norwegians call papas; and these, being unwilling to remain with heathens, went away forthwith, leaving behind them Irish books, and small bells, and (pastoral) staffs whence it was easy to perceive that they were of the Irish nation." This is told in somewhat similar terms in the *Landnamaboc*, quoted by Johnston, *Antiq. Celto-Scand.*, p. 14.

† Of this singular man Tennemann says:—"John Scotus, an Irishman, belonged to a much higher order (than Alcuin); a man of great learning, and of a philosophical and original mind; whose means of attaining to such superiority we are ignorant of. His acquaintance with Latin and Greek, to which some assert he added the Arabic; his love for the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato; his translation, exceedingly esteemed throughout the West, of Dionysius the Areopagite; his liberal and enlightened (heretical) views respecting predestination and the Eucharist; all these entitle him to be considered a phenomenon for the times in which he lived." Hist. of Philosophy, p. 215 (Bohn's edition).

CHAPTER XII.

Christian Antiquities of Ireland.—Testimonies on the subject of Ireland's Pre-eminence for Sanctity and Learning.—The Culdees.—Hereditary Transmission of Church Offices.—Lay Bishops and Abbots.—Comhorbas and Herenachs.—Termon Lands.—Characteristics of the Primitive Church in Ireland.—Inference therefrom.—Peculiarities in Discipline.—Materials used in Building Churches.—Damliags and Duireachs.—Cyclopean Masonry.—The Round Towers.—Saints' Beds, Holy Wells, and Penitential Stations.

AT the risk of trenching on the duties of the ecclesiastical historian, the preceding chapter has been extended beyond its due proportion; yet the object in view—namely, that of exhibiting the aspect of Christian Ireland, as it was presented to Europe in the centuries preceding the Danish invasion—has been but imperfectly accomplished. Our list of the illustrious Irishmen who spread the fame of their country for learning and holiness into foreign lands is far from being complete, and the subject is on the whole little more than glanced at. But even this slight sketch will show that there is sufficient ground for what has been so often said about the eminent position which Ireland once held in relation to the other countries of Christendom. That pre-eminence is no idle dream—no creation of the national imagination. It is as much a reality as any other fact in the range of history, and may be assuredly a legitimate source of national pride. During the period which extended from the inroads of the barbarians in Europe in the sixth century, to the partial revival of education and mental energy under Charlemagne, in the ninth, this island was unquestionably the retreat and nursery of learning and piety, and the centre of intellectual activity.

An old writer speaks of Ireland having been at this time reputed to be full of saints.* Venerable Bede informs us that numbers were daily coming into Britain from the country of the Scots (Ireland), preaching the Word of God with great devotion.† "What shall I say of Ireland," says Eric of Auxerre, a French writer of the ninth century, "which, despising the dangers of the deep, is migrating, with almost her whole train of philosophers, to our coasts?"‡ Thierry, after describing the poetry and literature of ancient Ireland as perhaps the most cultivated of all Western Europe, adds that Ireland "counted a host of saints and learned men, venerated in England and Gaul, for no country had furnished more Christian missionaries, uninfluenced by other motives than pure zeal to communicate to foreign nations the opinions and faith of their own land."§ Testimonies of ancient and modern writers to the same effect might be multiplied indefinitely, all representing (in the words of Dr. Lanigan) the migration which took place at that period from Ireland, as a swarm of holy and learned men, by whom foreign nations were instructed and edified.‖

Then, as to the resort of foreigners to Ireland for the purposes of education, and of leading a life of greater perfection, we have also copious and conclusive evidence. St. Aengus the Culdee, in his litany written at the end of the eighth century, invokes the intercession of many hundreds of saints, Romans, Italians, Egyptians, Gauls, Germans, Britons, Picts, Saxons, and natives of other countries, who were buried and venerated in Ireland, and whom he divided into groups, chiefly according to the localities of Ireland in which they had sojourned and died. The lives of St. Patrick, St. Kieran, St. Declan, St. Albeus,

* Marianus Scotus; Chronic. ad an. 674. Ussher remarks that the saints of this period might be grouped into a fourth order of the Irish saints.

† Eccl. Hist., Lib. iii., chap 3.

‡ Letter to Charles the Bald.

§ Hist. de la Conquete de l'Angleterre, Liv. x

‖ Stephen White, (Apologia, p. 24), thus sums up the labors of the Irish saints on the continent:—"Among the names of saints whom Ireland formerly sent forth there were, as I have learned from the trustworthy writings of the ancients, 150 now honored as patrons of places in Germany, of whom 36 were martyrs; 45 Irish patrons in the Gauls, of whom 6 were martyrs, at least 30 in Belgium; 44 in England; 13 in Italy; and in Iceland and Norway 8 martyrs; besides many others." "One singular and extraordinary fact may be noted here," observes the late Rev. Dr. Kelly (Camb. Ever., vol. ii., p. 653), "namely, that to foreign sources almost exclusively are we indebted for a knowledge of those Irish saints. From our native annals we could not know even their names, with very few exceptions, such as St. Virgilius," &c., &c.

It has been calculated that the ancient Irish monks had 13 monastic foundations in Scotland, 12 in England, 7 in France, 12 in Armoric Gaul, 7 in Lotharingia, 11 in Burgundy, 9 in Belgium, 10 in Alsatia, 16 in Bavaria, 6 in Italy, and 15 in Rhetia, Helvetia, and Suevi., besides many in Thuringia, and on the left margin of the Rhine, between Cuelderland and Alsatia.

St. Enda, St. Maidoc, St. Senan, St. Brendan, and other Irish saints, furnish testimonies to the same effect.*

Camden, in his description of Ireland, says:—"At that age our Anglo-Saxons repaired on all sides to Ireland as to a general mart of learning. Whence we read, in our writers, of holy men, that 'they went to study in Ireland;' *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam.*" We are told that three thousand students at a time attended the great schools of Armagh alone, and that many of these had come from other countries; but after making due allowance for exaggeration in such statements as this, we have still an overwhelming mass of evidence to shew that Ireland was, in those remote ages, a nursery of saints and scholars; and such being her acknowledged character so soon after receiving Christianity, it would be, to say the least, rash to deny that she had made any progress previously in the march of civilization.†

We have now a few words of explanation to offer on some points of interest relating to our ecclesiastical antiquities, before we resume our civil history.

The question, who were the Culdees? is one that has been often asked, and upon which many serious errors have been current. These errors seem to have originated in Scotland, the ancient history of which country is a tissue of anachronisms and fabrications. It has been asserted that the Culdees were an order of priests or monks who taught Christianity and ruled the church without bishops, in North Britain and Ireland, before the time of St. Palladius and St. Patrick—a fallacy which was embraced with avidity by the Scottish Presbyterians. But this notion was subsequently modified, especially after Dr. Ledwich had promulgated his false and silly statements on the subject; and it was then pretended that Culdees was only another name for the order of monks founded by St. Columbkille; that they were married men; that their religion was pure compared with that of Rome; that they rejected the authority of the Pope, together with much more to the same effect.‡ This is simply a mass of groundless and shameful falsehood, without one word of truth, or the slightest authority of antiquity to support it.

* Dr. Petrie (*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 139), gives an engraving of the stone which marks the grave of the "Seven Romans," near the church of St. Brecan, in the great island of Aran.

† Dr. Johnson, in a letter addressed to Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar, dated 1777, alluding to the period of Irish history which he wished to see developed, writes:—"Dr. Leland begins his history too late; the ages which deserve an exact enquiry are those times, for such there were, when Ireland was the school of the West, the quiet habitation of sanctity and learning."—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

‡ Ledwich's Antiquities, p. 113, &c., second edition.

As to the fanciful theory of the Culdees having been founded by St. Columbkille, Dr. Lanigan* correctly observes that "in none of the lives of that saint, nor in Bede, who very often treats of the Columbian order and monks, nor in the whole history of the monastery of Hy (Iona) and its dependencies, does the name of Culdees or any name tantamount to it ever once occur," a circumstance which, as he justly concludes, "would have been impossible, had the Culdees been Columbians or members of the order or congregation of Hy."

The true character of the Culdees may be gathered from the following note upon them, with which the author has been favored by that profound Irish scholar, Professor Eugene Curry, of the Catholic University. "The Culdees," says Mr. Curry, "as far as I have been able to trace them, were to be found in Ireland since St. Patrick's time, as the Tripartite Life of the apostle mentions that one of them attended him in his visit to Munster; that his name was Malach Brit, and that his church was subsequently built in the north-eastern angle of the southern Decies—namely Cill Malach. They appear to have been originally mendicant monks, but had no communities until the middle of the eighth century, when St. Maelruan, of Tamlacht (Tallaght, near Dublin), drew up a rule for them in Irish. Of this rule I have an ancient copy, which I am now preparing for publication. Aengus Cele De was for some time in Maelruan's establishment, and was a priest, but he does not appear to have before that belonged to any community of Culdees. They had a separate house at Clonmacnoise, A.D. 1031, of which Conna-mbocht (Con-of-the-poor) was head; but these were lay monks of the order, as was their prior or economist, Conn, who, it appears, was the first that collected a herd of cows for them there. Iseal Ciarain (their house at Clonmacnoise), was not founded at this time, but very long before, and the Cele De were attached to the church as lay monks. They are often mentioned in the Brehon laws as the recipients of certain unappropriated church dues or income; and they were at Armagh down to the year 1600, but appear to have been masons, carpenters, and men of other trades; all laymen but unmarried."

From these facts it is clear that the Cele De (servants of God), called in Latin Keledei, and afterwards corruptly Colidei, were religious persons resembling very much members of the tertiary orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, in the Catholic church at the present day, or one of the great religious confraternities of modern times. Their society

* Hist. Eccl. chap. xxxi., sec. 1

was widely spread in Scotland, and was known in Wales about the same time; and it is scarcely necessary to add that their religious principles were identical with those of the universal church at that period.*

The hereditary, or clannish principle, prevailed from a very early age in the transmission of ecclesiastical offices and property in Ireland, and became in course of time a fruitful source of abuses. Bishoprics, abbacies, and other benefices were thus, as it were, entailed on particular families, whether those of the founders or of local chiefs, so that on the failure of clergymen in these families or clans, laymen of the same families were invested with the titles and emoluments of the offices, while ecclesiastics of the proper order were delegated to perform the clerical functions belonging to them. Hence, we hear of laymen as nominally archbishops and bishops, and also as abbots and priors of monasteries ; that is, who enjoyed the emoluments, temporalities, and privileges of these offices, and who, not being in holy orders, may have been married men. This custom often led to intolerable confusion; and it has been seized by some modern writers, either ignorant of its nature, or too anxious to make it answer their own prejudices, for the purpose of showing that the clergy were not bound to celibacy in the Irish church. A more intimate knowledge of Irish authorities has, however, shown these writers that this was a grievous mistake, as every one who had studied the history of the Irish church with a judgment unwarped by sectarian bias must have known. In no single instance does it appear that the marriage of any one in priest's orders was ever tolerated in the church of Ireland.

The holders of the higher ecclesiastical offices, whether clerics or laymen, were, in the original foundations, called comhorbas, or successors. Thus, the archbishop of Armagh was comhorba of Patrick; the archbishop of Tuam, or of Connaught, as he was often called, was comhorba

* Dr. Lanigan has collected a great deal of matter about the Culdees in the first six sections of chap. xxxi. of his Ecclesiastical History; but he was wrong in supposing them to be secular clergy or canons. Dr. Reeves, a Protestant clergyman, in his copious and learned annotations to Adamnan's Life of St. Columba (p. 368), says, the Celedei "had no particular connexion with this (the Columbian) order, any more than had the Deoradhs, or the other developments of conventual observance;" and in a foot note he adds, that "*Culdee* is the most abused term in Scotic church history." Dr. O'Donovan (*Four Masters, an.* 1479, *note l*) says, "*Cele De* is often used as if it were a generic term applied to *Cœlibites*, or religious persons in general, and this is the sense in which Giraldus Cambrensis used *Colidei*. From all that he says about them no one could infer that they were anything but *Cœlibites* or lay-monks. The term was, however, used in a restricted sense in Archbishop Ussher's memory, and applied to the priests, 'qui choro inservientes divina celebrabant officia.' The Scotch historians have written a vast deal of intolerable nonsense about the Culdees of the Columbian order, but they are entirely beneath criticism."

of Jarlath; the abbot of Hy was comhorba of Columbkille; the abbot of Aran was comhorba of Enda, &c. The lands belonging to a church or monastery were rented or administered by an official, called a herenach, or airchinneach; that is, a warden who originally dispensed the profits of the lands for the support of the church and the relief of the poor. After a time the herenachs were all laymen. The office was generally hereditary in the family or sept of the founder: but if the sept could not agree in the election of a herenach, or if the sept or family became extinct, then the bishop and clergy elected one under certain conditions, the herenach being in such a case the tenant of the church lands for a stipulated rent or contribution. Herenachs were numerous, and were to be found in every part of Ireland.*

The office of comhorba (or, as the name is often corruptly written, corba, corbes, or corbanus), was essentially different from that of herenarch, and was originally one of dignity and jurisdiction; and, although Colgan says that in his time (the 17th century) very few of the comhorbas were in holy orders, the contrary was certainly the case in the middle ages. When ecclesiastical dignities and benefices were held by men not in the proper orders, the tonsure or one of the minor orders was usually conferred, so that the holders were entitled to be called clerics.

The lands belonging to churches or monasteries were called Tarmon, or Termon lands, that is, lands of sanctuary or refuge; and their *termini*, or bounds, were defined by terminal crosses or other distinguishing objects. Hence, such names as Termonfechan, Termonfinean, Termonderry, &c., to be met with in some parts of Ireland.†

* Dr. Reeves, in a note on "Hereditary Abbacies" (Vita S. Colomb., p. 335), says: "The Book of Armagh gives us a most valuable insight into the ancient economy of the Irish monasteries, in its account of the endowment of Trim. In that church there was an *ecclesiastica progenies*, and a *plebilis progenies*, a religious and secular succession; the former of office in spirituals, the latter of blood in temporals, and both descended from the original grantor . . . . . The lineal transmission of the abbatical office, which appears in the Irish annals, towards the close of the eighth century, probably had its origin in the usurpation of the *plebilis progenies* connected with the various monasteries of the functions of the *ecclesiastica progenies*, which would be the necessary result of the former omitting to keep up the succession of the latter. In each case the tenant in possession might maintain a semblance of the clerical character by taking tonsure and a low degree of orders. This is very much what Giraldus Cambrensis states concerning the *Abbates laici* of Ireland and Wales (Itinerar. ii., 4.)" Dr. Reeves proceeds to explain on this ground the recognition, in the Canons of St. Patrick, of the relation of the "Clericus et uxor ejus" (Canon 6); and it is to be hoped that after this candid expression by so eminent a Protestant divine of the result of his researches on this subject, we shall hear no more of the monstrous falsehood about married abbots, &c., in the Irish church.

† For explanations of the offices and terms mentioned above, see Colgan's *Trias Thaum.*, pp. 8, 293, 630; Harris's Ware, vol ii., p. 234; Lanigan, vol. iv., p. 80. Throughout the Four Masters the term comhorba is rendered "successor." It is derived from the words *comh* and *forba*,

In such literary monuments as remain to us of the primitive Irish church formal expositions of doctrine are not to be expected. Where no diversity of creed was thought of, such expositions were not required: formularies of belief having been generally drawn up by the church to oppose the erroneous teaching of sectaries. Of the religion of the early Irish Christians, however, we have written, as well as other monuments in abundance, which show that it was strongly marked by all the most characteristic features of Catholic Christianity. From the conversion of the country by St. Patrick, the Irish Christians were devoted to monastic discipline. They practiced celibacy, made long fasts, rose at night for prayer, lay on penitential beds of stone, and, in fact, habitually exercised all those austerities which Catholic ascetic writers have in all ages commended. They adored the Holy Eucharist, which they called the Body of Christ; they believed in the gift of miracles remaining in the church, and, indeed in the very frequent recurrence of miraculous intervention; they invoked the intercession of the saints, and venerated their relics; they prayed for the dead; instituted festivals in honor of the saints, and offered up the Mass on those festivals, they made very frequent use of the sign of the cross, and erected numerous public crosses; finally, they acknowledged Rome, as St. Columbanus wrote, to be "the head of all churches;" and as St. Cummian wrote, they looked to Rome "as children to their mother." In a word, they showed themselves to be identical in faith with all the other members of the western church, during the same ages.*

The difference about the computation of Easter, which caused so much controversy in Ireland and Britain for a century and a-half, has been fully explained in the preceding chapter. Besides this, there was a peculiarity in the form of the Irish tonsure. Thus, while the Greek monks shaved the whole head, and the Roman monks only the crown,

signifying the possessor of the same land or patrimony. Dr. O'Donovan explains the term Airchinneach (Erenach) as signifying the hereditary Warden of a church (Four Masters, an. 601, note). The tenants of church lands were called Termoners.

* For evidence on all these points, we need only refer to Adamnan's Life of St Columba, which high Protestant authority has pronounced to be "perhaps the most valuable monument of that institution (the Irish church) that has escaped the ravages of time" (Reeves), and "the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the whole middle ages" (Pinkerton). Also to various other lives of Irish saints, which the learned Ussher and others have shown to belong to the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries; to the portions of the Liber Hymnorum edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd; to the Antiphonarium Benchorense, a monument of the seventh century; to ancient monumental inscriptions; to various passages of the Brehon Laws, and other authorities yet unpublished; and indeed, to all that is most venerable in the written and monumental antiquities of Ireland, to which the scope and limits of this work will only allow us to make this general reference.

leaving a circle of hair all round, the Irish monks and clerics shaved or clipped the front part of the head from ear to ear. One mode of shaving the head appears quite as harmless as the others, but the subject was, nevertheless, made one of warm debate at the synod of Whitby, by St Wilfrid, and other Saxon converts, who strenously advocated the Roman custom, and the Irish monks ultimately abandoned their own method. From such disputes as these, and from any peculiarities of the Irish liturgy, which were only such as have been tolerated in various ancient Catholic liturgies, nothing can be more absurd than to argue that the primitive church of Ireland was not united in faith with the other churches in the communion of the see of Rome.

Hewn timber, wattles, and earth were, as we have seen, the ordinary building materials used for the dwellings of the ancient Irish; and we have the authority of Venerable Bede, and of some of the oldest lives of Irish saints for the fact that these materials were also employed in the construction of their churches and oratories in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. We are told by St. Bernard that such continued to be the case, even in the time of St. Malachy, in the twelfth century; but there is also evidence enough to show that churches were frequently built in Ireland of stone and cement, even from the time of St. Patrick. As characteristic examples of the oldest style of our ecclesiastical architecture still in good preservation, Dr. Petrie, in his learned work on that subject, instances the monastic establishment of St. Molaise, on Inishmurray (Inis Muireadhaigh), in the bay of Sligo, erected in the sixth century; that of St. Brendan, on Inishglory, off the coast of Erris, in Mayo, of the beginning of the same century; and that of St. Fechin, on High Island, off the coast of Connemara, erected in the seventh century; and to these he elsewhere adds, as remains of the sixth century, some of the oratories and cells of the Isles of Aran, in Galway Bay. In all these examples we find that mortar was only used in the churches; the houses or cells of the abbots and monks being invariably built of dry stone, without any kind of cement, and in that style of masonry which antiquaries call cyclopean, or Pelasgic, like the primitive stone houses and military structures of the Firbolgs, which we have already noticed. The cells were generally circular or oval, with dome-shaped roofs, constructed, not on the principle of the arch, but by the gradual overlapping of the stones; and the cluster of cells, with their oratory, were surrounded by a thick wall of the same rude cyclopean masonry.*

* The stone churches were called *damliags*, from *dom* or *domnach*, a church, and *liag* a stone. Thus, from the *damliag* of St. Kianan, who was consecrated bishop by St. Patrick, and who died

At various periods between the sixth and twelfth centuries (some of them still later, but the greater number, perhaps, in the ninth and tenth centuries), were erected those singular buildings, the round towers, which have been so enveloped in mystery by the arguments and conjectures of modern antiquaries. It is only in recent times that people have thought of ascribing to these towers any other than a Christian and ecclesiastical origin; but of late years a variety of theories have been started about them, and they have been alternately made fire-temples and shrines of other kinds of pagan worship; anchorite's cells, or places for penitential seclusion, and beacons. The real uses of the Irish round towers, both as belfries and as ecclesiastical keeps or castles, have been satisfactorily established by Dr. Petrie, in his important and erudite work on the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland. For this twofold purpose they were admirably adapted. In a woody country such as Ireland was in remote times, they may also have been useful as beacons, and may, moreover, have served as watch-towers. In fine, the wants and tastes of the country led to the adoption of a peculiar style in their structure, as we find to have been the case in most old Christian countries, where some local singularity in the design and structure of church towers is sure to attract the traveller's attention, although it might be now difficult to determine what circumstances led to the local adoption of each peculiarity. The style of our ancient round towers seems to have been peculiar to the Irish or Scottish race. These buildings were well contrived to supply the clergy with a place of safety for themselves, the sacred vessels, and other objects of value, during the incursions of the Danes, and other foes; and the upper stories, in which there were four windows, were perfectly well adapted for the ringing of the largest bells then used in Ireland. We must refer to Dr. Petrie's work for an exposition of the principal theories that have been started about these round towers; and for the arguments in support of the true explanation of their use; but this much may be added here, namely that the closest study of Irish antiquities leaves no doubt whatever that the principle of the arch, and the use of lime cement—both of which are to be found in the round towers—cannot be traced in any Irish remains which either historical evidence or popular tradition ascribes to a period anterior to the introduction of Christianity.*

in the year 490. Duleek, in Meath, has derived its name. The oratories, or smaller churches, were called *duirachs* (*duirtheachs*), a name which, as some think, implies that they were constructed of oak, although many of them also were built of stone and mortar.

* Goban Saer, to whom tradition points as the architect of some of the Round Towers, flourished early in the seventh century, and was the son of Turvi, from whom Traigh Tuirbi, on the

Those sacred remains called by the Irish peasantry "saints' beds," may have been, in some instances, the penitential stone beds used by the ancient ascetics; while others of them were, no doubt, the graves of the holy persons after whom they have been called. Some of these places, now frequented by the peasantry for the purposes of prayer, were unquestionably the penitential stations of the ancient monasteries, or were at some time resorted to by the Irish saints for prayer, fasting, and mortification. Such places were the Skellig Mihil, on the coast of Kerry; Cruach Patrick, in Mayo; and the island of St. Patrick's Purgatory, in Lough Dearg; and many spots for which veneration has thus been preserved by the popular traditions, such as these saints' beds and holy wells, were consecrated in distant ages by some relations with the blessed servants of God. It is not necessary here to consider the question whether or not they merit our respect as memorials of the primitive saints of Ireland, and whether it be better to regulate the popular devotion which they inspire, rather than condemn them as objects of superstition.

north coast of Dublin, takes its name. Of what race Turvi was is not known, but he is supposed to have been descended from the Tuatha de Dananns, who are said to have left Tara with Lewy of the Long Hand, A.M. 2764, according to the chronology of the Ogygia. He was, at all events, not of Milesian descent. The round towers built by Goban, were, according to tradition, those of Kilmacduach, Killala, and Antrim. See Petrie's Round Towers, p. 385, &c., second edition, in which the *Dinnsenchus* is quoted on the subject. Adamnan's Life of St. Columba mentions, according to the general acceptation of the word, the erection of a round tower (monasterii rotundi) in the sixth century; and passages are quoted by Dr. Petrie (pp. 390, &c.) from the Irish annals, shewing the erection of round towers in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries.



CHAPTER XIII.

Character of Irish History in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries—Piety of some Irish Kings.—Renewed Wars for the Leinster Tribute.—The Poet Rumann.—Foundation of Tallaght.—St. Aengus the Culdee.—St. Colgu and Alcuin.—An Early Irish Prayer-book.—Signs and Prodigies.—The Lavchomart.—First Appearance of the Danish Pirates.—Their Character.—Their Barbarism and Inhumanity.—Heroic Resistance of the Irish.—Turgesius.—Domestic Wars.—Felim, King of Cashel.—Malachy I.—Danish Settlements in Waterford and Limerick.—Irish Allies of the Danes.—Cormac MacCuilenan.—Niall Glundubh.—Muirkertach and Callaghan Caishil.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

A.D. 800, Charlemagne crowned emperor of the West.—827, Dissolution of the Saxon heptarchy; Egbert sole king of England.—872-900, Alfred the Great; Danish invasions of England.—850, Final subjugation of the Picts by Kenneth, king of the Scots of Albany.—921, The Moors victorious in Spain.—932, Rollo, the Norman, founds the Duchy of Normandy.—987, Hugh Capet, king of France.—995, the Danegelt, or land-tax, paid in England to the Danes.

The Eighth, Ninth, and first half of the Tenth Centuries.

RESUMING the thread of our civil history, we may glide rapidly over the events which intervene between the commencement of the seventh century and the epoch of the Danish invasions—the next era of great importance in our annals. During that interval, comprising a couple of centuries, the facts recorded are sufficiently numerous, but the details are meagre, and rarely afford a clue to the motives of the actors, or to the causes or consequences of events. The obituaries of ecclesiastics, eminent for learning or holiness, and for their exalted position in the church, occupy a leading place in the chronicles of the times. The demise of kings, chieftains, and tanists, is also set down with fidelity; dearths, epidemics, and portentous phenomena, are duly recorded; and these, with the brief mention of battles, which would indicate an almost per-

petual warfare between the several provinces, and between different districts of the same province, make up the staple of the venerable annals of the period.* With all their hereditary feuds there was still mixed up a spirit of primitive chivalry. As a general rule human life was safe except in the field of battle; and their pitched battles were usually pre-arranged, sometimes for a year or more, both as to time and place; so that both parties had an opportunity to collect their forces, and the conflict which ensued was a fair trial of strength. Several Irish kings, at this period, were remarkable for piety, and not a few of them ended their days in religious houses; and the same pages which record the carnage of battle, often shew that distinguished saints were then dwelling in our monasteries and anchorites' cells. With such living examples in the midst of them, the people cannot have been destitute of piety and morality; and in the picture which that rude age presents we find a beautiful illustration of the way in which religion stood between society and barbarism, as it did at that time throughout Europe in general.

The pious generosity of Finachta, in relinquishing his claim to the Leinster tribute, at the prayer of St. Moling (about 687) was of little avail, as most of his successors waged war to renew it. The monarch Congal, of the race of Conal Gulban, scourged Leinster with his armies, either for this purpose, or, as some say, to avenge the death of his grandfather, Hugh, son of Ainmire, who was slain in the battle of Dunbolg. Congal died suddenly, in the year 708; and by his successor, Fergal, of the Cinel-Eoghain branch of the Hy-Nialls, Leinster was "five times wasted and preyed in one year." In one of these inroads (A.D. 772) a great battle was fought at the celebrated hill of Allen, in the county of Kildare, when Fergal and the chiefs of Leath Cuinn brought 21,000 men into the field, and the Leinstermen could only muster 9,000. The latter however, made up by their bravery for the disproportion of their numbers, and the slaughter which followed was terrific, the total amount of slain on both sides being seven thousand

* As to this frequent recurrence of petty wars we must recollect that other countries present similar blood-stained annals in the same ages. The wars of the Saxon heptarchy were as numerous as the cotemporary ones of the Irish pentarchy. Writing of Northumbria in the eighth century, Lingard says that "it exhibited successive instances of treachery and murder, to which no other country, perhaps, can furnish a parallel." Its kings were engaged in perpetual strife; and Charlemagne pronounced them to be "a perfidious and perverse race, worse than pagans." The English Saxons seem to have fallen at this epoch into a state of utter demoralization; so much so that their own historians affirm that the crimes of both princes and people had drawn down upon them the merited scourge of the Danish wars. See the testimonies of Henry of Huntingdon, and others, to this effect collected by Mr. MacCabe, in his Catholic History of England, vol. ii., chap. 1.

men, among whom was Fergal, king of Ireland. The annalists attribute the defeat of the northerns to the denunciations of a hermit who upbraided the king with violating the solemn engagements of his predecessor, Finachta, by endeavouring to re-impose the Borumean tribute.

In a battle fought in 730, between the men of Leinster and Munster, 3,000 of the latter were slain; and immediately after another invasion of Leinster by Hugh Allen, king of Ireland, and the Hy-Nialls of the north, took place, when, in a battle fought at a place now called Ballyronan, in the county of Kildare, the monarch and Hugh, son of Colgan, king of Leinster, met in single combat. The latter was slain, and the Leinster army almost wholly exterminated. It is added that the people of the north rejoiced in thus wreaking their vengeance on the Leinstermen, nine thousand of whom fell in the carnage of that day.*

While recording these battles, the annals tell us that Beg Boirche, king of Ulidia (A.D. 704), "took a pilgrim's staff, and died on his pilgrimage;" that Flahertach, king of Ireland, having retired from the sovereignty in 729, embraced a monastic life, and died at Armagh in 760; that Donal, son of Murchad, after a reign of twenty years as king of Ireland, died on a pilgrimage in Iona, in 758† (763); and that his successor, Niall Frassagh, retired from the throne in 765 (770), and became a monk at Iona, where he died in 778, and was buried in the tomb of the Irish kings in that island. Two or three of the next succeeding monarchs are also mentioned as remarkable for their repentance and religious preparation for death.‡

In the year 742 (747) died Rumann, son of Colman, whom the annalists describe as an "adept in wisdom, chronology, and poetry," and who, in the Book of Ballymote, is called the "Virgil of Ireland." We mention him on account of a remarkable fact, namely, that he composed a poem for the galls, or foreigners, of Dublin, (Ath Cliach), and, by a ruse, contrived to get well paid for it in pinginns, or pennies; whence we may conclude that, as the Danes had not yet visited Ireland, the foreigners in question were Saxons, of whom great numbers were then in this country.§ It is added, in the account of Rumann, that a

* Four Masters, A.D. 733. The date of this battle, in the Annals of Ulster, is 737.

† The events about this period are all ante-dated four or five years by the Four Masters, the dates given by Tighernach being proved to be correct.

‡ Cambrensis Eversus, cap. ix.

§ See some account of Rumann, quoted in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 353 &c. The Galls having first refused any remuneration for the poem, Rumann said he would expect two *pinginns* from every good man, and would be content with one from each bad one. The result was, that all of them sought to be placed in the former category.

British king named Constantine, who had become a monk, was at that time abbot of Rahen, in the King's county; and that at Cell-Belaigh, which appears to have been in the same neighbourhood, there were "seven streets" of these foreigners. We know that, at the same period, Gallen, in the King's county, was called "Galin of the Britons," as Mayo was "Mayo of the Saxons," on account of the monasteries of those nations founded there.

The monastery of Tamlacht, or Tallaght, near Dublin, was founded in the year 769, by St. Maelruain; and in the lifetime of the founder, St. Aengus the Culdee, the famous Irish hagiologist, flourished there. St. Colgu, surnamed the wise, lector of Clonmacnoise, and who appears to have been the tutor of many eminent Irish and foreign scholars, died about the year 791. By him was written the first prayer-book which we find mentioned in the Irish annals. It was called the "Besom of Devotion" (Scuaip-chrabhaidh), and Colgan said he had a copy of it, which he describes as a collection of very ardent prayers in the shape of litanies, and as a work breathing fervent piety and elevation of the soul to God.* Up to the close of this century we find the great abbey of Peronne, in France, founded about two centuries before by St. Fursey, still supplied with abbots from Ireland, and the city itself called, in the Irish Annals, Cahir-Forsa, or Fursey's city.

Portentous signs and prodigies are frequently mentioned in the Irish annals at this period, such as showers of blood, and the darkening of the sun or moon, or the moon appearing as blood. In the reign of Niall Frassach there happened a dreadful famine; the monarch humbled himself, and in answer to his prayers there fell showers of silver, honey, and wheat. Hence his surname of Frassach, signifying "of the showers." M'Curtin, who wrote about a century ago, says that in his time some of the coin made of the celestial silver was still preserved. As we approach the coming of the Danes the portents become more frequent and alarming. Eclipses of the sun and moon, pillars of fire in the sky, dragons seen in the air, and fleets of ships sailing through the clouds, filled the people with gloomy forebodings. In the year 767, and again in 799, occurred certain terrible fits of panic fear, which are called in the annals *Lavchomart*, or the "clapping of hands," "so called," say the Four Masters, "because terrific and horrible signs appeared at the time, which were like unto the signs of the Day of Judgment, namely, great thunder

* Acta SS. Hib. p. 379, n. 9. Alcuin calls St. Colgu "master," and addresses him with great affection and veneration in a letter which is printed in Ussher's *Sylloge*.

and lightning, so that it was insufferable to all to hear the one and see the other. Fear and horror seized the men of Ireland, so that their religious seniors ordered them to make two fasts, together with fervent prayer, and one meal between them, to protect and save them from a pestilence precisely at Michaelmas. Hence came the *Lamhchomart*, which was called the fire from heaven."*

The first descent of the Danish pirates on the coast of Ireland is mentioned thus by the Four Masters under the year 790: "The burning of Reachrann† by the Gentiles, and its shrines broken and plundered." England had been visited by them a few years earlier, and they did not again appear on the Irish coast until 793, when another party of them plundered and burned the church of St. Patrick's Island, near Skerries, on the Dublin coast, and carried off the shrine of St. Dochanna, committing other depredations on the sea-board of Ireland and Scotland. Henceforward their visits were repeated at shorter intervals, but for many years they came in small detached parties, apparently not acting in concert, but for the sole purpose of plunder, and without any view to a permanent settlement.

The people, popularly known in our history as Danes, comprised swarms from various countries in the north of Europe, from Norway, Sweden, Zealand, Jutland, and, in general, from all the shores and islands of the Baltic, who, compelled by their inhospitable soil to depend chiefly on the sea for a livelihood, devoted themselves, from an early period, to the adventurous and half-savage life of pirates or sea-rovers. In the Irish annals they are variously called Galls, or foreigners; Geinti, or Gentiles; and Lochlanni, or inhabitants of Lochlann, or Lake-land, that is, Norway; and they are distinguished as the Finn Galls, or White Foreigners, who are supposed to have been the inhabitants of Norway; and the Dubh Galls, or Black Foreigners, who were probably the people of Jutland, and of the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. A large tract of country, north of Dublin, still retains the name of the former. By English writers they have been called Ostmen and Vikings, and are known by the generic terms of Northmen or Scandinavians. They are scarcely heard of in history until about the time their cruel depredations

* The annals mention a terrific storm with thunder and lightning, which occurred on the eve of St. Patrick's day, A.D. 799; and by which a thousand and ten persons were killed on the coast of Corcabaiscin, in Clare; and the island of Fitha (believed to be Inis-caerach, or Mutton island, opposite Kilmurry-Ibrickan, on that coast) was partly submerged and divided into three islands.

† The island of Rathlin, on the coast of Antrim, and that of Lambay, in the bay of Dublin, were both anciently called Rechreinn, or Reachrann. The latter is the one here referred to. The date of the event, according to the Annals of Ulster, is 793; according to Tighernach, 794; and according to O'Flaherty's calculation, 795.

were first inflicted on southern nations, and long after that period they continued utterly illiterate, and seemed quite impervious to the light of Christianity. Their bold, adventurous, and ruthless spirit in the pursuit of pillage; the command of the ocean which their habits and numbers gave them; the combination in which they soon learned to act in their plundering excursions; the fierce barbarity with which they treated their victims; and, above all, the disunited and feeble state in which they found those countries upon which they preyed, gave them formidable advantages. Thus, for upwards of two centuries were they a scourge of the most fearful kind to Britain and Ireland, and to some of the maritime countries of southern Europe. They were characterised by unparalleled daring, perseverance, and inhumanity. They seemed to have no tie of common humanity with those who fell into their power. With them there was no mercy for captives. At least such is the character which they receive from cotemporary Saxon and French historians, for the Irish writers do not depict the atrocities of the Danes in the same colours, although the vivid traditions preserved even to the present day in Ireland shew that their cruelties must have been appalling.*

But the plunder and desecration of churches and monasteries, and the slaughter of ecclesiastics, were the favorite exploits of these fierce pagans. Their descent upon any point was sure to be signalized by this sacrilegious rapine. Iona, or I-Columbkill, was laid waste by them in 797, and again in 801, when sixty-eight of its clergy and laity were massacred; the monastery of Inishmurray, off the coast of Sligo, was sacked and burned by them in 802, when they also penetrated into Roscommon; and in succeeding years, as these incursions became more frequent, all the religious houses of Ireland were subjected in their turn to the same process of devastation, and sometimes repeatedly within the same year. Armagh, with its cathedral and monasteries, was plundered by the Danes four times in one month; and in Bangor, 900 monks, with their abbot, were massacred by them in one day. "As few things of any value," observes a late writer, "could have survived such conflagra-

* According to English writers, the butchery of children was a common practice with the Northmen in their first descents; their soldiers made a sport of flinging infants from the point of one spear to another, so as to show their dexterity in catching the writhing bodies in mid air; and one of the Viking chiefs, described as a "brave pirate," received a nickname for his humanity in opposing this revolting pastime. See the authorities on these and many other atrocities of the Danes quoted in Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i.; and in MacCabe's Catholic History of England, vol. ii., in which latter work the reader will find some just animadversions on Laing's "Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," in which Mr. Laing seems to like the northern pirates all the better for their paganism and fierceness, and attributes the easy conquest by them of the English Saxons to the effect upon the latter of "Romish superstition and church influence."

tions; the mere wantonness of barbarity alone could have tempted them so often to repeat the outrage. The devoted courage, however, of those crowds of martyrs who still returned undismayed to the same spot, choosing rather to encounter sufferings and death than leave the holy place untenanted, presents one of those affecting pictures of quiet heroism with which the history of the Christian church abounds."*

Dismayed, at first, and confounded by the assaults of the fierce and merciless invaders, who appeared at the same moment at several points, and the time and place of whose return could never be calculated, it was some time before the Irish made any regular stand against them. They soon, however, rallied from their panic, and discovered that their mysterious foes were as vulnerable as other men. When parties of the Danes landed unexpectedly, and were engaged in their work of pillage, a force was generally mustered in the neighbourhood to resist them, and in innumerable instances the marauders were successfully attacked and driven back with slaughter to their ships. But these partial defeats had no effect on the desperate energies of the Northmen, who always returned in greater numbers the following year; and who, from their command of the sea, had their choice on all occasions of a landing-place, running up by the rivers into the heart of the country, and constructing fleets of small craft on the lakes in the interior, whence they were able, at any moment, to devastate the surrounding country.

The annals tell us that the foreigners were slaughtered by the men of Umhall in Mayo, in 812; by Covach, lord of Loch-Lein (Killarney), in the same year; by the king of Ulidia, and by Carbry, lord of Hy-Kinsella (south Leinster), in 827; by the men of Hy-Figeinte, in the west of Limerick, in 834, &c., but these and many similar defeats were of no avail, other parties of the adventurers being at the very same moment victorious at several points.† After some twenty or thirty years had been consumed in these desultory attacks, the Danes determined on a more extensive scheme of invasion, and, combining their forces under one commander, fitted out large fleets for the purpose; but unfortunately,

* Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 30. The appearance of some mysterious preacher is thus referred to in the Irish Annals under the year 806 (811):—"In this year the Ceile-Dei (culdee) came over the sea with dry feet, without a vessel; and a written roll was given him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish, and it was carried up again when the sermon was finished. This ecclesiastic used to go every day southwards across the sea, after finishing his exhortation."

† Eginhart, the historian of Charlemagne, clearly refers to the defeat of the Norsemen in Mayo, in 812, in the following passage:—"Classis Nordmannorum Hiberniam, Scotorum insulam, aggressa, commisso prælio cum Scotis, parte non modicâ Nordmannorum interfectâ, turpiter fugiendo domum reversa est."

while the enemy were thus carrying out their plans for the subjugation of Ireland, the Irish princes and chieftains were wasting the energies of the country in wars among themselves, so that no combined effort against the common foe was ever even thought of.

Hugh (Aedh) surnamed Oirdnigh, or the legislator, son of Niall Frassagh, of the northern Hy-Niall race, became monarch of Ireland in 793, and commenced his reign by desolating the province of Meath, then turning his arms against Leinster, which he devastated twice in one month. When summoned to one of these sanguinary forays, the archbishop of Armagh and his clergy protested against the monstrous impropriety of the ministers of peace being obliged to attend their war-hostings. Such had hitherto been the custom; but Hugh now consented to leave the question to the decision of a holy and wise man, called, from his knowledge of canon law, Fohy (Fothah) of the Canons; and the latter immediately prepared a statement, or essay, on the subject, the result being that ecclesiastics were henceforth exempted from the duties of war in Ireland.

A.D. 817.—Hugh Oirdnigh, after a reign of twenty-five years, was succeeded by Conor, who reigned fourteen years, during which period the Danish power was placed on a firm footing in many parts of Ireland, under a chief known in these countries as Tuirges, or Turgesius, but who cannot be traced by that name in any Scandinavian chronicles. He came to Ireland in 815, and fortified himself at Rinnduin, on the west side of Lough Ree, an expansion of the Shannon in Roscommon. All this time Ireland was laid waste as much by domestic wars as by the exactions, pillage, and burnings of the Northmen. While the latter were engaged in plundering Louth and some other districts, the men of Munster were at the work of plunder in Bregia, and Conor, the king of Ireland, instead of defending any of these territories, was himself busy plundering Leinster to the banks of the river Liffey.

A.D. 831.—Niall Caille, son of Hugh Oirdnigh, on assuming the now almost nominal sovereignty of Ireland, led an army against the Danes, whom he defeated at Derry, but his efforts were soon paralysed. While the country was a scene of devastation from north to south—her people prostrate and hemmed in by foreign foes who extracted the marrow of the land—Felim (Feidhlimidh), king of Cashel, of the race of the Eoghanachts of south Munster, thought it a favorable opportunity to assert his own right to a share in the spoils. This selfish prince accordingly mustered an army and marched into Leinster to levy tribute, reviving the ancient claim of Eoghan Mor. The country must have been already little better than a wilderness, yet he found some work left for

fire and sword; and went on in his career of plunder through the length of Ireland, till he reposed for a year in the primatial city of Armagh, having previously taken hostages from the unhappy monarch, Niall, and from the king of Connaught. The annals of Innisfallen boast, on this account, that he was king of all Ireland. He also stopped at Tara; and on his return to the south, plundered and laid waste the termon lands of Clonmacnoise, "up to the church door;" but he only survived this sacrilege one year, and died in 845, on his return to Munster. It does not appear from any ancient authority that this man's parricidal arms were ever once turned against the Danes.

A.D. 843.—At this gloomy period appeared Meloughlin (Maelseachlainn) or Malachy, king of Meath and monarch of Ireland, whose bravery and ability materially helped to save his country. His first exploit while yet only king of Meath was to get the tyrant Turgesius into his power, and make him pay the penalty of his atrocities by drowning him in Lough Owel, in Westmeath.* This success was the signal for a general onslaught upon the foreigners in every part of Ireland. The people rose simultaneously, and either massacred them in their towns, or defeated them in the field; so that with the exception of some few strongholds, like that of Dublin, (which they had seized in 836), the land of Ireland was freed from the Northmen. Wherever they could escape they sought refuge in their ships, but only to return in more numerous swarms than before.

A.D. 846.—Meloughlin being now monarch of Ireland, defeated the Danes at Farragh, near Skreen, in Meath, slaying 700 of them; while, in the same year, Olchovar, the successor of Felim in Munster, aided by the Leinstermen, inflicted another defeat, and a loss of 1,200 men on the Danes in Kildare. The foreigners suffered some further losses in that year, although they had at this time got some traitorous Irishmen into their ranks; and the following year, Meloughlin, assisted by Tighernach, lord of Lough Gower (near Dunshaughlin), plundered the Danes in their stronghold of Dublin.

A.D. 849.—Two contending parties now appeared among the Danes themselves. The Dubh Galls, or "Black Gentiles," made a descent upon Ireland with a fleet of seven score ships, and assailed the Finngalls at different points, making an immense slaughter of them, and sacking

* There is a romantic story told of the manner in which Meloughlin got Turgesius into his power. It is said that he pretended to give his daughter to the pirate chief, but sent with her fifteen young men disguised in female attire, who seized the tyrant and slew his attendants. This tale, however, only rests on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, and is rejected by Irish historians.

their fortresses, so that the power of the white foreigners was quite crushed, until a reinforcement arrived to them in a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail (A.D. 850), when the conflict was renewed. The battle which ensued between them lasted three days and as many nights; and victory at length deciding in favor of the Black Galls, their opponents abandoned their shipping and fled inland. Next year, however (851), we find that all the foreigners in Ireland submitted to one chieftain, Amlaff, son of the king of Lochlann, or Norway, and that the Danish power was thus once more consolidated. Amlaff lived in Dublin, and his brothers Sitric and Ivar fixed themselves, the former in Waterford, and the latter in Limerick; which towns, previously places of some note, were soon raised to considerable importance as Danish stations and commercial depôts. An oppressive tax was now levied on the country by the Danes, in lieu of their previous system of predatory exactions, which, nevertheless, was not yet wholly abandoned.

Notwithstanding this tyranny and rapine on the one side, and indomitable resistance on the other, some symptoms of amalgamation between the Norsemen and natives are now visible, so that we begin to hear of the Dano-Irish, who partly adopted the Irish customs, and even the Irish language. During the remaining hundred and sixty years that the Northmen continued in Ireland on a hostile footing, we find them constantly in alliance with some recreant Irish chieftains, who aided them in their wars both in Ireland and England, and availed themselves in their turn of their help to avenge private quarrels.* The strangers, however, still continued inveterate heathens, and several persons who were put to death by them about this time are styled martyrs by the Irish annalists, intimating that they were slain for the sake of the Christian religion.

A.D. 857.—A great meeting of the chieftains of Ireland, with the archbishop of Armagh and other distinguished ecclesiastics, was collected this year by Meloughlin, at Rathugh, in Westmeath, "to establish peace and concord among the men of Ireland." Two chiefs who had been in temporary league with the Danes tendered their allegiance to the king on the occasion; namely, Kervall, or Carroll, lord of Ossory, and Maelgualai, king of Munster, the latter of whom was soon after

* In one of the earliest of the alliances alluded to above, Kinna (Cineadh), lord of Cianachta Breagh, in the east of Meath, rebelled, with a Gentile force at his back, against Meloughlin, and in the course of his depredations burned the oratory of Trevet (Treoit), with two hundred and sixty persons who had sought refuge in it; but, in the following year he was captured by the monarch, and drowned in the river Nanny (Ainge), which flows through his own district.

stoned to death by the Danes. The first result of this meeting was a movement against the Hy-Nialls of the north, in which the monarch was aided by the other four provinces; and Hugh Finnliath, chief of the northern Hy-Nialls entered, in consequence, into an alliance with Amlaff, the Danish king of Dublin, and with his aid overran the territory of Meath. Three years later (860) the brave and magnanimous Meloughlin died, after a reign of sixteen years.

In the reign of this king the Irish historians mention an embassy from the king of Ireland to the emperor Charles the Bald, to inform him of the victories gained over the northern pirates, and to ask permission for the Irish monarch to pass through France on an intended pilgrimage to Rome. The name of Ireland was long before this time familiar in France; and it would even appear, from the statement of Eginhart, the secretary and historian of Charlemagne, that the Irish kings had acknowledged that great monarch as their feudal lord.*

Hugh Finnliath succeeded Meloughlin, and although we saw him just now an ally of the Danes, it was only a temporary necessity that made him such, for no sooner had he established his authority by exacting submission and hostages from the chiefs of the several territories, than he directed his arms vigorously against the invaders, on whom he inflicted several discomfitures. The first of these was in 864, at Lough Foyle, where, after a sanguinary battle, the heads of twelve score Danes were piled in a heap before him; and again, two years after, he gained a decisive victory, with a band of one thousand men, over five thousand Danes and rebel Irish, at Cill-ua-nDaighre.† This battle, and other exploits of Hugh Finnliath, were favorite themes of the bards; and some beautiful Irish verses, quoted by the Four Masters in recording his death in the year 876, show with what feelings of enthusiasm this chivalrous Irish prince was regarded by his cotemporaries. He was married to the daughter of the celebrated Kenneth Mac Alpine, who conquered the Picts, and who became first sole king of Scotland, about the year 850; and after Hugh's death that lady married his successor, Flann, surnamed Sinna, or of the Shannon, the son of Meloughlin, and chief of the southern Hy-Nialls.‡

* Abbe MacGeoghegan, History of Ireland, p. 212.—The alliance between France and Ireland is said to have continued up to the English invasion, but Scottish writers, as in so many other instances, erroneously appropriate to their own country this incident of Irish history.

† Probably Kiladerry, in the county of Dublin.—O'Donovan.

‡ In the reign of Hugh (861), the Danes bethought themselves of opening the vast sepulchral mounds of the Tuatha de Dananns, along the Boyne, in search of plunder. The caves under the great tumuli of New Grange, Knowth, Dowth, and Drogheda, were thus examined by them, wo

The monotonous tale of wars in which the several provinces are wasted and plundered by the Irish themselves, or by the Danes, or by Danes and Irish acting in concert, is varied during the long reign of Flann Sinna by two or three episodes, one of which, relating to the brief and eventful career of Cormac Mac Cuilennan, king and archbishop of Cashel, is worthy of particular mention.*

A.D. 896.—From a life of peace, devoted to the advancement of religion and the cultivation of literature, this holy prelate was taken, in one of the sudden political changes of the times, and compelled to ascend the throne of Munster, as chief of the Desmond sept of the Eoghanachts. To his horror the good prelate found himself all at once involved inextricably in war. The territory of his friend, Lorcan, king of Thomond, was threatened with invasion by the king of Connaught, and repeated inroads were made about the same time into his own territories, as far as Limerick, by Flann, the monarch, who was in league with the men of Leinster. To make matters worse, his chief adviser or minister, Flahertach, abbot of Inniscathy, who was also of the royal family of south Munster, was a man, according to all accounts, of a violent and obstinate temper, and of a disposition better suited to the field of battle than to the cloister. Impelled by the advice of this hot-headed counsellor, and by the circumstances in which he was placed, Cormac made two campaigns against the combined forces of Connaught, Leinster, and Meath, in both of which he was victorious. In the first the engagement took place on the old battle-ground of Moy Lena, in the King's county, and in the second, Cormac's army marched as far as Roscommon, and was supported by a fleet of small vessels on the Shannon. These wars seemed so far just and inevitable; but they were followed by one of a more questionable kind. According to some, this latter war was undertaken at the instigation of Flahertach, and the chiefs of Munster, to enforce the tribute imposed on Leinster, as part of Leath Mogha in the days of Conary the Great; the same for which Felim laid waste the lands of Leinster some time before; but others assert that it was only intended to protect the abbey of Monasterevin, founded by Evinus, a Munster saint, on the confines of Leinster, and which the king of Leinster had now seized for his own people. Be this, however, as it may,

are not told with what success; but the record of the event is of interest in Irish antiquities, as fixing the sepulchral character of these remarkable monuments.—See note of Dr. O'Donovan in the Four Masters, *ad. an.*, and the arguments founded by Dr. Petrie on the fact in his "Essay on Tara Hill."

* Keating (Hist. of Ireland, part 2) has preserved from an ancient tract, now lost, a curious account of the reign of Cormac, and details of the battle in which he lost his life.—See Dr. Lynch's Latin translation of this account, Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 564, note *b*.

Cormac was utterly opposed to this war. He referred the subject to a council of the chiefs, but their voice being unanimously for war, he made the necessary arrangements to carry out their wishes, at the same time that he tried sundry expedients to prevent hostilities. The men of Leinster were equally reluctant to go to battle, and sent ambassadors with very fair propositions, which the obstinacy of Flahertach and of those who agreed with him caused to be rejected. Cormac was grieved at this perversity, but was obliged to let things proceed. He foretold his own death, and made his will, bequeathing a number of valuable objects to Armagh, Inniscathy, and other churches and abbeys. He endeavoured to conceal his forebodings from the soldiers, that they might not be dispirited: but the men had no confidence in their cause or their numbers; several fled before the battle, and many more at the beginning of the conflict; and when the combined forces of Leinster, Meath, and Connaught, with Flann at their head, met the small army of Munster, the victory was not long uncertain. Cormac was killed, his horse rolling over him down the side of a declivity, rendered slippery by the blood of the slain; and a common soldier, discovering his body, cut off the head, and presented it to Flann, who only bewailed the death of so good and learned a man, and blamed the indignity with which his remains had been treated. Six thousand of the men of Munster, with a great number of their princes and chieftains, fell in this battle, which was fought (A.D. 903) at a place called Bealagh Mughna, now Ballaghmoon, in the county of Kildare, two or three miles north of the town of Carlow. Flahertagh, who led one of the three divisions in which the Munster army was marshalled, survived the battle, and after some years spent in penance, became once more minister, and ultimately king of Munster, but entertained calmer views as he advnced in life.*

A.D. 913.—Flann in his old age had the affliction to see his two sons, Donough and Conor, rebel against him; but Niall, surnamed Glundubh, or of the Black-Knee, son of Hugh Finnlaith, the northern Hy-Niall chief, led an army against them, and compelled them to give hostages

* The Annals of the Four Masters, whose chronology is generally followed in this history, unless when the contrary is stated, are here ante-dated five years, and the date of the death of Cormac was consequently 908. Cormac Mac Cuilennan has left a valuable Irish glossary, and is said to have been the compiler of the Psalter of Cashel. The number of scholars and eminent churchmen whose deaths are recorded in the Irish annals at this period, show that all the wasting warfare and barbarities of the Danes had not been able to extirpate piety or learning from the land of Erin. Among the distinguished names which we thus find, may be mentioned those of Maelmura of Fahan, who died in 885, and who has been already referred to in these pages as one of the oldest of the ancient poetic chroniclers of Ireland whose productions still survive, and Suivne, anchorite and scribe of Clonmacnoise, whose death occurred in 887.

for their submission to their father. Flann died the following year (914), after a reign of thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by the chivalrous Niall Glundubh. About this time fresh forces of Northmen poured into Ireland, and they established an entrenched camp at Ceann Fuait (now Confey, near Leixlip), whence they sent out parties to pillage the country to a considerable distance. The spirit of unanimity which the men of Ireland exhibited on the occasion was cheering. A Munster army gained a victory over the Danes near the frontier of the southern province; and the gallant Niall Glundubh, notwithstanding the strong position which the foreigners then held in and around Dublin, was resolved to assail them in their principal fastnesses; but this attempt, although bravely made, was unsuccessful. In an assault on the Danish camp at Ceann Fuait, in 915, the Irish army was repulsed with great slaughter: and two years after the Irish received a disastrous defeat at Cill-Mosamhog or Kilmashoge, near Rathfarnham, where they pressed upon the Northmen close to their stronghold of Ath-Cliath.* Here Niall, with several Irish chieftains, fell, and his loss was bewailed long after by the bards in verses full of pathos and beauty. His reign was unfortunately too short for him to render his country the services for which his noble and heroic spirit so well fitted him.

Donough, son of Flann Sinna, succeeded, and began his reign under favorable auspices, by slaughtering a great number of the Danes in Bregia; but he passed the remainder of it in comparative obscurity, one of the acts recorded of him being the slaying of his brother Donal treacherously. Godfred, the Danish chief of Dublin, plundered Armagh (A.D. 919), sparing the oratories with their Culdees; and from this clemency some infer that he had embraced Christianity, but we have no positive authority on the subject.

Two remarkable men, strongly contrasted in many points, now appeared on the scene in Ireland. These were Muirkertach, son of Niall Glundubh, next heir to the throne, and Callaghan of Cashel (Ceallachan Caisil), the king of Munster. The northern chieftain was a man of heroic and generous spirit, willing to sacrifice every personal feeling for his country. Twice did he find himself arrayed in arms against the worthless monarch Donough, but, as the annalists express it, "God pacified them;" or in other words Muirkertach was induced to yield for the sake of peace. Hitherto the Danish invaders had met no enemy so formidable as him in Ireland. Callaghan of Cashel was also renowned

* The true date of this battle is 919, the Annals of the Four Masters, which have it under 917, being at this period two years ante dated.

for heroism in war, but the love of country was no element in his character. The hereditary feud of the south and north was in his mind as strong an incentive to war as all the ravages of the heathen Danes; and we find him sometimes acting in concert with these plunderers and sometimes against them. In the year 934, Callaghan, with his Munster army pillaged Clonmacnoise a few months after it had suffered the same treatment from Amlaff and the Danes of Dublin; and again, in 937, he invaded Meath and Ossory in concert with the foreign enemy, laying waste the country without mercy. Two years after Muirkertach took hostages from the men of Ossory and the Deisi, and forthwith Callaghan entered their territory and punished them for this act of compulsory submission to the Hy-Niall chieftain.

A.D. 939.—Muirkertach, having returned from an expedition against the Norsemen of the Hebrides, resolved to strike a desperate blow against the Danish power in Ireland, and to bring those who had acted with the enemy into submission to the monarch; and accordingly he set out, with an army of one thousand chosen heroes, on his famous circuit of Ireland. He commenced by carrying off from Ath Cliath Sitric, brother of Godfred, then king of the Danes, as a hostage, and proceeded on his march to the south. The men of Leinster mustered to oppose his progress, and assembled over night in Glen-Mama near Dunlaven, through which his route lay; but as soon as they saw the northern warriors by the light of morning they prudently retired, and Muirkertach marched on to Dun-Aillinn near Old Kilcullen, where he took Lorcan, king of Leinster, and fettered him as a hostage. The army of Munster was next in readiness to give battle to the warrior band; but they either thought better of it, and determined to surrender their king, Callaghan; or, according to other authorities, Callaghan himself requested them rather to give him up than to fight the Hy-Nialls. The king of Cashel was accordingly taken and put in fetters as Lorcan had been. Muirkertach then marched towards Connaught, when young Conor, son of Teige of the Three Towers, king of that province, presented himself as a hostage, and was carried off but not fettered. The son of Niall finally returned to Aileach with all his royal hostages, and having spent five months there in feasting, he handed them over to Donough the monarch, as his liege lord.*

The heroic Muirkertach, called by our annalists "the Hector of the

* Cormacan Eigeas, poet of Ulster, and the friend and counsellor of Muirkertach, celebrated this "circuit of Ireland" in a poem which has been published by the Archæological Society of Ireland in the first volume of their Miscellany, 1841.

West of Europe," was slain by Blacaire, son of Godfred, king of the Danes, at Ardee, in Louth (941), in less than two years after this triumphant progress ; and about ten years later (952), we find recorded the death of his old foe, Callaghan of Cashel, who had been permitted to return to his kingdom. This latter prince, who is celebrated in the romantic chronicles of the time, was the ancestor of the O'Callaghans, Mac Carthys, and O'Keeffes.

Donough, the feeble monarch of Tara, was succeeded in 942, after a reign of twenty-five years, by another nominal chief-king, Congallach, who, having fallen into a Danish ambuscade, in 954, was in his turn succeeded by Donnel O'Neill,* son of Muirkertach.

The power of the Danes had greatly increased at this period, and was exercised with as much barbarity as ever, and the victories gained over them by the Irish were comparatively few. But we have now arrived at an important epoch in the history of these Danish wars, which shall be developed in the next chapter.

* This is one of the first instances we meet of a hereditary surname in Ireland. It was assumed from Donal's grandfather, Niall Glundubh.



CHAPTER XIV.

Sequel of the Danish Wars.—Limits of the Danish power in Ireland.—Hiberno-Danish Alliances.—Danish Expeditions from Ireland into England, &c.—Conversion of the Danes to Christianity.—Consecration of Dano-Irish Bishops.—Subdivision of territory in Ireland.—Alternate Succession.—Progress and Pretensions of Munster.—Brian Borumha.—Episode of his Brother's Murder.—Malachy II., Monarch of Ireland.—His victories over the Danes.—Wars of Brian and Malachy.—Deposition of Malachy.—Character of Brian's Reign.—His Piety and Wise Laws.—The Battle of Clontarf.—Death of Brian.—Consequences of the Battle.

[*From the middle of the Tenth to the beginning of the Eleventh Century.*]

THE Danes never obtained the dominion of Ireland as they did that of England; nor was there consequently any Danish king of Ireland such as England had in her Canute or Harold. The first really formidable impression made by the Norsemen on Ireland was at the opening of the ninth century, when Cambrensis and Jocelin mention the viking Turgeis, or Turgesius, as king of Ireland. These writers also make some obscure allusion to Gurmundus, the son of an African prince, as a conqueror of Ireland;* but this latter personage would appear to be purely fabulous, and the Irish annals clearly show that Turgesius never could have been justly styled king of Ireland.† Indeed, the authority of the Northmen in Ireland could not at any time be said to have extended beyond the ground occupied by their marauding armies. The Irish did not, like the Saxons, attempt to purchase peace from the Danes by

* The Danes were called Africans, or Saracens, in the medieval romances.

† Colgan (*Trias. Thaum.*, note on cap. 175. of Jocelin's *Life of St. Patrick*), says:—"Neither Gildas Moduda, nor John O'Dugan, in the catalogue of the kings of Ireland, nor the Four Masters in the same catalogue or in the annals, nor any other writer of Irish history, native, or foreign either, as far as I know, before Giraldus Cambrensis, enumerates Garmundus or Turgesius among the kings of Ireland, although they make mention of Turgesius and other Normans as having, in 836 and the following years, disturbed the peace of that country by continual battles, and spoliations, and incursions."

money, but fought with desperate resolution in defence of themselves and their property, and generally made the northern freebooters pay dearly for the spoils they took. The latter were, however, permitted to establish themselves along the coast in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Cork, and Limerick ; and when some of these strongholds were occasionally taken by the Irish, the Danish inhabitants nevertheless purchased safety on easy terms. In these important seaports they became transformed from pirates to merchants, occupying small districts in their neighbourhood for purposes of agriculture, and keeping up well-trained armies to levy black mail in the interior. Sometimes they received such overthrows that the Irish annalists describe them as wholly driven from the country ; but they invariably reappeared in greater force and with greater ferocity than before; and it is obvious that the expulsion was not on those occasions complete.

Thus, by degrees, did the Northmen become, as it were, a part of the recognized population of the country. They formed alliances, and made themselves indispensable as allies to one or other of the Irish toparchs in every local quarrel. By their assistance the kings of Leinster were frequently able to resist the demands made for tribute both by the monarch and by the kings of Cashel. Sometimes the Danish chiefs of Dublin or Waterford left Ireland with their entire forces, apparently abandoning the country, for the purpose of making descents on England or Scotland, and in these excursions they were occasionally aided by Irish allies. In 916 there was an expedition by the Danes of Waterford against Alba, or Scotland, of which Constantine was then king, and the invaders were beaten. Again, in 925, the Danes are said to have left Dublin for six months ; and in 937 they once more abandoned Dublin, led by Amlaff, or Olave, king of the Danes of Dublin and of the Islands, and with numerous Irish auxiliaries invaded England. Constantine of Scotland, whose daughter was married to Amlaff, was this time an ally of the Northmen, who were also supported by the Welsh or Britons; but they were defeated by Athlestan, king of England, in the memorable battle of Brunanburgh in Northumbria.*

* This battle is celebrated in verse in the Saxon chronicle; but on the death of Athlestan in 941 Amlaff returned to England and became king of Northumbria. Edgar, one of Athlestan's successors, in a charter dated at Gloucester, 964, boasts of having subdued "a great part of Ireland with its most noble city of Dublin," as well as "the Kingdoms of the Islands of the Ocean, with their fierce kings;" but as far as Ireland is concerned there is no ground whatever for the assertion, unless some defeat inflicted by Edgar on the Danes, not alluded to in our annals, be referred to. The charter is published in Ussher's Sylloge, p. 121. See also Ware's Antiquities, p. 14, (London, 1714).

The period of the conversion of the Danes to Christianity cannot be fixed with precision; but the general opinion is that those of Dublin became Christians about the year 948, a date which is assigned to the foundation of St. Mary's Abbey, on the north side of the Liffey.* Whatever time the change took place, the annals do not indicate any mitigation of cruelty on the part of the Danes to mark the period. In the very year in which the Danes of Dublin are said to have been converted, they burned the belfry of Slane, while filled with ecclesiastics and others, who had sought refuge there with some precious relics, among which was the staff of the holy founder, St. Erc.† At a later period it was usual for the Danish bishops of Dublin and Limerick to be consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury, whose jurisdiction they acknowledged, so little was there of the community of Christian charity between them and their fellow-Christians in Ireland.

While matters were proceeding thus with the Danes in Ireland, the native political system of the Irish themselves was producing its worst fruits. An unlimited subdivision of territory was taking place, and the number of independent dynasts multiplying accordingly. The time had passed away when the division of the island into five provinces could be said to hold good. There were kings of north and south Munster, besides independent lords of various territories in the southern province. Connaught was divided among two or three independent princes. Leinster, the battle-field of all the provinces, was at this time almost constantly in alliance with the Danes. Bregia was able to rebel against Meath, of which it was only a portion. The Hy-Nialls of the north were subdivided into Kinel-Connell and Kinel-Owen. The former of these were excluded from the sovereignty since the death of Flahertach, in 760; and the dignity of monarch alternated from that time with tolerable regularity between the Kinel-Owen branch and the southern or Meath branch of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The Ulidians, or people of eastern Ulster, had their own king, and were rarely on amicable terms with their Hy-Niall neighbours.

If the principle of alternate succession worked smoothly enough between the northern and southern houses of Hy-Niall, there was still no

* The death of an abbot of Clonmacnoise named Connvach, said to be one of the Finngalls, is mentioned in our annals so early as 866; and the Danish chief, Godfred, who "spared the oratories and Culdees of Armagh" in 919, is conjectured by some to have been a Christian; but not upon sufficient grounds.

† Among the persons burned in the tower was Coencaehair, prefect of the school of Slane, whom Colgan (*Trias Thaum.* p. 219), believes to have been Probus, one of the biographers of St. Patrick. The event affords an illustration of one of the uses to which the Irish belfries or round towers were applied; namely, as places of retreat in time of war. No trace of the Slane tower is now visible.

cordiality between them. One branch when in authority frequently devastated the territory of the other to obtain hostages or enforce payment of tribute. But when the southern Hy-Niall, or Meath branch, was in possession of the crown there was generally a palpable inferiority of power displayed. Meath did not possess the resources of men, nor her princes often the vigorous activity and heroism which characterized the Kinel-Owen.

For some time the kingdom of Munster had been gradually attaining the importance to which its extent and resources entitled it. It suffered, to this time, less from war than any of the other provinces, and was thus rising not only within itself, but relatively by reason of the greater injury which the others underwent. The time had, therefore, arrived for its kings to re-assert the old claim to the sovereignty of Leath Mogha, a claim which was the real cause of all the recent wars between Munster and Leath Cuinn; which served as a pretext for the aggressions of Felim, Cormac Mac Cuilennan, and Callaghan Cashel; and which was now about to rouse the energies of a more eminent man whose career we are approaching—namely, Brian Borumha or Boru.*

The sovereignty of Munster was to have alternated between the two great tribes of the Dalcassians, or north Munster race, and the Eoganachts, or race of south Munster; the former, as we have seen, descended from Cormac Cas, and the latter from Eoghan Mor, both sons of Oiliol Olum. But this rule was not observed; and for a long interval the provincial crown was monopolized by the chiefs of Desmond, or south Munster. Cormac Mac Cuilennan wished to correct this injustice, although himself of the Eoganacht, or Eugenian line; and his friend Lorcan, king of Thomond, did succeed to the crown of Munster, or rather of all Leath Mogha, after two intervening Eugenian reigns. On the death of Lorcan, his son Kennedy (Cineidi) contested, in 942, the succession with the Eugenian prince, Callaghan Cashel, but yielded in a chivalrous spirit, and co-operated with him in some of his wars against the Danes and others. This Kennedy was the father of the illustrious Brian Borumha.

Mahon, the eldest son of Kennedy, successfully asserted his right to the crown of all Munster in 960, and performed many heroic exploits against the Danes of Limerick, and against the Connaughtmen, who

* The surname of *Borumha* or *Boraimhe*, is usually supposed to have been given from the tributes which Brian exacted; but its most probable derivation is from Boromha, now Beal-Borumha, an ancient fort on the Shannon, about a mile north of Brian's palace of Kincora, or the present Killaloe.—*Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 1092, n. *e*

had invaded Thomond. In his wars he was gallantly aided by his brother Brian, who distinguished himself for deeds of valour from his youth. Mahon's brilliant career filled his hereditary rivals of south Munster with envy and alarm, and a plot against his life was formed, A.D. 978, by Maelmhuaidh, or Molloy (ancestor of the O'Mahonys), king of Desmond, Donovan (ancestor of the O'Donovans), lord of Hy Figeinte,* and Ivor, king of the Danes of Limerick; this last-named person having, it is said, suggested the treacherous scheme. Mahon was invited to a banquet at the house of Donovan, at Bruree on the Maigue, and the bishop of Cork, with several others of the clergy, were induced to give him a solemn guarantee for his safety. He accordingly went, but was immediately seized by a band of Donovan's armed men, who handed him over to Molloy, who with a strong party lay in wait in the neighbourhood; and next morning, in violation of the sacred pledge that had been given to him, he was basely put to death, a sword being plunged into his bosom.† Brian took ample vengeance on the murderers of his brother. He slaughtered the Danes of Limerick in several battles,‡ slew the treacherous lord of Hy-Figeinte, and finally overthrew Molloy, who was killed in a battle at Ballagh Leachta, the scene of the murder, by Brian's son, Morough, then only fifteen years of age. Brian, on this, became king of both Munsters, and a few years later was acknowledged king of all Leath Mogha.

A.D. 979.—A battle was fought this year near Tara, in which the Danes of Dublin and the Islands were defeated with terrible slaughter by Malachy, or Maelseachlainn, the king of Meath. Ragnal or Randal, son of Amlave, the Danish king of Dublin, was slain, with a vast number of his troops, and Amlave himself, soon after the defeat, went on a pilgrimage to Iona, where he died broken-hearted. Donnell O'Neill, son of Muirkertach, the monarch of Ireland, also died this year, after a reign of twenty-four years, and was succeeded by the king of Meath, Malachy II., sometimes styled the Great.

A.D. 980.—Flushed with success after the battle of Tara, Malachy,

* This important territory comprised the western part of the county of Limerick, and extended somewhat into the counties of Cork to the south, and Kerry to the west. The rivers Maigue and Morning Star appear to have formed its boundary to the east as the Shannon did to the north.

† This crime was perpetrated at a hill called Ballagh Leachta, which, according to some accounts, was at Redchair, on the confines of Limerick and Cork, but according to another authority, was in the vicinity of Macroom, in Cork. See note by Dr. O'Donovan, *Four Masters, an.* 974 (*recte* 976).

‡ One of these battles was fought (A.D. 977) on Inis Cathy, where Brian made a fearful slaughter of the Danes; and he followed up this success by driving them from all the other islands of the Shannon.

immediately on his accession to the sovereignty, marched against the Danes of Dublin, laid siege to the city, which he captured after being three days before its walls, and liberated two thousand Irish prisoners whom he found there, including the king of Leinster, besides taking a large amount of rich spoils. It was stipulated that all the race of Niall should be henceforth free from tribute to the foreigners; and Malachy issued a proclamation declaring every Irishman then in bondage to the Danes released from captivity.

Unfortunately this auspicious commencement of Malachy's reign was soon marred by the bane of ancient Ireland — intestine war. The successes and pretensions of the enterprising king of Munster excited the monarch's jealousy. Brian's claim to the sovereignty of Leath Mogha was, in fact, an imperative call to arms. Malachy accordingly entered the territory of the Dalcassians (A.D. 981), and, while laying waste the country, caused the great oak tree of Magh Adhair,* under which the kings of Thomond were inaugurated, to be taken up by the roots and destroyed. This was an unnecessary outrage, not easily to be forgiven, and showed the bitterness by which Malachy was animated.

The annals of the period present a chequered enumeration of plundering excursions, in which no party seems to have been free from blame. On various occasions Malachy showed his resentment against Brian. He sent a hostile army into Leinster in defiance of him, but this act was followed by a treaty, in which Brian's claim, as king of Leath Mogha was admitted. Recalled from one of his forays by the reviving power of the Danes, Malachy again (A.D. 989) led an army against Dublin, defeated the Danes in battle, and laid siege "for twenty nights" to the Danish citadel, reducing the garrison to such straits that they were obliged to drink the salt water which they could procure when the tide rose in the river. At length he accepted terms, the Danes, in addition to former tributes, undertaking to pay him, annually on Christmas night during his reign, an ounce of gold for every garden attached to a dwelling in Dublin. A few years later, Malachy and Brian were again at war, the latter being now, as far as we can judge, the aggressor; for while the monarch was engaged in Connaught, Brian sent an army up the Shannon in boats, and made an inroad into Meath, burning the royal rath of Dun Sciath. Upon this, Malachy, recrossing the Shannon, marched towards the south, burned Nenagh (Aenach-Tete), plundered all Ormond, and defeated Brian himself in battle

* This is a place now called Moyre, near Tullagh, in the county of Clare. It derives its name from a Firbolg chief, Adhar, *vide supra*, p. 28, note.

(A.D. 994). He then marched once more against the Danes of Dublin, carrying away, among other spoils, the ring or chain of Tomar, a Scandinavian chief, who was killed, A.D. 846, in the battle of Sciath Neachtain, near Castledermot.*

Three years after these events (A.D. 997 according to the Irish annals, but A.D. 998 according to our modern computation), we find Malachy and Brian, with the men of Meath and Munster, acting in conjunction, "to the great joy of the Irish," as the annalists tell us, and attacking the Danes of Dublin, whom they plundered of a great portion of their wealth. The following year the two kings gained an important victory over the Danes, who were led by Harold, son of Amlave, at Glen Mama, a valley near Dunlaven, in Wicklow, where Prince Harold was slain. The Irish army then marched to Dublin, where they remained for a week, burned the citadel, expelled Sitric, son of Amlave, the Danish king, and took a number of prisoners and a large quantity of gold and silver. After so many defeats the Danish power must have been in a very feeble state; indeed, it only required unanimity, vigour, and foresight on the part of the Irish princes to expel all the Northmen from Ireland; but short-sighted policy still prevailed, and the tribute obtained from the Danes, together with the wealth brought by their merchants into the country, now made them objects of avarice rather than fear to the native kings.

A.D. 999 (1000).—This year is remarkable for the revolution which deposed Malachy, and raised Brian Borumha to the dignity of monarch of Ireland in his stead; but the accounts of the disputes between these two kings are so distorted by provincial partizanship that we can do no more than guess at the truth. The southern annalists represent Malachy as quite incapable of ruling Ireland, and Brian as only yielding to the solicitations of the other Irish princes in assuming the reins of government. They speak of general councils of the nation, and of a year's grace given in vain to Malachy to retrieve his credit. But the authentic annals of the Four Masters have not one word about all this, which besides is inconsistent with the active career of war and victory which we have seen Malachy thus far pursue. The character of Brian is popularly described as faultless; and if the unprejudiced mind finds it difficult to acquit him altogether of ambition and usurpation, still the use to which he converted the power he acquired, and the benefits, though transitory, which redounded from it to his country, to religion, and to

* This exploit is the theme of Moore's popular melody, "Let Erin remember the days of old,"

civilization, may palliate faults not very heinous in themselves, considering the spirit and circumstances of the age in which he lived.

In the year last referred to the Four Masters say that Brian collected an army, composed, in addition to his own Dalcassians and the men of Munster in general, of the forces of south Connaught, Ossory, and Leinster, and of the Danes of Dublin, and marched against Malachy, with whom he is not stated to have had any cause of quarrel on this occasion. The Danish contingent, consisting of cavalry, dashed ahead into Bregia, to enjoy the first fruits of the plunder, but they were encountered by the monarch himself, and cut off almost to a man. This sturdy reception, which indicated no want of vitality on the part of Malachy, had its due effect, and Brian's invading army returned home without fighting or pillaging; but some assert that Malachy made concessions, and that Brian, though sure of victory, did not urge a battle. "This," say the northern annalists, "was the first turning of Brian and the Connaughtmen against Malachy."*

Next year a Munster army committed some depredations in Meath, and was compelled to relinquish its plunder. But the star of Malachy had waned, and seeing that the feeling of the country was favorable to his rival, he submitted to his fate. Hence, when Brian, with an army composed partly of the men of Munster and Leinster, and partly of Danes, marched the following year, A.D. 1001 (1003 of the common era), to Athlone, Malachy gave him hostages, or in other words, surrendered to him the crown of Ireland.† At the same time Brian received the hostages of Connaught; and then with a combined force, a section of which was led by Malachy himself, who followed Brian's standard as one

* Dr. O'Donovan, in the Annals of the Four Masters, vol. ii. p. 742, note d, observes on this passage, that Tighernach, who lived very near the period, calls Brian's opposition to Malachy "turning through guile or treachery;" and in a preceding note he remarks:—"Dr. O'Brien, in his *Law of Tanistry*, and others, assert that Maelseachlainn resigned the monarchy of Ireland to Brian because he was not able to master the Danes; but this is all provincial fabrication, for Maelseachlainn had the Danes of Dublin, Meath, and Leinster completely mastered, until Brian, whose daughter was married to Sitric, Danish king of Dublin, joined the Danes against him. Never was there a character so historically maligned as that of Maelseachlainn II. by Munster fabricators of history."

† Mr. Moore (Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 101), says: "The ready acquiescence with which, in general, so violent a change in the polity of the country was submitted to, may be in a great degree attributed to the example of patience and disinterestedness exhibited by the immediate victim of this revolution, the deposed Malachy himself. Nor, in forming our estimate of this prince's character, from a general view of his whole career, can we well hesitate in coming to the conclusion, that not to any backwardness in the field, or want of vigour in council, is his tranquil submission to the violent encroachments of his rival to be attributed; but to a regard, rare at such an unripe period of civilization, for the real interests of the public weal, and an unwillingness to risk, for his own personal views, the explosive burst of discord which, in so inflammable a state of the political atmosphere, a struggle for the monarchy would, he knew, infallibly provoke."

of his lieges, he proceeded northward to bring Ulster into subjection. The northern Hy-Nialls were not, however, yet prepared to acquiesce in the revolution; and Hugh, son of Donnell O'Neill, heir apparent to the sovereignty, with other northern chieftains, marched out to oppose him, but the armies having met at Dundalk (Dun Dealgan) separated without fighting, chiefly, as we are led to suppose, from Brian's unwillingness to shed the blood of his countrymen. It was some years, indeed, before he succeeded in reducing the Hy-Nialls of the north to submission; but in 1010 he compelled the Kinel-Eoghain and the Ulidians to give him hostages, and in the following year he took the lord of Kinel-Connell prisoner, and carried him to his palace at Kincora.* Hither he also conducted other refractory princes, and he at length succeeded in reducing the numerous petty kings and dynasts, whose mutual quarrels and aggressions were the curse of Ireland, into complete subordination. This led to that happy state of tranquillity and obedience to the laws which the bards have illustrated by the well-known fable of a beautiful lady carrying a gold ring on a white wand, and passing unmolested through the land.

What Brian had effected for his own province of Munster, before he became monarch of Ireland, he now, as far as possible, did for the whole country. He restored monasteries and schools destroyed by the Danes; caused the desecrated churches to be rebuilt and consecrated, and founded new ones; but among the latter, the only ones mentioned by name are those of Killaloe and Iniscealtra. He built the round tower of Tuamgreine (Tomgrany) in the present county of Clare; erected new forts and strengthened old ones; encouraged commerce and promoted learning and piety. On visiting Armagh, at the commencement of his reign, he laid an offering on the principal altar there of twenty ounces of gold—a large amount at that period—and made generous presents for the support of religion in other churches.†

Among the useful laws which Brian instituted was one for fixing surnames. Before this time (A.D. 1002) a few surnames, as that of O'Neill, were coming into use; but from Brian's reign they became imperative, and each family selected the name of some distinguished ancestor, which, with the prefix *Mac* or *O*, "son," or "grandson," was to be thence-

* The name Ceann Coradh signifies the Head of the Weir, and the site of this celebrated fortress and palace of Brian Borumha is comprised in the present town of Killaloe, that is, Cill Dalua, or the Church of St. Lua or Molua, a saint of the seventh century.

† On this visit to Armagh in 1004, Brian got his secretary, Maelsuthain (*Calvus-perennis*) to write in his presence, in the Book of Armagh, a confirmation of certain dues to that church, which had been paid since the time of St. Patrick; and in the entry, which still exists, Brian is styled *Imperatoris Scotorum*. On this occasion he encamped for a week in the great fort of Emania, the ancient palace of the kings of Ulster.

forth the family name. With few exceptions, the ancestors thus chosen were men who flourished in the tenth, or the beginning of the eleventh, centuries.*

A.D. 1013.—Such is the glowing picture drawn by Irish historians of the victories, wise government, and many virtues of Brian Borumha; but the interval of tranquillity which he had created was brief, and the odium of violating it is cast upon Maelmordha Mac Murrough,† who, through the assistance of the Danes had, some years previously, usurped the throne of Leinster. It is said that this prince received some offence from Brian's son, Murrough, at the court of Kincora, and that in order to be revenged he stirred up his allies, the Danes of Dublin, to acts of

* The most ancient account, says Dr. O'Donovan, of the fact of Brian's first establishing surnames, is found in a fragment of a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, (H. 2, 16), supposed to be part of Mac Liag's Life of Brian Borumha, in which the following passage occurs:—"It was Brian that gave out seven monasteries both furniture, and cattle, and land; and thirty-two Cloictheachs (or Round Tower belfries); and it was by him the marriage ceremony was confirmed (made binding): and it was during his time that surnames were first given, and territories were allotted to the surnames, and the boundaries of every territory and cantred were fixed." The following is the origin of some of these surnames:—The Mac Carthys of Desmond, from Carthach, who was slain in 1045; the Fitzpatricks, or Mac Gillapatricks of Ossory, from Gillaphadarig, lord of Ossory, who was slain in 995; O'Phelan, from Faelan, lord of the Deisi, whose son Donnell was one of those by whom the aforesaid Gillaphadraig was killed; Mac Murrough of Leinster, from Murchadh (son of Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, king of Leinster), who died in 1070; Mac Namara of Thomond, from Cumara (dog of the sea), who flourished in 1074; O'Brien of Thomond, from Brian Borumha; O'Callaghan of Desmond, from Ceallachan, who flourished in 1092, and was the fourth in descent from Ceallachan Caisil, king of Munster, and common ancestor of the Mac Carthys; O'Conor of Connaught, from Conchobhar, or Conor, king of Connaught, who died in 974; O'Conor of Corcomroe, from Conor who was slain in 1002; O'Conor Kerry, from Conor, whose grandson, Mac Beatha, was slain at Clontarf; O'Donnell of Tirconnell, from an ancestor who flourished in 950; O'Donoghue of Kerry, from an ancestor who flourished in 1050; O'Donovan, from Donovan, king of Hy-Fidhgeinte, slain by Brian Borumha in 976; O'Dowda of Mayo, from an ancestor in 876; O'Dugan, or Duggan of Fermoy, from Dubhagan, killed at Clontarf; O'Heyne, or Hynes of Galway, from Eidhin, whose grandson was killed at Clontarf; O'Kelly of Hy-Many, from an ancestor who flourished in 874; O'Madden of Hy-Many, from Madudhan, slain in 1008; O'Mahony of Desmond, descended from Kian (son of Molloy), who was present at Clontarf; O'Melaghlin of Meath, from Maelseachlain, or Malachy II., king of Ireland; O'Molloy of the King's county, from an ancestor in 1019; O'Neill of Tyrone, from Niall Glundubh, king of Ireland, in 919; O'Quin of Thomond, from Niall O'Cuinn, slain at Clontarf; O'Rourke of Breffny, from Ruarc, son of Tighearnan, who died in 893; O'Sullivan of Desmond, from Suillevan, about 950; and O'Toole of Leinster, from Tuathal, son of Ugaire, who flourished in 935.—(*Chiefly from Essays, by Dr. O'Donovan, on Irish names.*) Surnames were generally introduced throughout Europe in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The custom of the Irish was not to take names or titles from places, as in other countries; but, on the contrary, to give the family names to the lands or seigniories they held. See *Ogygia Vindicated*, p. 170; Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 90, n. *p.*

† This king was the ancestor, not of the Mac Murroughs or Kavanaghs, as some suppose, but of the O'Beirnes of Leinster. His sister, Gormliath, was first the wife of Amlave the Dane, by whom she had Sitric, king of Dublin; and she then became the second wife of Brian Borumha, who soon after repudiated her; and, according to the Niala Saga, in which she is called the beautiful Kormloda, it was she who, in revenge, stirred up the northern sea-kings against Brian, and brought about the battle of Clontarf.

aggression. Be the cause what it may, a storm was raised which, though short, was the most serious in its results that Ireland had yet witnessed. The Danes and Leinstermen commenced it (A.D. 1013) by an inroad into Meath, where they were routed by Malachy, who is then said to have solicited the assistance of Brian, but unsuccessfully; and it was only after another conflict near Ben Edar, or Howth, in which Malachy lost his son, Flann, and two hundred men, that the venerable hero of Kincora became sensible of the menacing nature of the new outbreak. Brian now sent an army under his son, Morough, into Leinster to make reprisals, and they plundered the country "from Glendalough to Kilmainham (Cill-Maighneann);" and later in the year he himself marched at the head of a considerable force to the vicinity of Dublin, where he remained encamped for three months; but the enemy not venturing out, he returned to the south about Christmas, contenting himself with plundering the territory of the traitor Maelmordha.

A.D. 1014.—Meanwhile the Danes had been making extraordinary preparations for war. Envoys were despatched for aid into Norway, the Orkneys, and the Baltic Islands; and the foreigners gathered, as the annals tell us, "from all the west of Europe." It was represented that an opportunity offered for obtaining complete possession of Ireland, and great numbers of the vikings accordingly came with their families for the purpose of taking up their residence permanently.* At this moment the same people were effectually making themselves masters of England. Sweyn was proclaimed king of England in 1013, and Canute the Great became undisputed monarch of England in 1017; so that it is little wonder if, flushed with a career of such triumph elsewhere, the Danes should have reckoned with certainty on finally obtaining the coveted soil of Ireland, on which they had now had a partial footing for two hundred years. A thousand Northmen, encased in ringed armour from head to foot, came under the command of Anrud and Carlus, sons of the king of Norway; Sigurd, son of Lodar, earl of the Orkneys, arrived at the head of a powerful band; and a numerous fleet of the northern vikings was under the command of their admiral, Brodar, who, according to Scan-

* In the chronicle of Ademar, monk of St. Eparchius of Angouleme, quoted by Lanigan from Labbe (Nova Bibl. MSS tom. 2, p. 177), it is stated that the Northmen came at that time to Ireland with an immense fleet, conveying their wives and children, with a view of extirpating the Irish and occupying in their stead "that very wealthy country in which there were twelve cities, with extensive bishoprics and a king, and which had its own language and Latin letters, and was converted by St. Patrick." &c. Labbe thinks the Chronicle was written before 1031, in which case the writer was cotemporary with Brian Borumha, and the document the oldest, as Dr. Lanigan thinks, in which the name of *Irlanda* is applied to this country.

dinavian accounts, was an apostate from Christianity, a great blasphemer, and an adept in magic. Neither was the king of Leinster idle, for he mustered all his fighting men, to the number, it is said, of 9,000; and the Danes of all Ireland were prepared to strike a desperate blow for the recovery of their former power.

Brian could not have been aware of the full extent of these preparations; yet he, too, was resolved to make a gallant effort, and collected a considerable army, chiefly from the south and west. The year was ushered in with depredations by the Danes and Leinstermen in Meath and Bregia, and a challenge from Maelmordha to Brian to meet him with his army on the spacious plain of Moynealta, or rather on that part of it called Clontarf.*

The Irish army arrived about the middle of April, A.D. 1014, at their usual camping ground of Kilmainham, which extended on both sides of the Liffey, and comprised the land now called the Phœnix Park; and Brian detached a body of his Dalcassians under his son Donough, to devastate Leinster, which was unprotected in the absence of Maelmordha and his army. The Danish admiral, Brodar, with his auxiliaries, entered Dublin-bay on Palm Sunday, the 18th of April, and Donough's movement having been communicated to Maelmordha by some traitor in Brian's camp, it was resolved that the battle should be hastened while the Irish army was weakened by his absence. According to a Danish legend, Brodar had been informed by some pagan oracle that if the battle took place on Friday Brian would fall, although victorious, while if it were fought on any other day of the week all his assailants would be slain; and it is said that the Danes therefore resolved to make the attack on Good-Friday.

The exact site of the battle seems to be tolerably well defined. In Dr. O'Conor's edition of the Four Masters it is called "the battle of the fishing weir of Clontarf;"† and the weir in question was at the mouth of the Tolka or Tulcainn, where Ballybough bridge now stands. It also appears that the principal destruction of the Danes took place when in their flight they endeavoured to cross the Tolka, no doubt at the moment of high water, when numbers of them were drowned; and it is expressly stated that they were pursued with great slaughter "from the Tolka to Dublin." We may, therefore, presume that their lines extended along the coast, with their left wing resting on the little river just mentioned,

* Cluain Tarbh, the lawn or meadow of the bulls.

† *Cath Coradh Cluana tarbh*, which Dr. O'Conor erroneously translates, "*Pugnam heroicam Cluantarbhiæ.*"

and protected by the marshes which then covered the low ground between that and the mouth of the Liffey; while their right wing extended in the direction of Dollymount; the newly-arrived Danish fleet being anchored either at Howth or in the rear of the army.

The Danish and Leinster forces, numbering together about 21,000 men, were disposed in three divisions, of which the first, or that nearest to Dublin, was composed of the Danes of Dublin, under their king, Sitric, and the princes Dolat and Conmael, with the thousand mailed Norwegians under the youthful warriors Carlus and Anrud. The second or central division was composed chiefly of the Lagenians, commanded by Maelmordha himself, and the princes of Offaly and of the territory of the Liffey;* and the third division, or right wing, was made up of the auxiliaries from the Baltic and the Islands, under Brodar, admiral of the fleet, and Sigurd, son of Lodar, earl of the Orkneys, together with some auxiliaries from Wales and Cornwall.

To oppose these the Irish monarch also marshalled his forces in three corps or divisions. The first, composed chiefly of the diminished legion of the brave Dalcassians, was under the command of his son Morough, who had also with him his four brothers, Teige, Donnell, Conor, and Flann, sons of Brian, and his own son, Turlough, who was but fifteen years of age. In this division was placed Malachy, with his contingent of a thousand Meath men; and here we may refer to the dishonorable charges made against this deposed king by all the southern chroniclers, who assert that he was the traitor who had apprised Maelmordha of Donough's departure from the camp with a large detachment of the Dalgais into Leinster, and that on the morning of the battle he withdrew his troops from the Irish lines, and remained inactive throughout the day. This unworthy conduct is so inconsistent with the whole career of Malachy that the charge has been rejected by Mr. Moore in his History of Ireland, and by Dr. O'Donovan in his notes to the Four Masters; yet we believe it has not been imputed to him without sufficient grounds, and that more recent researches will be found to establish the fact that Malachy made overtures to Teige O'Kelly, the commander of the Connaught army, to abandon Brian on the eve of the battle. Malachy's sympathies were Meathian rather than national, and, considering the provocation which he had received from the man who usurped his crown, we may find some excuse for him in the circumstances; even admitting, what appears to be the fact, that he held aloof with the army

* The Annals of Clonmacnoise say the O'Mores and O'Nolans did not join the other Leinster septs at Clontarf.

of Meath during the early part of the fight. We shall presently see that before the close of the day he made amends for the morning's dereliction of duty.

Brian's central division comprised the troops of Desmond, under the command of Cian, son of Molloy (ancestor of O'Mahony), and Donnell, son of Duvdavoran (ancestor of O'Donoghoe), both of the Eugenian line; together with the other septs of the south, under their respective chiefs, viz.: Mothla, son of Faelan, king of the Desies; Muirkertach, son of Anmcha, chief of Hy-Liathain, (a territory in Cork); Scannlan, son of Cathal, chief of Loch Lein, or Killarney; Loingseach, son of Dunlaing, chief of the territory of Hy-Conall Gavra, comprised in the present baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, in the county of Limerick; Cathal, son of Donovan, chief of Carbry-Eva (Kenry, in the same county); Mac Beatha, chief of Kerry Luachra; Geivennach, son of Dugan, chief of Fermoy; O'Carroll, king of Eile; and, according to some accounts, O'Carroll, king of Oriel, in Ulster.

The remaining Irish division, which formed the left wing opposed to the great body of the newly-arrived foreigners in the Danish right wing, was composed mainly of the forces of Connaught, under Teige O'Kelly, king of Hy-Many; O'Heyne, or Hynes, king of Hy-Fiachra Aidhna; Dunlaing O'Hartagan; Echtigern, king of Dal Aradia, and some others. Under the standard of Brian Borumha also fought that day the Maermors, or great stewards of Lennox and Mar, with a contingent of the brave Gaels of Alba. It would even appear, from a Danish account, that some of the Northmen who had always been friendly to Brian fought on his side at Clontarf. Some other Irish chieftains besides those enumerated above are mentioned in the Innisfallen Annals, as those of Teffia, &c. A large body of hardy men came from the distant maritime district of Connemara; many warriors flocked from other territories, and, on the whole, the rallying of the men of Ireland in the cause of their country on that memorable occasion, as much as the victory which their gallantry achieved, renders the event a proud and cheering one in Irish history. It is supposed that Brian's army numbered about twenty thousand men.*

* The Danes were better equipped in the battle than their antagonists, and the fame of their ringed and scaled armour was spread far through Ireland. In an Irish legend of the time, the Banshee, Eevin of Craglea, is represented as endeavouring to keep O'Hartagan from the fight by reminding him that while the Gaels were only dressed in "satin shirts," the Danes were enveloped in "coats of iron." But the Irish battle-axes were better than any defensive armour. Cambrensis tells us that these terrible weapons were wielded by the Irish with one hand, and thus descended from a greater height and with greater velocity, "so that neither the crested helmet could defend the head, nor the iron folds of the armour the body. Whence it has happened, even in our times," he continues, "that the whole thigh of a soldier, though cased in well-tempered armour, has been lopped off by a

The Danes having resolved to fight on Good Friday, contrary to the wishes of Brian, who was unwilling to desecrate that day with a scene of carnage, and who also desired to await the return of his son Donough; and the respective armies being marshalled as we have described, the venerable Irish monarch appeared on horseback at break of day, and rode along the lines, animating the spirits of his men. While he grasped his sword in the right hand, he held a crucifix in the left, and addressing the troops, reminded them of all the tyranny and oppression of the hateful enemy who stood against them; of all their sacrilegious outrages; their church burnings, and desecration of sacred relics; their murders and plunder, and innumerable perfidies. "The great God," he continued, "hath at length looked down upon our sufferings, and endued you with the power and the courage this day to destroy for ever the tyranny of the Danes, and thus to punish them for their innumerable crimes and sacrileges, by the avenging power of the sword;" and raising aloft the crucifix, he exclaimed, "was it not on this day that Christ Himself suffered death for you?"

He then gave the signal for action, and the venerable king was about to lead his Dalcassian phalanx to the charge, but the general voice of the chieftains compelled him to retire into the rear, and to leave the chief command to his son Morough.*

The battle then commenced, "a spirited, fierce, violent, vengeful, and furious battle, the likeness of which was not to be found in that time," as the old annalists quaintly describe it. It was a conflict of heroes. The chieftains engaged at every point in single combat, and the greater part of them on both sides fell. The impetuosity of the Irish was irresistible, and their battle-axes did fearful execution, every man of the ten hundred mailed warriors of Norway having been cut down by the Dalcassians. The heroic Morough performed prodigies of valour throughout the day. Ranks of men fell before him; and hewing his way to the Danish standard, he cut down two successive bearers of it with his battle-axe.† Two Danish leaders, Carlus and Conmael,

single blow of the axe, the limb falling on one side of the horse, and the expiring body on the other." Besides these broad axes, which were exceedingly well steeled, the Irish, according to Cambrensis, used short lances and darts, and they were "very dexterous, beyond other nations, in slinging stones in battle, when other weapons failed them." Top. Hib. dist. 3, cap. 10. Their swords were ponderous, of great length, and edged only on one side. Harris's Ware, vol. ii., p. 162.

* The age of Brian, according to the usually received accounts, was eighty-eight, and that of Morough sixty-three; but the date (941), given for the birth of Brian, in the Annals of Ulster, would make his age at the battle of Clontarf only seventy-three; and Dr. O'Donovan, who thinks that to be the true account, conjectures that his son Morough was no more than forty-three years of age. Morough's son, Turlough, was a youth of only fifteen years.

† This achievement is mentioned in the Danish account, in which Morough is called Kerthialfadr.

enraged at this success, rushed on him together, but both fell in rapid succession by his sword. Twice, Morough and some of his chiefs retired to slake their thirst and cool their hands, swollen from the violent use of the sword and battle-axe, and the Danes observing the vigour with which they returned to the conflict, succeeded by a desperate effort in filling up the brook which had refreshed them. Thus the battle raged from an early hour in the morning, innumerable deeds of valour being performed on both sides, and victory appearing still doubtful, until the third or fourth hour in the afternoon, when a fresh and desperate effort was made by the Irish; and the Danes, now almost destitute of leaders, began to waver and give way at every point. Just at this moment the Norwegian prince, Anrud, encountered Morough, who was unable to raise his arms from fatigue, but who with the left hand seized Anrud, and shaking him out of his armour, hurled him to the earth, while with the other he placed the point of his sword on the breast of the prostrate Northman, and leaning on it, plunged it through his body. While Morough, however, was stooping for this purpose, Anrud contrived to inflict on him a mortal wound with a dagger, and the Irish warrior fell in the arms of victory. This disaster had not the effect of turning the fortune of the day, for the Danes and their allies were in a state of utter disorder, and along their whole line had commenced flying towards the city or to their ships. They plunged into the Tolka at a time when the river must have been swollen with the tide, as great numbers were drowned. The body of young Turlough was found after the battle "at the weir of Clontarf," with his hands entangled in the hair of a Dane with whom he had grappled in the pursuit.

But the chief tragedy of the day remains to be related. Brodar, the pirate admiral, seeing the route general, was making his way through some thickets with only a few attendants, when he came upon the tent of Brian Borumha, left at that moment without his guards. The fierce viking rushed in and found the aged monarch at prayer before the crucifix, which he had that morning held up to the view of his troops, and attended only by a boy, Conaing, the son of his brother Duncuan. Brian, however, had time to seize his arms, and died sword in hand. The Irish accounts say, that he killed Brodar, and was only overcome by numbers; but the Danish version in the Niala Saga is more probable, and in this Brodar is represented as holding up his reeking sword and crying:—"Let it be proclaimed from man to man that Brian has been slain by Brodar." It is added on the same authority that the ferocious pirate was then hemmed in by Brian's returning guards, and captured

alive, and that he was hanged upon a tree, and continued to rage like a beast of prey until he was eviscerated; the Irish soldiers thus taking savage vengeance for the death of their king, who, but for their own neglect, would have been safe.

To this period of the battle may be applied the statement of the Four Masters, to which we have already alluded, namely, that the foreigners and Leinstermen "were afterwards routed by dint of battling, bravery, and striking, by Maelseachlainn (Malachy) from Tulcainn (the Tolca) to Ath-Cliath (Dublin)." According to the account inserted in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, thirteen thousand Danes and three thousand Leinstermen fell in the battle and the flight, but this is a modern exaggeration. The authentic Annals of the Four Masters say, that "the ten hundred in armour were cut to pieces, and at least three thousand of the foreigners slain;" the Annals of Ulster state that seven thousand of the Danes perished by field and flood; the Annals of Boyle, which are very ancient, count the number of Danes slain in the same way as the Four Masters do; so that, in all probability, the Ulster Annals include the Leinstermen in their sum total of the slain on the Danish side. The loss of the Irish is also variously stated, but it cannot have been much less than that of the enemy. Ware seems to doubt whether the Irish had a decided victory, and mentions a report that the Danes rallied at the close of the battle; but the doubt which he raises merits no attention, seeing that even the Danish accounts admit the total rout, and the great slaughter of their own troops. The Scalds of Norway sang dismal strains about the conflict, which they always call "Brian's Battle;" and a Scandinavian chieftain, who remained at home, is represented as inquiring from one of the few who had returned, what had become of his men? and receiving, for answer, "that all of them had fallen by the sword!" A cotemporary French chronicler describes the defeat of the Northmen as even more sanguinary than it really was, stating that all of them were slain, and that a number of their women threw themselves in despair into the sea.*

According to the Annals of Ulster, and other Irish authorities, there were among the slain on the side of the enemy, Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Leinster; Brogovan, tanist of Hy-Falgia; Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, tanist of Leinster; Donnell O'Farrell, king of the Fortuaths

* Ademar's Chronicle, as quoted above. This writer adds what we know to be an error, that the battle lasted three days. The preceding details of the battle of Clontarf are collected from Annals of Innisfallen, and other southern authorities, quoted by O'Halloran, Keating, &c., the Annals of the Four Masters with O'Donovan's annotations; the *Niala Saga*, as given with a Latin version in Johnstone's *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ*; and other sources.

of Leinster; Duvgall, son of Amlave, and Gillakieran, son of Gluniarn, two tanists of the Danes; Sigurd, son of Lodar; Brodar, who had killed Brian; Ottir Duv; Suartgar; Duncha O'Herailv; Grisane; Luimni and Amlave, sons of Lagmainn, &c.

Among the slain, on the Irish side, besides Brian, his son Morough, and his grandson Turlough, are mentioned Conaing, son of Doncuan, Brian's nephew; Cuduiligh, son of Kennedy; Mothla, lord of the Desies; Eocha, chief of the Clann Scannlain; Niall O'Cuinn*—the three latter being the king's aides-de-camp or companions—Teige O'Kelly; Mulroney O'Heyne; Gevnach, son of Dugan; Mac Beatha of Kerry Luachra, ancestor of the O'Conors-Kerry; Donnell, lord of Corcabaiscin; Dunlaing O'Hartagan; the great stewards Mar and Levin (Lennox), and many others. The annals add that Brian and Morough both lived to receive the last rites of the church,† and that their remains, together with the heads of Conaing and Mothla, were conveyed by the monks to Sord Columb Cille (Swords), and from thence, through Duleek and Louth, to Armagh, by Maelmuire (servant of Mary) the Coarb of St. Patrick; and that their obsequies was celebrated for twelve days and nights with great splendour by the clergy of Armagh; after which the body of Brian was deposited in a stone coffin on the north side of the high altar in the cathedral; the body of his son being interred on the south side of the same church. The remains of Turlough, and of several of the other chieftains, were buried in the old church-yard of Kilmainham, commonly known as "Bully's Acre," where the shaft of an ancient Irish cross still marks the spot.

The day after the battle, Donough, son of Brian, arrived with the spoils of Leinster, and met his brother Teige with the surviving Irish chieftains and the remains of their victorious army. He made rich presents to the clergy of Armagh, and to those of other churches; and about Easter Monday the camp broke up, and the chiefs with their respective forces took each the road towards his own territory. It is related that while the Dalcassians were on their march home through the territory of Ossory, Mac Gillapatrick, the prince of that country, attempted to oppose their progress and demanded hostages; but the sons of Brian, with their shattered battalion, prepared to give him battle; and the Dalcassians are said to have afforded on the occasion a memorable

* Ancestor of the O'Quinns of Thomond, of whom the earl of Dunraven is the present head.—O'Donovan.

† Marianus Scotus thus records the death of Brian in his chronicles :—"Brian, king of Hibernia, slain on Good Friday, the 9th of the Calends of May (April 23rd), with his mind and his hands turned towards God."

example of heroism. The wounded warriors were tied to stakes in the front ranks, each wounded man between two of his sound companions; but the men of Ossory, appalled by so desperate a preparation for resistance, or moved by some more honorable feeling, refused to fight against such an enemy, and the heroes of Thomond were allowed to proceed in peace.

Soon after we read of fresh instances of discord in the southern province. The two Desmonian chiefs, Cian and Donnell, son of Duvdavoran, fought after their return from Clontarf, and the former, who was celebrated by the bards for his beauty and stature, was slain, together with some chiefs who were on his side; while the following year (1015), Donnell, who asserted his claim to the throne of all Munster even on the day after the battle of Clontarf, led an army to Limerick, where he was encountered and slain by the two sons of Brian, Donough and Teige.

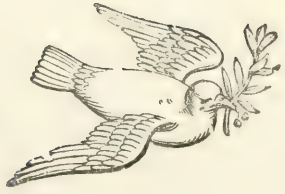
Meanwhile Malachy resumed the authority of monarch with the tacit consent of the Irish chiefs, and by his frequent and successful attacks on the Danes of Dublin, and his onslaughts on the people of Leinster and of other territories, in the assertion of his sovereignty, he proved that he still possessed energy enough to rule the country. A month before his death he gained an important victory over the Danes of Dublin, at Athboy, or the Yellow Ford of Tlachta, in Meath, and died A.D. 1022, in Cro Inis, an island of Lough Ennel in Westmeath, opposite the fort of Dun Sciath, which had been his residence; having reigned eight years after the battle of Clontarf, and reached the seventy-third year of his age.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise state that Malachy "was the last king of Ireland of Irish blood that had the crown; but that there were seven kings after without crown, before the coming of the English." Two of these kings, however, were acknowledged by the whole of Ireland. An interregnum of twenty years followed the death of Malachy, during part of which interval the country is stated, in some of the old annals, to have been governed by two learned men, "the one," say the Annals of Clonmacnoise, "called Cuan O'Lochan, a well learned temporal (lay) man, and chief poet of Ireland; the other, Corcran Cleireach (the Cleric), a devout and holy man, that was anchorite of all Ireland, and whose most abiding was at Lismore. The land was governed like a free state, and not like a monarchy by them."*

* Cuan O'Lochan was killed by the people of Teffia, in the year 1024, and it is added in the Annals of Kilronan "that his murderers met tragical deaths, and that their bodies were not interred until the wolves and birds had preyed upon them;" moreover, it was said, that their posterity were

As to the Danes, their power, though not annihilated in the battle of Clontarf, was so crushed by that memorable victory that they never after attempted hostilities on a large scale in Ireland, and were content to hold their position chiefly as merchants in Dublin, and the other ports already occupied by them. Their inability to avail themselves of the shattered and distracted condition in which Ireland remained for a long time after that bloody conflict is the best proof of the fearful amount of loss which they there sustained.

known by an offensive odour; this being what the Irish called a "poet's miracle," that is, a punishment drawn down by the malediction of a poet, or for an injury inflicted on a poet. Several of these "poetic miracles" are mentioned in the Irish annals of the middle ages. Three of the compositions of Cuan O'Lochan are mentioned in O'Reilly's *Irish Writers* (p. 73) as still existing. His colleague, Corcran, survived him many years.



CHAPTER XV.

State of Learning in Ireland during and after the Danish Wars.—Eminent Churchmen, Poets and Antiquaries.—Tighearnach and Marianus Scotus.—Irishmen Abroad in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. The Monks of the Middle Ages.—Causes of Ignorance and Disorganization.—Donough O'Brien in Rome.—Turlough O'Brien.—Progress of Connaught.—Wars of the North and South of Ireland.—Destruction of the Grianan of Aileach.—The Danes after Clontarf.—Invasion and Fate of King Magnus.—Relations with England.—Letter of Pope Gregory VII.—Murtough O'Brien and the Church.—Remarkable Synods.—Abuses in the Irish Church.—Number of Bishops.—St. Bernard's Denunciations.—Palliations.—St. Malachy.—Misrepresentations.—Progress of Turlough O'Conor.—Death of St. Celsus.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

[Pope Gregory VII., from 1073 to 1085.—Henry IV., Emperor of the West, died 1106.—Saxon line restored in England under Edward the Confessor, 1042.—England conquered by the Normans, 1066.—Philip the Fair, King of France, 1059.]

(*The Eleventh Century and First Thirty Years of the Twelfth.*)

DURING the long reign of war and rapine which prevailed from the first coming of the Danes into Ireland till their great overthrow at Clontarf, and the gloomy period of domestic disorganization which followed, it would be little wonder if learning had quite disappeared from this country. That such, however, was not the case we have ample proofs in the frequent obituaries of men described in our authentic annals as eminent for learning as well as piety during that dreary lapse of ages; in the constant revival of plundered monasteries and schools, which these chronicles record; and in the number of distinguished Irishmen who still continued to flourish in France, Germany, and other parts of the continent. It would be easy to make out a tolerably long list of the men who thus vindicate their age and

country from the charge of barbarism, but a few names will suffice for our purpose.

Beginning with the tenth century, which modern writers generally style the "darkest of the middle ages," we might commence our list with Cormac Mac Cuilennan, whose career has been already described in the proper place. We might also enumerate, among other names already mentioned, those of Cormacan Eigeas, the chief poet of Ulster in the time of Muirkertach O'Neill, whose memorable circuit he celebrated; and of the lector Probus or Coenachair, the biographer of St. Patrick, who was burned by the Danes in a round tower at Slane. A little before this time, when the monastic institutions had been destroyed, and with them learning and religion almost wholly extinguished in England, a few Irish monks settled at Glastonbury, and for their support began to teach the rudiments of sacred and secular knowledge.* One of the earliest and the most illustrious of their pupils was the great St. Dunstan, who, under the tuition of these Irishmen, became skilled in philosophy, painting, music, and other accomplishments, a proof that education had made considerable progress among the Irish monks. St. Cadroe, the son of a king of the Albanian Scots, was at the same time in Ireland, studying in the schools of Armagh, where he acquired a knowledge of arithmetic, astronomy, natural history, &c. And the name of Trian Saxon, then applied to one of the quarters of that city, shows that thus, long before the English invasion, it must have been frequented by a large number of Saxon students.† St. Maccallin, an Irishman, flourished in France at the same period, as did also another St. Columbanus, an Irish saint, whose memory has been preserved with great veneration in Belgium. In the same century Duncan, an Irish bishop, taught in the monastery of St. Remigius, at Rheims, and wrote, for the use of his students, some works, of which two, on the liberal arts, and on geography, are still extant.

At home, poetry, especially as applied to history, was a favorite pursuit. Kenneth O'Hartagan, who died in 975, is described as a famous poet of Leath Cuinn, and many of his compositions are to be found in Irish MS. collections. Eochy O'Flynn, who died in 984, has left us

* These were the "viri sanctissimi, præcipuè Hibernici," of whom Camden writes, who, in process of time, received a salary from the king and educated youth in piety and the liberal arts. "They embraced a solitary life that they might devote themselves more tranquilly to sacred literature, and by their austerities they accustomed themselves to carry the cross."—*Brit.* p. 193, London, 1600. Glastonbury, according to Camden, was anciently called "the first land of the saints in England."

† Annals of the Four Masters, *ad. an.* 1092; Colgan, Trias Thaum.

several historical poems of merit. He is frequently quoted as an authority for accounts of the early colonists of Ireland; having on these subjects embodied in his verses traditions of an age much older than his own. The names of Mac Liag, the secretary of Brian Borumha; and of Cuan O'Lochan, one of the co-regents of Ireland, have been already introduced in these pages; and following up the list of those who belong to this class, we have Flann Mainistreach, the abbot of Monasterboice, who died in 1056, and Giolla Keevin, who died in 1072; both famous as bardic chroniclers, many of whose productions still survive.

The most accurate and judicious of our ancient annalists was Tighernach (Tiernach), abbot of Clonmacnoise, who wrote the Annals of Ireland from the reign of Cimbaeth, that is, from about the year before Christ, 305, to the period of his death, in 1088. His compilation, which is partly in Latin and partly in Irish, evinces a familiarity with Greek and Roman writers that is highly creditable to the Irish monk of that age. It is remarkable that cotemporary with this eminent domestic chronicler another Irishman, celebrated in the same department of literature, flourished abroad; the famous Marianus Scotus—whose great chronicles are the most perfect composition of the kind which the middle ages produced—having died in 1086, two years before his countryman Tighernach. National vanity induced some Scottish writers to claim Marianus as their countryman, but without a shadow of foundation.* The name is the usual Latin form of Maelmuire, "the servant of Mary," a name then common in Ireland; and there is reason to believe that the famous chronographer was first a monk of Clonard, in Meath. Having gone, as many learned Irishmen did in his time, to Germany, he first entered the Irish convent near Cologne, but subsequently became a recluse at Fulda, and was finally sent by his superiors to Metz, where he died. The existence of such men as Marianus Scotus and Tighernach, in the eleventh century, are facts of great importance for their age and country.

When St. Fingen, an Irishman, who succeeded the Albanian Scot, St. Cadroe, as abbot of the monastery of St. Felix, at Metz, was also invested, in 991, with the government of the monastery of St. Symphorian in that city, it was ordered by the bishop that none but Irish monks should be

* See the authorities on this point collected by Lanigan, vol. iii., pp. 447, 448, and iv. pp. 5, 7, 8. When Henry IV. of England urged the authority of Marianus in support of his claim to the crown of Scotland, as Edward I. had done before, the Scottish States replied that the writer was a Hibernian not an Albanian Scot. Marianus is the first who is known to have applied the name of Scotia to the modern Scotland, which was previously only called Alba, an appellation which, in this form, or in that of Albuinn, or Albainn, has ever been the only Celtic name for North Britain.

admitted into this latter house, while they could be found; but when these failed the monks of other nations might be received.* The monastery of St. Martin, on the Rhine, near Cologne, was made over to the Irish for ever, in 975; and several other monasteries, either wholly or partially occupied by Irish monks, such as those of Erfurt, Fulda, &c., are known to have existed at that period in Germany and the Netherlands. Some Irishmen were associated with a community of Greek monks established at Toul, in France, by the bishop, St. Gerard, and are stated to have joined them in the performance of the Church service in the Greek language.†

St. Dunchadh, abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died at Armagh, in 988, and was held there in great veneration, is said by Tighernach to have been the last of the Irish saints who resuscitated the dead.‡ St. Aedh, or Hugh, lector of Trevet, in Meath, died at Armagh, in 1004, after affording for many years a bright example of holiness of life; and, under the date 1018, is recorded the death of St. Gormghal of Ardoilean, the remains of whose humble oratory and cloghan cell are still to be seen on that rocky islet, amid the surges of the Atlantic, off the wild coast of Connemara.§ Did we not bear in mind the fact, that such men as these—and many others like them might be enumerated—lived, and taught, and, prayed at that period, we would be apt, in wading through the chaos of war and anarchy which the chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries present, to think that it was indeed the age of utter darkness and barbarism, which some writers unjustly represent it to have been.‖

Whether ignorance and vice prevailed on the continent to a greater extent before Charlemagne, or after that great monarch's reforms became obliterated in the tenth century, is a matter of discussion. In the former case they were produced by the deluge of barbarism from

* See a copy of the original diploma to that effect, published by Colgan, with the Acts of St. Fingen in the AA. SS. Hib. p. 258.

† This curious fact is mentioned by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Literaire.*

‡ In the Acts of St. Dunchadh it is stated that the miracle of restoring a dead child to life was performed through his prayers. AA. SS. Hib. Jan. 16.

§ St. Gormghal is called "chief anmchara of Ireland." The word *anmchara* means "spiritual director," and is not to be confounded with *angcore* "an anchorite or recluse."

‖ It may be well to remind some readers, that war, rapine, and social confusion make up the great bulk of the history of other countries as well that of Ireland, during the ages of which we are here treating. In those turbulent times, the sole conservators of human knowledge as well as of religion in Christendom (for we except the Arabs), were the much abused monks; and those who ungratefully blame these for having kept all knowledge to themselves, forget that this was not the monks' fault. The laity were too intent upon war and other pursuits, and despised learning too much to devote attention to it; and the alternative was, the preservation of literature by ecclesiastics, or its final extinction.

the north and east, and they resulted in the latter from the rank growth of the feudal system with its abuses.

In Ireland disorganising agencies, analogous though not identical nor cotemporary, were in operation. Thus, although Ireland was not conquered by barbarians, the Danish wars which raged without intermission for two centuries were well calculated to produce the same ruinous results; and if the feudal system did not exist, one equally pregnant with political mischief prevailed. The numerous small and independent principalities into which the island was parcelled out were perpetually engaged in mutual strife. They formed daily new complications; and as they increased in strength a central controlling power became more and more impracticable, and if raised up occasionally by force of arms, required incessant recourse to the same violent means to enforce even a formal recognition of its authority. Such, unhappily, was the state of things which prevailed without amelioration from the death of Malachy II. to the coming of the English in the latter part of the twelfth century.

Donough, son of Brian Borumha, having, by the defeat of the Desmonians, and subsequently by the death of his brother, Teige (who was in 1023, treacherously slain, at his instigation, by the people of Ely O'Carroll), obtained the undisputed sovereignty of Munster, marched an army northward, and took the hostages of Meath, Bregia, Ossory, and Leinster. This was a step towards asserting his claim to the sovereignty of all Ireland; but his cotemporary, Dermot Mac Mael-na-mbo, king of Leinster, had a superior title to that honor.* Donough assembled a meeting of the clergy and chieftains of Munster at Killaloe, in the year 1050, to pass laws for the protection of life and property, against which outrages had been rendered more frequent in consequence of a dearth which then prevailed; and in 1063, being defeated in battle by his nephew Turlough, son of Teige, who was aided by the forces of Connaught and Leinster, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died the following year, after doing penance for the crime of implication in his brother's murder. It is stated that he took with him to Rome

* Connell Mageoghegan, in his translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, A.D. 1041, says:—"The kings, or chief monarchs of Ireland, were reputed to be absolute (supreme) monarchs in this manner: if he were of Leigh-Con, or Con's halfe in deale, and one province in Leath-Moye, or Moy's halfe in deale, at his command, he was coumpted to be of sufficient power to be king of Taragh, or Ireland; but if the party were of Leath-Moye, if he could not command all Leath-Moye and Taragh, with the lordshipp thereunto belonging, and the province of Ulster or Connought (if not both) he would not be thought sufficient to be king of all. Dermott Mac Moylenemo cou'd command Leath-Moye, Meath, Connought, and Ulster, and therefore, by the judgment of all, he was reputed sufficient monarch of the whole" (of Ireland).

the crown of Ireland, probably the same which had been worn by his father, and that he presented it to the pope; and it is added, but not on good authority, that this crown was given by Pope Adrian to Henry II., on the occasion of that king's invasion of Ireland.

Turlough O'Brien now became the most potent among the Irish princes, and on the death of Dermot MacMael-na-mbo, who was killed in battle, together with a number of his allies or vassals, the Danes of Dublin, by the king of Meath, in 1072, the Dalcassian king was regarded as his successor in the rank of monarch of Ireland. Turlough proceeded to assert his authority by exacting hostages from the other kings; but in 1075 he received a check from the men of the north, at Ardee. At this time the Mac Loughlins, a branch of the Hy-Nialls of Tyrone, reigned at Aileach, and the O'Melaghlins in Meath. The former retained their traditional character for indomitable bravery, and could rarely be compelled to admit the supremacy of any southern prince.

The power of Connaught had of late made considerable advances under the O'Conors; and Rory, or Roderic O'Conor, its present king, having evinced an aspiring disposition, Turlough O'Brien was resolved to humble him, and for that purpose led a powerful army into Connaught, in 1079, plundered the country as far as Croagh Patrick, and expelled Rory from his kingdom. Next year he led an army to Dublin, where the people of Meath, who were accompanied by the successor of St. Patrick, bearing the staff of Jesus, made their submission to him; and he appointed his son, Murtough, lord of the Danes of Dublin, a position which had some time before been held by a prince of Leinster. As to Rory O'Conor, after carrying on several petty wars successfully, he at length (1012) fell into the hands of the O'Flaherties of West Connaught, who always resisted the authority of the O'Conor family, and was by them treacherously blinded, the barbarous practice of that age being to put out the eyes of captive princes, in order to unfit them to command.

Turlough O'Brien* was succeeded by his son Murtough, who subsequently became king of all Ireland; but in the mean time that honor devolved upon another prince; for in 1090 a great meeting took place between Donnell, son of Mac Loughlin, king of Aileach; Murtough

* A ludicrous story is told by the Four Masters of the remote cause of Turlough O'Brien's death. It is said that after an old enemy, Conor O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, had been killed, and his remains deposited at Clonmacnoise, Turlough ordered the head of the dead man to be taken away forcibly from the church and brought to him. While feasting his eyes on that grim object, a mouse issued from it, and leaped into his bosom, and this gave him such a shock that he became ill, his hair fell off, and he remained in bad health from that time (1073) until death in 1086.

O'Brien, king of Cashel; Donnell O'Melaghlin, king of Meath; and Rory O'Conor, king of Connaught, besides other princes; and it was agreed that the king of Aileach should be acknowledged lord paramount, and hostages were accordingly delivered to him as such by the other kings and chieftains.

The peace thus brought about was, however, of short duration, if indeed there were any tranquil interval at all; for the provinces not only continued at war with each other, but were split up by internal divisions; and more than once, about this time, the church threw itself into the breach between opposing armies, and caused a truce to be made. A pestilence raged in 1095, and a great part of the following year was spent in fasting and works of charity, in order to avert a mysterious scourge from heaven which the nation believed to be impending. Donnell O'Loughlin and the Clann O'Neill invaded the Ulidians in 1099, and there is an account of a decisive cavalry battle between them, in which the latter were defeated; while Murtough O'Brien had some trouble in contending with the Connaughtmen on one side, and with an insurrection of his own relatives, the sons of Teige O'Brien, on the other.

But the great struggle was between the south and the north, and Murtough directed all his resources and his great military ability to the one object of establishing his own power as monarch of Ireland. Twice —in 1097 and 1099—did the archbishop of Armagh and the clergy of Ireland interpose between the two armies, when face to face, to avert the threatened blow; but Murtough was not to be diverted from his purpose. In 1100 he brought a fleet, chiefly composed of Danish ships, to Derry, but O'Loughlin succeeded in destroying them; and the following year (1101), a twelve months' truce which the clergy had negotiated having expired, Murtough led a powerful army, composed of hostings from all the other provinces, to the north, and devastated the whole of Inis Eoghain, without meeting any opposition. He demolished the palace or stronghold of the northern Hy-Nialls, called the Grianan of Aileach,* in revenge for a similar act of hostility inflicted on O'Brien's palace of Kincora, by O'Loughlin, several years before; and to raze it the more effectually, he commanded that in every sack which had been used to carry provisions for the army, a stone of the demolished building should be placed, that the materials of it might be conveyed to Limerick. Murtough next took the hostages of Ulidia and returned to the south,

* The remains of this celebrated stronghold are still visible on the summit of a small hill in the county of Donegal, about four and a-half miles N.W. of the city of Londonderry, and are called Greenan Ely.—*Ordnance Survey of Londonderry.*

having made the entire circuit of Ireland, as the annals tell us, in six weeks, without encountering any army to dispute his progress.

The reader has observed that the overthrow of the Danes at Clontarf by no means implied their expulsion from Ireland. They still continued to hold Dublin and the other maritime cities previously occupied by them; but chiefly in the capacity of merchants. Their subsequent predatory inroads were few; one of the last being in 1031, when they burned the great church of Ardbraccan, in Meath, together with 200 persons who had sought refuge in it, and carried off 200 more as captives. Afterwards these acts of aggression on their part were rare. The Danes of Dublin sent, at different times, expeditions against their countrymen in Waterford and Cork, which shewed that they had ceased to co-operate as a nation; and at length their lords or kings were occasionally expelled by the Irish, and Irish princes substituted for them.*

The Northmen, nevertheless, had not yet abandoned their old idea of conquering Ireland. Godfrey Crovan took possession of Dublin and part of Leinster, for a time, and a new expedition was set on foot by Magnus, king of Norway, after he had subdued the Danes of the Orkneys and of the Isle of Man, about the year of 1101. It is related in the Chronicle of Man, that Magnus sent his shoes to Murtough O'Brien, king of Ireland, commanding him, in token of subjection, to carry them on his shoulders, in his house, on Christmas day. The news of so insolent a message roused the indignation of the Irish; but Murtough, according to this very improbable story, entertained the Norwegian ambassadors sumptuously; told them he would not only carry their master's shoes, but eat them rather than that one province of Ireland should be laid waste by an invasion; and having complied with the haughty demand of the barbarian, dismissed his messengers with rich presents. The report made by the ambassadors only strengthened the desire of Magnus to obtain a footing in Ireland. He made a truce of one year with king Murtough, the hand of whose daughter he obtained in marriage for his son Sigurd; but all his ambitious projects were frustrated the following year (1103); for, on landing to explore the country, he and his party were cut off by the Ulidians, after some hard fighting, and his remains were respectfully interred near St. Patrick's church, in Down.†

* It would appear that in the beginning of the eleventh century Ireland gave a king to Norway, in the person of Harold Gille, who was an Irishman. See Dr. Latham's *Kelts and Northmen*.

† Mr. Moore (Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p 127) contrasting the resistance which the Danes encountered in Ireland, with the ineffective efforts made against them in England, says:—"The very same year (that of the battle of Clontarf), which saw Ireland pouring forth her assembled

We meet many instances of intercourse with England during the period of which we have been lately treating. Driella, daughter of earl Godwin and sister of Editha, the queen of Edward the Confessor, was married to Donough O'Brien, the Irish king; and during the rebellion of Godwin and his sons against king Edward, Harold, one of the sons, afterwards king of England, took refuge in Ireland. He remained during a winter with his brother-in-law, Donough, who gave him, on his return to England, nine ships to aid him in his enterprise. The Irish lent assistance in several other feuds of the Anglo-Saxons at this period. Lanfranc, the great archbishop of Canterbury, appears to have directed a watchful eye towards the Church of Ireland. He heard of irregularities of discipline, which gave him much uneasiness, and as he was in constant intercourse with the Danish bishops of Ireland, who had gone to him for consecration and promised obedience to him, the accounts which he received were sure not to diminish the evil. Lanfranc wrote an earnest epistle on the subject to king Turlough O'Brien, addressing him as the king of Ireland, and lauding his virtues as a Christian prince in flattering and encouraging terms. The great Pope Gregory VII. also honored king Turlough with a letter, published, as well as the last-mentioned one, in Ussher's Sylloge, and addressed him as "the illustrious king of Ireland." It is stated in Hanmer's Chronicle that William Rufus obtained from Turlough O'Brien a quantity of oak timber for the roof of Westminster Hall, and that the trees cut down for the purpose grew on Oxmantown Green, then in the northern suburbs of Dublin, but now forming part of the city. A deputation of the nobles of Man and other islands waited on Murtough O'Brien, and solicited him to send them a king, and he accordingly sent his nephew, Donnell, who, however, was soon expelled

princes and clans to confront the invader on the sea-shore, and there make of his myriads a warning example to all future intruders, beheld England unworthily cowering under a similar visitation, her king a fugitive from the scourge in foreign lands, and her nobles purchasing, by inglorious tribute, a short respite from aggression; and while, in the English annals for this year, we find little else than piteous lamentations over the fallen and broken spirit both of rulers and people, in the records of Ireland the only sorrows which appear to have mingled with the general triumph are those breathed at the tombs of the veteran monarch and the numerous chieftains who fell in that struggle by his side."

And William of Newbury, an old English historian, who was born in the year 1136, candidly says:—"It is a matter of wonder that Britain, which is of larger extent, and equally an island of the ocean, should have been so often, by the chances of war, made the prey of foreign nations, and subjected to foreign rule, having been first subdued and possessed by the Romans, then by the Germans, afterwards by the Danes, and lastly by the Normans; while her neighbour, Hibernia, inaccessible to the Romans themselves, even when the Orkneys were in their power, has been but rarely, and then imperfectly, subdued; nor ever, in reality, has been brought to submit to foreign domination, till the year of our Lord 1171."—*Rerum Angl.* l. 2. c. xxxi.

on account of his tyranny; while another Donnell O'Brien, his cousin, was, at the same time, lord of the Danes of Dublin.

Among the high qualities which marked the character of Murtough O'Brien were his attachment to religion and his generosity to the church. In the year 1101 he summoned a meeting of the clergy and chiefs of Leath Mogha, to give due solemnity to an act of extraordinary munificence—namely, that of granting the city of Cashel-of-the-kings for ever to the religious of Ireland, free from all dues and from all lay authority—a grant, say the annalists, "such as no king had ever made before." The words in which the gift is recorded would seem to imply that the royal city was given to the monastic orders exclusively.

In 1111 a synod was convened at Fidh-Aengussa, or Aengus's Grove, described by Colgan as near the hill of Uisneach, in Westmeath. It was attended by 50 bishops, 300 priests, and 3,000 other ecclesiastics; and also by Murtough O'Brien, king of Leath Mogha, and by the nobles of his provinces. Among the heads of the clergy were St. Celsus, or Ceallach, archbishop of Armagh, and Maelmuire, or Marianus O'Dunain, archbishop of Cashel, who is styled "most noble senior of the clergy of Ireland;" the object of the synod being "to institute rules of life and manners for clergy and people." There is also mention of a synod of Rathbreasail held about this time, the particular year not being specified, nor the place identified by its ancient name.* The abuses in matters of discipline which had grown out of old customs, and which the secluded position of Ireland had gradually allowed to extend themselves, had begun to give much uneasiness at this time in the Irish church. One of these abuses was the excessive multiplication of the episcopal dignity, owing to the custom of creating chorepiscopi or rural bishops; and a principal object of the synod or synods in question was to limit the number of prelates and define the bounds of dioceses. It was decided that there should be but twenty-four bishops and archbishops: that is, twelve in the northern and twelve in the southern half of Ireland; but this regulation was not carried out for some time. The diocese of Cashel, as well as that of Armagh, was, at that time, fully recognised as archiepiscopal, and the successor of St. Jarlath was sometimes called archbishop of Connaught, although the formal recognition of the see of Tuam as an archbishopric did not take place until several years after.

* It is said that Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, and first legate apostolic in Ireland, presided on this latter occasion; but although Dr. Lanigan holds the contrary opinion, it has been conjectured with great probability that the synods of Fidh-Aengussa, or rather Fidh-mic-Aengussa, and Rathbreasil are one and the same.—*Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, chap. xxv., sec. xiii.; also Dr. Kelly's edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., pp. 53 and 783.

Besides the practice of unnecessarily multiplying bishops, which was one that had been abolished in other churches centuries before this time, the more serious abuse prevailed in Ireland of allowing laymen to intrude themselves into church dignities, and to assume the title and revenues of bishops. These men, as we have already explained when treating of coarbs or comorbans, were obliged to transfer to ecclesiastics regularly ordained and consecrated, the functions of the sacred offices which they usurped. We have no reason to believe that the practice was a general one; but we are told that in the church of Armagh there was a succession of eight lay and married intruders usurping the title of St. Patrick's successors. The father was succeeded by his son, and the highest dignity in the Irish church was treated as a mere temporal inheritance. Some other corruptions of discipline had also crept in; such as the practice of consecrating bishops without the assistance of more than one prelate; and some irregularities in contracting marriage within prohibited degrees of kindred and affinity, and also in the form of marriage. But on these subjects our principal source of information is St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy; and it is now universally admitted that as the illustrious abbot of Clairvaux knew nothing about Ireland or its usages, except what he learned from a few Irishmen who described to him partial or isolated abuses, and was besides an unsparing and zealous denouncer of all corruptions, he allowed his horror of everything that infringed upon the sanctity of religion to carry him too far in his description of the state of religion and morals in Ireland as they were found there by his friend St. Malachy.

The history of the Irish church during the twelfth century, into which we have now entered, is replete with the deepest interest. The abuses which cast over it a temporary shade are to be deplored; but in the lives of such illustrious men as St. Celsus, St. Malachy, St. Gelasius, and St. Laurence O'Toole, we find an abundant source of consolation. These holy men were raised up at a favorable moment to crush the evil, and under Providence they restored to the church of Ireland much of its pristine lustre.

When St. Malachy undertook the care of the diocese of Connor, he found, it is true, a most deplorable relaxation of discipline prevailing; but it would be no wonder if the perpetual warfare, in which that and some other portions of Ireland were more especially involved during that turbulent period, had quite disorganized society. The monstrous abuse, too, of tolerating laymen in the see of St. Patrick, and that on the mere right of inheritance, may well have filled such a mind as that of St.

Bernard with inexpressible grief and horror; yet, such was the effect of usage upon men's opinions, that we find these very lay intruders mentioned by our annalists—themselves ecclesiastics—without any marked condemnation, and generally as having performed exemplary penance before their death. We may, therefore, seek for some charitable palliation of the usage in the insolence of the few powerful families who, in that rude age, were guilty of the usurpation.* St. Anselm, the great archbishop of Canterbury, in his correspondence with the prelates of the south of Ireland, and with king Murtough O'Brien, in the years 1095 and 1100, although he evinces extreme anxiety for the interests of religion, indicating that there were some irregularities to be reformed, still compliments the king on his excellent administration, and passes a high eulogium upon those bishops of whom he seems to have had any knowledge, namely, those of the southern dioceses.† We may, indeed, from this and many other circumstances, conclude, that the evils of which St. Bernard so eloquently complained, were at least not so general as his denunciations would imply, and did not continue for any lengthened period. It should be also observed that they have reference solely to matters of discipline and morality, and by no means to faith or doctrine. So that we must be on our guard against two very grievous misrepresentations of which the Irish church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has been the object; first, that there was some deviation from the faith of the Catholic or Roman church in Ireland at that time; and, secondly, that the moral disorders which it must be admitted did exist, were general, or continued down to the time of the English invasion ‡

Resuming our civil history, and passing in silence over a number of petty wars, in which many districts, especially in the centre of Ireland, were desolated, we find that Murtough O'Brien was seized with illness, which in 1114 compelled him to retire from active life. His brother, Dermot, an ambitious man, took the opportunity to declare himself king

* This abuse was not confined to Ireland. A canon of the Council of London was framed against a precisely similar abuse in 1125; and in the time of Cambrensis there were lay abbots in Wales who took all the real property of the monasteries into their own hands, leaving the clergy only the altars and their dues, and placing children or relatives of their own in the church for the purpose of enjoying even these.—*Itin. Cambr.*, b. c. 4.

† See this correspondence printed in Ussher's *Sylloge*.

‡ The former of these charges is the mere suggestion of sectarian bias, without any foundation. Thus it is falsely pretended that it was St. Malachy who actually brought the Irish church into communion with Rome, and that this arrangement was only made effective by Cardinal Paparo at the Synod of Kells in 1152. The other charge has been made by various writers who took it up at second-hand, and were actuated by unfriendly feelings towards Ireland. Dr. Milner, in particular, in his work on Ireland, fell into the injurious error of supposing that the English on their arrival here found the abuses of which St. Bernard complained half a century before still prevalent.

of Munster; but this act recalled from his retreat Murtough who although reduced by age and sickness to the appearance of a skeleton, put himself at the head of his army, caused his unnatural brother to be made prisoner, and marched once more into Leinster and Bregia. This, however, was a last and feeble effort. He was obliged to relinquish the kingdom to his brother; and retiring into the monastery of Lismore, where he embraced the ecclesiastical state, he died in 1119. His old competitor, Donnell O'Loughlin, survived him two years, and in 1120 led an army in defence of the king of Meath against the forces of Connaught; when, feeling his end approach, he retired into the Columbian monastery of Derry, and after penitential exercises, died there the following year, in the 73rd year of his age. It is remarkable that, although the power of his southern rival was, at least for many years, more extensively recognized than his, still O'Loughlin receives the title of king of Ireland more generally from the annalists; so much did the legitimate principle weigh with the Irish in favor of the ancient royal house of Hy-Niall. The contest between these two princes was never regularly fought out; for even in 1113, the last time they confronted each other at the head of their respective armies, St. Celsus, archbishop of Armagh, with the crozier of St. Patrick, interposed, and brought about a truce.

Two other princes who had played important parts in Irish affairs also closed their career in an exemplary manner about this time. These were Rory O'Conor, who had been king of Connaught, but who having been blinded by the O'Flaherties many years before, entered into religion in the monastery of Clonmacnoise, and died there in 1118; and Teige Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, who died at Cashel, in 1124, after affording many proofs of earnest piety.

A new set of characters now appear on the stage of Irish history. Of these, the leading part was taken by Turlough or Turdelvach O'Conor, son of the above-mentioned Rory, who found a clear stage for his ambition, and made rapid strides in raising himself to the sovereignty of Ireland. He plundered Thomond as far as Limerick in 1116, when Dermot O'Brien was able to make but a feeble resistance, trying to avenge himself by an inroad into Connaught during Turlough's absence. In 1118, Turlough O'Conor, aided by Murrough O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, and Hugh O'Rourke, lord of Breffny, led an army as far as Gleann-Maghair (Glanmire), near Cork, and divided Munster, giving Desmond to Mac Carthy, and Thomond to the sons of Dermot O'Brien, and carrying off hostages from both. He endeavoured to crush the power of

O'Brien by exalting that of the Eoghanachts or Desmonian family, who had been excluded since the time of Brian Borumha. He then marched without delay to Dublin, and took hostages from the Danes, from Ossory, and from Leinster, liberating Donnell, son of the king of Meath, whom the Danes held in captivity. The following year he scoured the Shannon with a fleet, hurled the royal palace of Kincora into the river, "both stones and timber," and remained there some time with his numerous allies, of Ossory, Leinster, and Dublin, consuming the provisions of Munster. These extreme acts of sovereign authority, or rather of unresisted aggression, were followed by others, such as the expulsion of his late ally and father-in-law, Murrough O'Melaghlin, from Meath, in 1120; the wholesale plundering of Desmond, from Traigh Li (Tralee) to the termon, or sanctuary land of Lismore, in 1121; and the giving of the kingdom of Dublin, as it was called, to his own son, Conor, in 1126; all the intermediate time being devoted to various acts of hostility which it is needless to enumerate. "There was," say the annalists, "a great storm of war throughout Ireland in general, so that Ceallach (St. Celsus) successor of Patrick, was obliged to be for one month and a year absent from Ard Macha, establishing," or rather endeavouring to establish, "peace among the men of Ireland, and promulgating rules and good customs everywhere among the laity and clergy."

In 1127, Turlough O'Connor led his forces, both by sea and land, to Cork, and driving Cormac Mac Carthy from his kingdom, divided Munster into three parts. Cormac retired to Lismore, where it is supposed by some that he assumed holy orders, being a prince of a religious disposition;* but being urged to leave his retreat he resumed the reins of government on Turlough's withdrawal, and his brother, Donough, who had been placed on the throne by that king, fled to his patron in Connaught, with 2,000 followers.

At length (1128) a year's truce between Connaught and Munster was made by St. Celsus; and the following year that holy archbishop, worn out by his austerities and indefatigable labors in the cause of religion and peace, although only fifty years of age, died at Ardpatrick, in the southern part of the present county of Limerick, where he was on his visitation; and his remains, having been conveyed to Lismore, were interred there in the cemetery of the bishops.†

* He is called St. Cormac by Lynch.—*Cambrensis Eversus*, chap. xxi.

† Bishop Maelcolum O'Brolchan of Armagh, who died in 1122, in the reputation of sanctity, and who is usually described as the suffragan or coadjutor of St. Celsus, had been, no doubt, one of the acting bishops who officiated for the lay intruders during their incumbency

In the year 1129 the great church of Clonmacnoise was robbed of several objects of value, among which was a model of Solomon's Temple, presented by a prince of Meath, and a silver chalice plated with gold, and beautifully engraved with her own hand, by a sister of king Turlough O'Conor. The enumeration of the articles stolen affords an illustration of the taste and luxury displayed by Irish princes in objects of domestic use or ornament, and of the accomplishments of an Irish princess. The robber was a Dane of Limerick, who having been arrested while attempting to escape from the country, was hanged for the crime the following year.

Having now approached the eve of the most eventful epoch of Irish history, that of the Anglo-Norman invasion, we shall reserve for the next chapter a summary of the events which may explain the circumstances, moral and political, in which the country was found on that occasion.



CHAPTER XVI.

St. Malachy.—His Early Career.—His Reforms in the Diocese of Connor.—His Withdrawal to Kerry.—His Government of the Church of Armagh.—His Retirement to Down.—Struggle of Conor O'Brien and Turlough O'Conor.—Synod at Cashel.—Cormac's Chapel.—Death of Cormac Mac Carthy.—Turlough O'Conor's Rigour to his Sons.—Crimes and Tyranny of Dermot Mac Murrough.—St. Malachy's Journey to Rome.—Building of Mellifont.—Synod of Inis Padraig.—The Palliums.—St. Malachy's Second Journey and Death.—Political State of Ireland.—Arrival of Cardinal Paparo.—Synod of Kells.—Misrepresentations Corrected.—The Battle of Moin-Mor.—Famine arising from Civil War in Munster.—Dismemberment of Meath.—Elopement of Dervorgil.—Battle of Rahin.—A Naval Engagement.—Death of Turlough O'Conor, and Accession of Roderic.—Synod of Mellifont.—Synod of Bri-Mic-Taidhg.—Wars and Ambition of Roderic.—St. Laurence O'Toole.—Synod of Clane.—Zeal of the Irish Hierarchy.—Death of O'Loughlin.—Roderic O'Conor Monarch.—Expulsion of Dermot Mac Murrough.—Great Assembly at Athboy.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

[Popes: Innocent II., Celestine II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Anastasius IV., Adrian IV.—Kings of England: Stephen, 1135. Henry II., 1154.—King of France: Louis VII., 1137].

(A.D. 1130 *to* A.D. 1168.)

ST. CELSUS, or Ceallach, the archbishop of Armagh, although a member of the usurping family, was deeply impressed with the enormous irregularity of making the see a family inheritance; and desired by his will that St. Malachy should be chosen his successor. This latter holy personage (whose name in Irish was Maelmaedhog O'Morgair) was known to St. Celsus from his youth. He belonged to a noble family, although it is believed that his father filled the office of lector, or professor, in the school of Armagh. The account of his early training under the abbot Imar O'Hagan, of Armagh, shows that sufficient resources for the pious and enlightened education of youth had still survived the past centuries of foreign invasion and domestic tumult in Ireland. While yet a young man he undertook the restoration of the famous monastery of

Bangor, of which only a few crumbling ruins then remained, the abbey lands being possessed by a layman who enjoyed the title of abbot. St. Malachy associated with himself a few religious men, and having constructed a small oratory of timber, they entered into the true spirit of monastic life. Soon, however, this tranquil existence was interrupted by his election as bishop of Connor; and the episcopal duties which he was compelled to assume were of the most arduous nature, as he found his diocese in a deplorable state of disorder. In fact, little more than the traces of religion were left among the people; but St. Malachy went zealously to work, and by God's blessing, and the assistance of his little community of monks, who accompanied him from Bangor, he soon succeeded in restoring discipline and reviving religion among his flock. Scarcely had he effected this happy result when war destroyed the fruits of his labor. Some hostile prince invaded the territory, and St. Malachy, driven from his diocese, repaired, with 120 monks, to the territory of Cormac Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, whose friendship he had acquired in the monastery of Lismore, where he was at the time that Cormac made it his retreat on being driven from his kingdom by Turlough O'Conor. The withdrawal of St. Malachy to Munster took place some short time after the death of St. Celsus at Ardpatrick in 1129; and as soon as the death of that holy prelate was known in Armagh, a layman, named Muirkertach, or Maurice, claimed the see as his inheritance, and by the aid of his powerful clan, got himself proclaimed successor of St. Patrick, and maintained himself in the sacrilegious usurpation. This Maurice was son of Donald, the predecessor of St. Celsus, and grandson of Amalgid, another of the nominal archbishops, or comorbans.*

In the year 1132, bishop Gilbert, of Limerick, apostolic delegate, and bishop Malchus, of Lismore, assembled several bishops and chieftains, who went in a body to St. Malachy, in the monastery which he had erected at Ibrach,† in Munster; and partly by entreaties in the name of the clergy and people, partly even by threats of excommunication, compelled him to leave his retreat and assume the government of the church of Armagh, on the condition, however, that he might retire when he had restored order in the diocese. For the next two years a melancholy schism prevailed; the intruder still persevering in his occupation of the see with its revenues, and St. Malachy performing the functions of archbishop without venturing into the city, lest a

* This family belonged to the royal house of Oriel.

† Supposed by Dr. Lanigan to be Ivragh, in Kerry, part of Cormac Mac Carthy's kingdom.

tumult should take place, and human life be sacrificed. Conspiracies against his life were formed, but he was providentially defended against them; and, at length, in 1134, the usurper died, after, as it is stated, giving tokens of sincere repentance. Another intruder, however, arose in the person of one Niell, or Nigellus. Against this man popular feeling became so strong, that he was obliged to fly; but he contrived to take with him St. Patrick's crozier and that apostle's book of the Gospels, and, by the aid of these venerable relics, he continued for a while to impose on some persons, with the pretence that he was the rightful successor of St. Patrick.*

Ecclesiastical discipline having been restored, and the independence of the church vindicated in Armagh, through the indefatigable zeal of Malachy, that holy pontiff made a visitation of Munster in 1136; and the following year he resigned the primatial dignity, which, after another attempt of Nigellus, as some annalists say, to intrude himself, was conferred on Gelasius, or Gilla Mac Liag, "the son of the poet," then abbot of the great Columbian monastery of Derry;† St. Malachy, himself, being installed as bishop of Down, which had previously been united to his old diocese of Connor, over which another prelate now presided.

Returning to Turlough O'Conor, whom we left extending his sway with little impediment to his ambition, since the death of his northern rival, Donnell O'Loughlin, we find him, at length, receiving a serious check from Conor O'Brien, who had succeeded his father, Dermot, on the throne of North Munster. Conor O'Brien, in 1131, carried off hostages from Leinster and Meath, and defeated the cavalry of Connaught; and the following year he sent a fleet to the coast of Connaught, destroyed the castle of Bun Gaillve, or Galway, and plundered West Connaught. In the former of these years the men of the north also invaded Connaught; and in 1133, Conor O'Brien and Cormac Mac Carthy made an incursion there, on both which occasions Turlough O'Conor was glad to make a year's truce with his opponents.

A synod of the bishops and clergy of Munster was held in Cashel in 1134, to celebrate, with special pomp, the consecration of a church just erected there by Cormac Mac Carthy. This was the building now so

* The Four Masters, an. 1135, say: "Maelmaedhog Ua Morgair (St. Malachy), successor of Patrick, purchased the Bachall-Isa (staff of Jesus), and took it from its cave on the 7th day of the month of July." Whence it appears, that Nigellus extorted a sum of money for its restoration. The death of that wretched man is recorded in the year 1139.

† The name of this prelate appears as St. Gelasius in the Martyrology of Marianus Gorman, and his life is published by Colgan in the *Acta. SS. Hib.* at the 27th of March.

well known as Cormac's Chapel, on the rock of Cashel, one of the most beautiful specimens of Romanesque architecture in these countries, and the erection of which has been erroneously ascribed to Cormac Mac Cuilennan in the tenth century.* Cormac Mac Carthy was, in 1138, treacherously killed in his house by Turlough, son of Dermot O'Brien, and by the two sons of the O'Conor Kerry.

Turlough O'Conor is described by our annalists as a stern vindicator of justice; but the justice of that age was not very refined in its judgments. For some offence, the nature of which we are not told, he caused the eyes of his son, Aedh, or Hugh, to be put out, in 1136; and the same year he cast Roderic, or Rory (Ruaidhri), another of his sons, into prison. It would appear that Roderic was liberated chiefly through the interference of the clergy; but seven years later he was again imprisoned by his inexorable father, "in violation of the most solemn pledges and guarantees." On this latter occasion the prelates and clergy, with the chieftains of Connaught, finding all their entreaties to obtain his liberation in vain, held a public fast at Rathbrendan, praying heaven to mollify the father's heart, but it was not until the following year that Roderic was released from his fetters. Murrough O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, was seized at the same time with Roderic in spite of solemn guarantees, but was set at liberty through the interference of his sureties, who conveyed him into Munster, and his territory was given by Turlough to his own son, Conor, who was killed the following year by the men of Meath as a usurper. No tie or obligation was now allowed by Turlough O'Conor to stand in the way of his caprice or ambition.

Dermot Mac Murrough, or Diarmaid-na-Gall, that is, Dermot of the foreigners, as he is often called, the infamous king of Leinster who betrayed his country to the English, now appears on the scene, and from the commencement his ill-omened career is marked by crime. In the year 1135, according to Mageoghegan's Annals of Clonmacnoise, he took the abbess of Kildare from her cloister, and compelled her to marry one of his men, at the same time killing 170 of the people of Kildare who attempted to prevent the sacrilegious outrage. After being involved in various feuds in the interval, he endeavoured, in 1141, to crush all resistance to his tyranny by a barbarous onslaught upon the nobles of his province. He killed Donnell, lord of Hy-Faelain, and Murrough O'Tuathail; put out the eyes of Muirkertach

* See Dr. Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, &c. pp. 290, &c., where the question whether Cormac Mac Carthy were a bishop as well as king is discussed.

Mac Gillamochalmog, lord of Feara Cualann, or Wicklow, and killed or blinded seventeen other chieftains, besides many of inferior rank.

Conor O'Brien died in 1142, at Killaloe, after rigid penance, and was succeeded by his brother Turlough, who commenced his reign by a war with Turlough O'Conor,* and an invasion of Leinster. In 1144, O'Conor and O'Brien held a peace conference, but their truce did not extend beyond a year; and in 1145 the Four Masters introduce a long catalogue of predatory incursions in every part of the country, by the expressive words, that this year Ireland was made "a trembling sod." The O'Loughlins of Tyrone were at war with their neighbours, the Ulidians; a deadly feud was carried on between Meath and Breffny; O'Conor and O'Brien were engaged in hostilities; and Teffia and other territories were also scenes of bloodshed and devastation.

In the midst of these tumults, the church endeavoured to carry on its action—internally, by the promotion of discipline and morality, and externally, by efforts, often fruitless, for the restoration of peace. It had long been a favorite project with St. Malachy to obtain from the Holy See a formal recognition of archiepiscopal sees in Ireland, by the granting of palliums. For that purpose he proceeded to Rome shortly after he had become bishop of Down; and as the fame of his sanctity and zeal had gone before him—a character which his mortified appearance was well calculated to sustain—he was received with every mark of love and veneration by the reigning pontiff, Innocent II. The Pope, descending from his throne, placed his own mitre on the head of the Irish saint, presented him with his own vestments and other religious gifts, and appointed him apostolic legate, instead of Gilbert, bishop of Limerick, who was then a very old man. When St. Malachy, however, asked for the palliums, the Holy Father prudently observed that that was a matter of great moment, and that the demand should have come from a synod of the Irish church, which should, he suggested, be held for that purpose. After a stay of one month, visiting the holy places in Rome, St. Malachy set out on his return to Ireland; having, both going and returning, paid visits to the great St. Bernard, at Clairvaux, and laid the foundation of that friendship which forms so remarkable an incident in the lives of both these eminent saints, and in the history of the Irish church.

* When Turlough O'Brien invaded Connaught in 1143, he cut down the Ruaidh Bheithigh, or red birch tree of Hy-Fiachra Aidhne, which was probably one of those trees under which the Irish kings were inaugurated; like the Bile Maighe Adhair, of Thomond, which was destroyed by Malachy II. in 981; and the tree of Craev Tulcha (now Creeve, near Glenavy, in Antrim), under which the kings of Ulidia were inaugurated, and which was destroyed by Donnell O'Loughlin, in 1099.

On his arrival in Ireland, St. Malachy set earnestly about his favorite mission for the more regular organization of church affairs. By virtue of his legatine powers he held local synods in several places, and travelled on foot all through Ireland. He rebuilt and restored many churches that had, in various parts of the country, been destroyed by the Danes, or fallen into decay during the constant wars of those times. In 1142, he founded, near Drogheda, the famous Cistercian abbey of Mellifont, which was liberally endowed by O'Carroll, king of Orghial (Oriel), and was supplied with monks from Clairvaux, whither St. Malachy had sent some Irishmen to be trained for the purpose.*

The synod from which the formal application for the palliums emanated was convened by St. Malachy as legate, and Gelasius as primate, in 1148. It was held in Inis Padraig, or St. Patrick's Island, near Skerries,† and was attended by fifteen bishops, two hundred priests, and several other ecclesiastics. After three days spent in the consideration of other matters, the synod treated of the palliums on the fourth; and, although unwilling that St. Malachy should again leave Ireland, the assembled clergy consented to his departure on this occasion, as it was known that Eugene III., who had been a Cistercian monk, was visiting Clairvaux, and that, therefore, St. Malachy would not have to travel farther than France to see the sovereign pontiff. The saint set out immediately on his journey; but having been detained some time in England, owing to a prohibition issued by king Stephen against bishops leaving the country, he found, on arriving at Clairvaux, that the Pope had returned to Rome. St. Malachy was not permitted to carry out his cherished project; he was seized with his death-sickness four or five days after his arrival at Clairvaux, and expired there, on the 2nd of November that year (1148), attended by St. Bernard, and surrounded by a number of the abbots and religious of the order.‡

* St. Bernard's letters to St. Malachy on this subject are printed in Ussher's *Sylloge*. On the occasion of building the church of this monastery, some wrong-headed person opposed St. Malachy's plan, urging that the undertaking greatly exceeded the means at his disposal; that none of them would ever see the work completed; that a wooden oratory in the old Irish fashion would suffice, and that it was wrong to introduce the customs of other countries, even in the shape of fine architecture for God's house, adding:—"we are Scots, not Frenchmen." The saint persevered successfully, and the objector's prophecy was only verified in himself, as he died before a year and did not see the work finished.

† The Synod was held in the island above mentioned, and not at Holm Patrick, on the mainland, as Dr. Lanigan supposes; the monastic establishment not having been transferred to the latter place until some time between 1213 and 1228. Archdall, *Monast. Hib.* p. 218.

‡ The festival of St. Malachy was transferred from the 2nd of November, the day of his death, to the following day, owing to the commemoration of All Souls, which would interfere with its due solemnization. This illustrious man is admitted to have been one of the greatest saints, not only of

All this time a fierce warfare was carried on among the chieftains of the north, but the primate brought about a meeting between them at Armagh, in the latter part of 1148, and arranged terms of peace, to which they bound themselves on the crozier of St. Patrick; the chieftains of Oriel, Ulidia, and the other northern territories, giving hostages to Muirkertach, Murtough, or Maurice O'Loughlin, king of Tyrone, in token of submission. O'Loughlin proceeded to Dublin the following year, accompanied by O'Carroll, when Dermot Mac Murrough also paid homage to him, and peace was established in that part of Ireland. In 1150, the hostages of Connaught were brought to O'Loughlin, without a necessity for any hostile demonstration, and his sovereignty was thus acknowledged by all Ireland, with the exception of the southern province.

Murrough O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, having by his crimes incurred general odium, was anathematized by the primate, and expelled from his kingdom by the monarch, O'Loughlin, who divided Meath into three parts, giving one to Turlough O'Conor, king of Connaught, another to O'Rourke of Breffny, and the third to O'Carroll of Oriel. Immediately after this, Turlough O'Brien, king of Munster, led an army to Dublin, where he received the submission of the Dano-Irish; and he was proceeding to avenge a defeat which some of his subjects had received shortly before from the men of Breffny and Oriel, when O'Loughlin marched from the north to the aid of the latter, and the forces of Leath Cuinn and Leath Mogha met at Dun Lochad near Tara, but the Dano-Irish interfered, and arranged a year's truce between them.

A.D. 1152—Cardinal John Paparo arrived in Ireland about the close of 1151, bringing the palliums which had been solicited by St. Malachy; and the following year was rendered memorable by the national council of Ceananus, or Kells, at which these insignia of the archiepiscopal dignity were conferred. The palliums were for the archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, and Dublin, the two latter sees being then for the first time regularly created archbishoprics; although, as already stated, we find the bishops of Tuam often styled archbishops long before that period. Dissatisfaction was felt in other parts of Ireland that this honor should be conferred on Dublin and Tuam, and it is

the Irish, but of the universal church. His life, by St. Bernard, which is an important authority in our ecclesiastical history, was written not later than the year 1151; and he was solemnly canonized in 1190 by Pope Clement III. We may here remark that the pretended prophecy about the Popes, formerly attributed to St. Malachy, has been long rejected as apocryphal.

stated that some of the Irish prelates remained away from the council on that account. The bishops who attended were those of Armagh (St. Gelasius); Lismore (Christian, the Pope's legate for Ireland); Cashel (Donald O'Lonergan); Dublin (Gregory); Glendalough; Leighlin; Portlargy, or Waterford; the vicar-general of the bishop of Ossory; the bishop of Kildare; the vicar-general of the bishop of Emly; the bishops of Cork, Clonfert, Kerry, Limerick, Clonmacnoise, East Connaught, or Roscommon; Lugnia, or Achonry; Conmacne Hy Briuin, or Ardagh; Kinel Eoghain; Dalaradia, or Connor; and Ulidia, or Down. Cardinal Papuro presided, and about 300 clergy of the second order, and monks, were also present. The suffragan sees for each metropolitan were named; several laws against simony, usury, and other abuses, were framed: and the payment of tithes for the support of the church was ordained. This was the first introduction of tithes into Ireland; but they were not enforced until after the English invasion. This synod of Kells is one of the incidents of Irish history which have been most frequently misrepresented by English historians, and by Irish Protestant writers, who pretend to trace to it the connexion of Ireland with Rome, or the establishment of "Popery," as they call it, in this country; but how utterly unfounded such an inference is we need not impress upon the unprejudiced reader, who has followed with us the thread of our history thus far.*

While the heads of the church were thus occupied, a civil war raged in Munster. Turlough O'Brien was, in 1151, deposed by Teige, another son of Dermot O'Brien, and the aid of Turlough O'Conor being solicited by Teige, the king of Connaught speedily availed himself of the opportunity to carry desolation into the southern province. O'Conor's forces were joined by those of Dermot Mac Murrough; and they plundered Munster before them, as the annalists say, until they reached Moin Mor,† where they encountered the Dalcassian army, under Turlough

* We could not express ourselves more to the purpose on this subject than in the words of Moore:—"It is true," observes this writer, "from the secluded position of Ireland, and still more from the ruin brought upon all her religious establishments during the long period of the Danish wars, the intercourse with Rome must have been not unfrequently interrupted, and the powers delegated to the prelate of Armagh, as *legatus natus*, or, by virtue of his office, legate of the Holy See, may, in such intervals, have served as a substitute for the direct exercise of the Papal authority. But that the Irish church has ever, at any period, been independent of the spiritual power of Rome, is a supposition which the whole course of our ecclesiastical history contradicts. On the contrary, it has frequently been a theme of high eulogium upon this country, as well among foreign as domestic writers, that hers is the only national church in the world which has kept itself pure from the taint of heresy and schism"—*History of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 193.

† Dr. O'Donovan (Four Masters, an. 1151, note,) suggests, with great probability, that this may have been the place now called Moanmore, in the parish of Emly, county of Tipperary.

O'Brien, returning from the plunder of Desmond; and a dreadful battle was fought, in which the men of north Munster suffered a fearful slaughter, leaving 7,000 dead upon the field, and among them several of their chieftains. This terrible sacrifice of life is attributed to the obstinate bravery of the Dalcassians, who would never either demand quarter or fly from the field of battle. On this occasion Turlough O'Brien was banished, and Turlough O'Conor assumed the sovereignty of Munster; his son, Roderic, making another raid into Thomond, and carrying fire and sword as far as Cromadh, or Croom, in Limerick.

A.D. 1152.—O'Conor led a second army into Munster this year, and divided the country, giving Desmond to the son of Cormac Mac Carthy, and Thomond to Teige and Turlough O'Brien; and the annalists say that both Thomond and Desmond had now suffered so fearfully from their mutual wars, that a dearth followed, and that the peasantry were dispersed into Leath Cuinn, after many of them had perished by the famine.

This year, also, Meath was dismembered by the monarch, O'Loughlin, aided by Turlough O'Conor, Dermot Mac Murrough, and other princes. From Clonard westward was given to Murrough O'Melaghlin, who had been formerly deposed, and from the same point eastward to Murrough's son, Melaghlin. Tiernan O'Rourke, lord of Breffny, was also dispossessed of his territory by this host of confederated princes; and at the same time another mortal injury was inflicted on him, his wife, Dervorgil (Dearbhforgaill), being carried off by Mac Murrough, the king of Leinster.

The time and other circumstances of this abduction have been strangely distorted by historians to give a coloring of romance to the account of the English invasion, with which it cannot have had the least connection. It occurred, according to our authentic annals, in 1152, and Dermot's flight to England, and invitation to the invaders, did not take place till 1166. Dervorgil was at the former of these dates forty-four years of age, and her paramour sixty-two. She was shamefully encouraged by her brother, Melaghlin O'Melaghlin, just then made lord of east Meath, to abandon her husband, who appears to have treated her harshly before that, and to have deserved little sympathy as a hero of romance.* On leaving O'Rourke, she took with her the cattle and

* The Four Masters relate, under the year 1128, that a sacrilegious attack was made on St. Celsus by this Tighearnan O'Ruarke and his people, who robbed the primate and killed one of his clergy; and that Conor Mac Loughlin, then lord of Cinel Eoghain, sent his cavalry, who attacked and defeated the cavalry of O'Ruarke, and killed many of his partizans.

articles which formed her dowry; and the following year, when she was rescued from Mac Murrough by Turlough O'Conor, and restored to her family, the same cattle and other property were also restored. It is probable that she did not reside again with her husband, but retired immediately to Mellifont, where she endeavoured, by charity and rigid penance during the remainder of a long life, to expiate her misconduct.*

A.D. 1153.—The monarch, Murtough O'Loughlin, espoused the cause of Turlough O'Brien, and led an army towards the south, to reinstate him in his territories. Teige O'Brien, the usurper, and his ally, Turlough O'Conor, marched to oppose the northern army; but before their forces could form a junction, near Rahin, in the King's county, O'Loughlin, by a rapid movement with two battalions of picked men, encountered Teige O'Brien's small force, which he cut to pieces. Turlough O'Conor was then glad to retreat into Connaught by Athlone; and while his son, Roderic O'Conor, with a portion of his army, was preparing to encamp, O'Loughlin, with his northern heroes, poured in upon them unexpectedly, and slaughtering great numbers, put the rest to flight.

A.D. 1154.—Turlough O'Conor now collected all the ships of Dun Gaillve, Conmacna-mara, Umhall, or the O'Malley's country, Tir-Awley and Tir-Fiachrach, in northern Connaught, and with this fleet, which was under the command of O'Dowda, he plundered the coasts of Tir-Conaill, and Inis Eoghain. To meet this aggression, Murtough O'Loughlin hired ships from the Gall-Gael, or Scoto-Danes, of the Hebrides, from Ara, Ceanntire, Manainn, or Man, and "the borders of Alba in general;" and the fleet thus mustered was commanded by Mac Scelling, a Dano-Gael. The two fleets engaged near Inis Eoghain, and fought with desperate fierceness. A great number of Connaughtmen, with their admiral, O'Dowda, were slain, but the victory was nevertheless on their side; the foreign ships being completely shattered, so that their crews were, for the most part, obliged to abandon them, and, as many as could, to escape on shore. Mac Scelling came off with the loss of his teeth.

Hostilities between O'Loughlin and O'Conor were still carried on by land, and the corn crops of a great part of Connaught were destroyed by the former in the harvest of this year; but two years after (1156), Turlough O'Conor closed his turbulent career in death, and Murtough O'Loughlin then became the unopposed monarch of Ireland; his claims

* Dervorgil performed many acts of generosity to the church; and in 1167 erected a chapel for the convent of nuns at Clonmacnoise. She died in 1193, at the venerable age of 85, and her brother died of poison, at Durrow, in 1155.

to that honor, previously, having been sturdily contested by the king of Connaught. Turlough died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and reigned over Connaught fifty years. He distributed, by his will, a large amount of gold and silver, with many cows and horses, among the churches of Ireland, and was buried beside the altar of St. Kieran at Clonmacnoise. His son, Roderic, succeeded as king of Connaught, and began his ill-fated reign by imprisoning three of his brothers, one of whom he blinded. During this time Ulidia, Meath, Breffny, and Leinster were all disturbed by war.

A.D. 1157.—A synod, which was attended by the primate, the bishop of Lismore, who was legate, and seventeen other bishops, and at which there were also present the monarch, with the kings of Ulidia, Oriel, Breffny (Tiernan O'Rourke), and a great number of the inferior clergy and nobility, together with a multitude of the people who assembled to witness the proceedings, was held this year in the abbey of Mellifont.* The primate having solemnly consecrated the abbey church, the lay princes consulted with the bishops on the conduct of Donogh O'Melaghlin, prince of Meath, who had become the common pest of the country. He was the friend and ally of Dermot Mac Murrough, by whose aid he had usurped the kingdom of Meath; just before the assembling of the synod he murdered Cu-ulla O'Kynelvan, a neighbouring chief, in violation of solemn guarantees; and in an old translation of the Annals of Ulster he is called a "cursed atheist." This bad man was accordingly excommunicated by the clergy, and sentence of deposition being then pronounced against him by the king of Ireland and the other princes, his brother, Dermot, was made king of Meath in his place. At this synod the monarch, O'Loughlin, granted "to God and to the monastery of Mellifont" the lands of Finnavar-na-ninghean, a townland on the south side of the Boyne, opposite the river Mattock, together with one hundred and forty cows and sixty ounces of gold. O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, also presented the monastery, on the same occasion, with sixty ounces of gold; and Dervorgil, the wife of O'Rourke, presented as many ounces, together with a golden chalice for the altar of Mary, and cloth, or sacred vestments, for each of the other nine altars of the church.

A synod of the clergy was convened the following year (1158) at Bri-mic-Taidhg, near Trim, and was attended by the legate and twenty-five other bishops. Derry was on this occasion erected into an episcopal

* Synods, or rather mixed conventions, had become very frequent about this time, being often, as in this case, attended by lay princes for the purpose of consulting on measures for the general management of the state.

see; Flahertach O'Brolchain, the abbot of St. Columbkille's monastery, there, being consecrated the first bishop. The bishops of Connaught, while proceeding to this synod, were intercepted and plundered by the soldiers of Dermot, king of Meath, on crossing the Shannon, near Clonmacnoise, and two of their attendants wer killed. They, therefore, returned to Connaught, and held a synod of their own province in Roscommon.

Roderic, king of Connaught, exhibited great activity, and spared no pains to attain the position which his father, Turlough, had held, and to divide the sovereignty of Ireland with O'Loughlin. While the latter was engaged in Munster, in 1157, expelling Turlough O'Brien (whom he had formerly supported) from Thomond, and dividing Munster between Dermot, son of Cormac Mac Carthy, as king of Desmond, and Conor, son of Donnell O'Brien, whom he made king of Thomond, Roderic O'Conor led an army to plunder and lay waste Tyrone, and, as soon as O'Loughlin had left the south, proceeded thither to reinstate Turlough O'Brien. Mac Carthy promised Roderic a conditional submission; that is, in case O'Loughlin should not be able to support him against Roderic. An offensive and defensive league was entered into between O'Conor and Tiernan O'Rourke; and their combined forces, with a battalion of the men of Thomond, marched, in 1159, into Oriel, as far as Ardee, when they were met by Murtough O'Loughlin with the army of Kinel Connell and Kinel Eoghain, and of the north in general. A battle ensued, in which the Connaughtmen and their allies were defeated with great slaughter; and the northern army, after returning home in triumph, subsequently entered Connaught and devastated a great portion of that country.

During the next two years commotion and disorder reigned in various parts of Ireland. An insurrection of the Kinel Eoghain was put down by O'Loughlin, with the aid of the men of Oriel and Ulidia; and a fresh partition was made of Meath. In the latter part of 1161 a general meeting of the clergy and chieftains of Ireland took place at Dervor, in Meath, when all the other princes gave hostages to Murtough O'Loughlin.

A.D. 1162.—The Irish church, fertile in saints, now presents to us another of the most illustrious of her sons, in the person of St. Laurence O'Toole (or, as his name is called in Irish, Lorcan O'Tuathal), who was chosen this year to succeed Greine, or Gregory, the Danish archbishop of Dublin. This great saint, whom patriotism as well as religion endears to the hearts of Irishmen, belonged to one of the noblest families of

Leinster, whose patrimonial territory, of which his father was chieftain, was called Hy-Muirahy, a district nearly conterminous with the southern half of the present county of Kildare.* In his youth he entered the monastery of St. Kevin, at Glendalough, of which he was chosen abbot when only twenty-five years old; and even after his elevation to the episcopacy—a dignity which he most reluctantly accepted—he continued to practice all the austerities of monastic discipline. His predecessors in the see of Dublin had been consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury, to whose jurisdiction they subjected themselves; but this external authority was not resorted to in his case, as he was consecrated by St. Gelasius, successor of St. Patrick. St. Laurence O'Toole was one of twenty-six prelates, who, with a large number of abbots and inferior clergy, attended a synod held at Clane, in Kildare, the year of his consecration. At this synod the college of Armagh was virtually raised to the rank of a university, as it was decreed that no one who had not been an alumnus of Armagh should be appointed lector or theological professor in any of the other diocesan schools of Ireland.

The extraordinary energy displayed at this period by the hierarchy and clergy of Ireland, in restoring discipline and promoting reforms, must soon have produced the most salutary effect on society, and raised the country to its just position among nations; but, unhappily, their efforts were about to be interrupted and frustrated. Even then the scheme was hatched which was so soon to crush all these generous tendencies, and extinguish for centuries every native germ of social progress.†

Sundry wars and hostile inroads occurred about this time, presenting no peculiar feature; but in the year 1166 a fatal outrage was committed

* The true position of Hy-Muireadhaigh (Hy-Muirahy, or Hy-Murray), the ancient territory of the O'Toole's, is shown by O'Donovan, in a valuable note to the Four Masters, A.D. 1180. The mountain district of Imaile, in Wicklow, was not occupied by them until after the English invasion, when they were driven from their original patrimony.

† The rebuilding of the great church of Derry, destroyed by fire many years before, was completed, in 1164, by Flahertach O'Brolchain, bishop, and formerly abbot of Derry, with funds which he had collected in the course of a mission that he had undertaken through a part of Ireland for that purpose. The primate had also, about this time, made a visitation of Ireland to collect funds for rebuilding the religious establishments of Armagh destroyed by fire in 1150. The contributions which the primate received in his visitation of Tyrone on this occasion, were a cow from every biatach or farmer, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the king; and when Flahertach O'Brolchain made a visitation of the same territory to repair his monastery, he obtained a horse from every chieftain, a cow from every two biatachs, a cow from every three freeholders, the same from every four villains, and twenty cows from the king. He also got a gold ring of five ounces, his horse and his battleaxe, as a personal gift from the king (Murtough O'Loughlin). A "wonderful castle" was built this year (1164) by Roderic O'Conor, at Tuam, but as the castle of Galway, and other similar strongholds, had been erected in Connaught long before, the term "wonderful" must have been applied rather on account of the strength of the building than of its singularity.

by the monarch, O'Loughlin, on Eochy Mac Dunlevy, prince of Dalaradia. One of the petty wars, so usual at the period, having been arranged between these two princes the preceding year, a peace was ratified by the successor of St. Patrick and some of the neighbouring chieftains. Urged, however, by some new feeling of exasperation, from what cause we are not told, O'Loughlin came suddenly upon the Dalaradian chief, put out his eyes, and killed three of his principal men. This savage aggression so provoked the princes who had been guarantees for the treaty, that they mustered an army, composed of choice battalions of the men of Oriel, Breffny, and Conmacne, under the command of Donough O'Carroll, and marched to the north. At Leiter Luin, a place in the present barony of Upper Fews, county of Armagh, and then part of Tir Eoghain, they encountered O'Loughlin, who, although he had but a few troops, gave battle. In the fierce contest which ensued the Kinel Eoghain were defeated, and the monarch himself slain; and thus fell Murtough O'Loughlin, who, of all the Irish kings since the days of Malachy II., had the most unquestionable right to the title of monarch of Ireland.

A.D. 1166.—Roderic O'Conor lost no time in getting himself recognised as sovereign, on the death of O'Loughlin; and this appears to have been a mere matter of parade in his case, as there was no serious opposition to his claim. He first led an army to Easrua, in Donegal, and took the hostages of Kinel Connell. Thence he marched across Ireland to Dublin, being joined on the way by the men of Meath and Teffia, and he was there inaugurated with more pomp than any Irish king had ever been before. This was, indeed, the first solemn act in which we see Dublin treated as a metropolis, and on this occasion Roderic paid the Dano-Irish of that city a stipend in cattle, and levied for them a tax of 4,000 cows on Ireland at large.

From Dublin he proceeded to Drogheda (Droicheat-atha), where O'Carroll and the men of Oriel paid homage, and gave him hostages. Attended by a great hosting of the men of Connaught, Breffny, and Meath, he marched back to Leinster, advancing into Hy-Kinsella, where Dermot Mac Murrough gave him hostages; and submission was made in a similar form by the various chiefs of Leinster and Ossory, and of north and south Munster.

By the death of the late monarch, Dermot Mac Murrough was deprived of his only supporter; and on the accession of Roderic—the firm ally of his old enemy, O'Rourke—he saw what his fate must inevitably be According to the friendly authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, this prince was detested by all. Equally hateful to strangers and to his own people

"his hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him." He accordingly prepared for the worst by burning his castle of Ferns, and soon saw his fears realised by the approach of an army conducted by Tiernan O'Rourke, and composed of the men of Breffny and Meath, of the Dano-Irish of Dublin, and of the chiefs of his own kingdom of Leinster. A precipitate flight was his only resource, and while he sought refuge in England his kingdom was given to another member of his family.

A.D. 1167.—A great assembly of the clergy and chieftains of Leath Cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, was convened by Roderic, at Athboy, in Meath. Among those who attended were the primate; St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin; Catholicus O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam; and the chieftains of Breffny, Oriel, Ulidia, Meath, and Dublin. Thirteen thousand horsemen are said to have assembled on this occasion; and the meeting, from its magnitude, has been supposed by some, although incorrectly, to have been a revival of the ancient Feis of Tara. It has been also remarked how sadly this display of the resources, and awakening of the olden glories of the country, contrasted with the fatal circumstances of the moment; and how little the men then congregated at Athboy could anticipate the ruin which was just about to come upon themselves and upon their nation! Several useful regulations, affecting the social and religious interests of the people, were adopted on this occasion, and the convention tended materially to promote respect for the laws, and to give *eclat* to the commencement of the new sovereign's reign.

Roderic, with a large army, composed of contingents from every other part of Ireland, entered the territory of Tyrone (Tir-Eoghain) and divided it between Niall O'Loughlin and Hugh O'Neill, giving to the former the country lying to the north of Slieve Gallion, in the present county of Londonderry, and to the latter the territory south of that mountain. This might be considered as the last act of undisputed sovereignty exercised by a native king of Ireland. Roderic was a man of parade, not of action, and totally unfit for the emergency in which the unhappy destiny of Ireland had placed him. No monarch of Ireland, up to his time, was ever more implicitly obeyed, or could command more numerous hostings of brave men; yet in his hands all this power was miserably worthless and inoperative.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION.

Dermot's Appeal to Henry II.—His Negotiations with Earl Strongbow and others.—Landing of the first English Adventurers in Ireland.—Siege of Wexford.—First Rewards of the Adventurers.—Apathy of the Irish.—Incursion into Ossory.—Savage Conduct of Dermot.—His Vindictiveness.—Shameful Feebleness of Roderic.—The Treaty of Ferns.—Dermot aspires to the Sovereignty.—Strongbow's Preparations for his Expedition.—Landing of his Precursor, Raymond le Gros.—Massacre of Prisoners by the English.—Arrival of Strongbow, and Siege of Waterford.—Marriage of Strongbow and Eva.—March on Dublin.—Surprise of the City.—Brutal Massacre.—The English Garrison of Waterford cut off.—Sacrilegious Spoliations by Dermot and the English.—Imbecility of Roderic.—Execution of Dermot's Hostages.—Synod of Armagh.—English Slaves, Nefarious Custom.—Horrible Death of Dermot Mac Murrough.

(A.D. 1168—1171.)

MEDITATING vengeance against the country from which he was compelled to fly in disgrace, the fugitive king of Leinster arrived at Bristol, where he learned that Henry II., to whom he had determined to apply for aid, was absent in Aquitaine. Thither he immediately proceeded; and having at length found the English king, he laid before him such a statement of his grievances as he thought fit. He offered to become Henry's vassal, should he, through his assistance, be reinstated in his kingdom, and made the most abject protestations of reverence and submission. Henry lent a willing ear to his statement, and must have been forcibly struck by this invitation to carry out a project which he himself had long entertained, and for which he had been making grave preparations many years before. That project was the invasion of Ireland. As his hands were, however, just then full of business—for he was engaged in bringing into submission the proud nobles of the

province in which he then was, while at home the resistance of St. Thomas à Becket, who would not suffer him to trample on the rights of the church with impunity, was become daily more irksome—he could not occupy himself personally in Dermot's affairs, but gave him letters patent, addressed to all his subjects—English, French, and Welsh —recommending Dermot to them, and granting them a general license to aid that prince in the recovery of his territory by force of arms.

A.D. 1168.—With this authorization Dermot hastened back to Wales, where he gave it due publicity, but for some time his efforts to induce any one to espouse his cause were unavailable. At length, he was fortunate enough to find some needy military adventurers suited to his purpose. The chief of these was Richard de Clare, commonly called Strongbow, (as his father, Gilbert, also had been), from his skill with the crossbow. This man, who was earl of Pembroke and Strigul, or Chepstow, being of a brave and enterprising spirit, and of ruined fortune, entered warmly into Dermot's design. He undertook to raise a sufficient force to aid the king of Leinster in the recovery of his kingdom, for which Dermot promised him his daughter, Eva, in marriage, and the succession to the throne of Leinster. Two Anglo-Norman knights, Maurice FitzGerald and Robert FitzStephen, also enlisted themselves in the cause of Dermot. These men were half-brothers, being the sons of Nesta, who had been first the mistress of Henry I., then the wife of Gerald of Windsor, governor of Pembroke and lord of Carew, to whom she bore the former of these adventurers, and finally the mistress of constable Stephen de Marisco, who was the father of Robert FitzStephen. These knights were also men of needy circumstances, and Dermot promised to reward them liberally for their services, by granting them the city of Wexford with certain lands adjoining. Such were the obscure individuals by whom the first introduction of English power into Ireland was planned and carried out.

The year was now drawing to a close, and Dermot Mac Murrough, relying on the promises which he had obtained, ventured back to Ireland and remained, during the winter, concealed in a monastery of Augustinian canons which he had founded at Ferns. There is some uncertainty as to the date of the first landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland; and it may also be doubted, whether some of the proceedings of Dermot and his foreign auxiliaries, mentioned obscurely in the native annals, occurred previous to the arrival of FitzStephen, and the surrender of Wexford, in May, 1169, or were identical with those recorded after that time Thus it is stated, that early in the year a few of Dermot's

Welsh auxiliaries arrived, and that with their aid he recovered possession of Hy-Kinsellagh; but that this movement on his part was premature, and that at the approach of a force, hastily collected by Roderic O'Conor and Tiernan O'Rourke, a battle in which some of the Welsh were killed, having been fought at Cill Osnadh, now Kellistown, in the county of Carlow, Dermot, who only wanted to gain time, made a hypocritical peace with the monarch, giving him seven hostages for ten cantreds of his former territory. It is added, that he gave a hundred ounces of gold to O'Rourke, as an atonement for the injury he had formerly inflicted on him; but all this seems to be only a confused version of some of the events which we are now about to relate in order, on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis and Maurice Regan.*

A.D. 1169.—According to the most probable account of the first Anglo-Norman descent, Robert FitzStephen, with 30 knights, all his own kinsmen, 60 men-at-arms, and 300 skilful archers, disembarked in May, this year, at Bannow,† near Wexford. One of the knights was Hervey de Montemarisco, or Mountmaurice, a paternal uncle of earl Strongbow; and the next day, at the same place, landed Maurice de Prendergast, a Welsh gentleman, with 10 knights and 60 archers. Dermot, on receiving notice of their arrival, marched with the utmost speed to join them with 500 men, being all that he could then muster; and with the joint force, he proceeded immediately to lay siege to the town of Wexford, the inhabitants of which were Dano-Irish. The first assault was repelled with great bravery, the inhabitants having previously set fire to the suburbs, that they might not afford a cover to the enemy; but when the Anglo-Normans were preparing to renew the attack next morning, the townspeople demanded a parley, and terms of capitulation were negotiated by the clergy; Dermot, though with great reluctance, consenting to pardon the inhabitants on their returning to their allegiance. In the first day's assault eighteen of the English had been slain, and only three of the brave garrison. FitzStephen burned the shipping which lay before the town; and it is said that he destroyed also the vessels which had conveyed his own troops from England, to show that they were resolved never to retreat. The lordship of the town was then, according to the contract, made over to him and to FitzGerald, who had not yet

* The authority referred to as that of Maurice Regan, is a metrical narrative written by an anonymous Norman rhymer from the oral account which he received from Regan, the secretary and "Lattiner," or interpreter, of Dermot Mac Murrough. An old translation into English, by Sir George Carew, was published in Harris's *Hibernica*.

† Cuan-an-bhainbh, "the creek of the sucking pigs." The place of FitzStephen's debarkation is called Baganbun by the Anglo-Irish historians.

arrived, and two cantreds of land, lying between the towns of Wexford and Waterford, were granted by Dermot to Hervey of Mountmaurice.*

Dermot now conducted his allies to Ferns, where they remained inactive for three weeks, without molestation, and indeed without appearing to excite any attention on the part of king Roderic and the other Irish princes. This apathy of the Irish, which appears to us so unaccountable, and which was so lamentable in its consequences, partly arose, no doubt, from the insignificance of the invaders, in point of numbers. Never did a national calamity, so mighty and so deplorable, proceed from a commencement more contemptible than did the English occupation of Ireland. The Irish were accustomed to employ parties of Danish mercenaries in their feuds. They had also mixed themselves up more than once in the quarrels of the Welsh; and they looked upon Mac Murrough's handful of Welsh and Normans as casual auxiliaries who came on a special duty and would depart when it was performed. The Irish annalists expressly state that the monarch, with a number of subordinate princes and a large army, entered Leinster at this very time, and "went to meet the men of Munster, Leinster, and Ossory," but "set nothing by the Flemings," as the first party of the invaders are called in these records.† As to Roderic, he showed no foresight or prudence, no energy of character or real bravery, and no regard for the interests of Ireland as an integral nation, throughout the whole of this most fatal crisis in his country's fortunes. About this time he celebrated the fair of Tailtin, when the concourse assembled was so great that the horsemen are said to have been spread over the tract of country from Mullach Aiti, now the hill of Lloyd, west of Kells, to Mullach Tailtin, a distance of about six and a-half miles; yet, while this display of numbers was made within a couple of days' march, Dermot, with his handful of foreign auxiliaries, was permitted to overrun the province of Leinster, and to brave the anger of the imbecile monarch.‡

Emboldened by the inactivity of his enemies, Dermot resolved to act

* This land is comprised in the present baronies of Forth and Bargie, in the county of Wexford, and was the first place in Ireland colonized by the English. The isolation of its inhabitants for centuries after that time, and the peculiarities of manner and language, of which the remnant is still preserved among them, are well known facts.

† Four Masters, A.D. 1169. No English or Anglo-Irish authority makes any mention of these Flemings; yet, observes Dr. O'Donovan, certain analogies, as well as the existence of an ancient Flemish colony in Pembrokeshire, whence the first adventurers came, would show that the Irish annalists had some grounds for the application of the name.

‡ The annalists say that this year (1169), "Rory O'Conor granted an (increase of) pension of ten cows yearly, from himself and his successors, to the lector (chief master) of Armagh (seminary), in honor of Patrick, to instruct the youth of Ireland and Alba in literature."

on the offensive; and as he had a cause of quarrel with Mac Gilla Patrick, prince of Ossory, who, actuated by a feeling of jealousy, had put out the eyes of Enna, a son of Mac Murrough's who was in his power as a hostage, he determined to make him the first object of his vengeance.* Between the forces of his province and the garrison of Wexford, Dermot was enabled to muster 3,000 men, but his principal reliance was on his foreign friends, in whose ranks he chiefly remained; and the Wexford men were so hated and distrusted by him, that they were not allowed to encamp at night with the rest of the army. Thus Dermot marched into Ossory, where the inhabitants made a brave stand; but after a good deal of fighting, having been decoyed from a strong position into one where they were exposed to the Norman cavalry, they were ultimately defeated, and three hundred of their heads were piled up before Dermot as a trophy of victory. This ferocious monster is said to have leaped and clapped his hands with joy at the sight; and Cambrensis adds that he turned over the heads in the ghastly heap, and that recognizing one of them as the head of a man to whom he had particular aversion, he seized it by both ears, and with brutal frenzy bit off the nose and lips of his dead enemy. Such is the character which we receive of this detestable tyrant, even from cotemporary English authorities.

Roderic, awakening at length to a sense of the duty which devolved on him, convened a meeting of the Irish princes at Tara, and, in obedience to the summons, a large army was mustered; while Dermot, who had already carried desolation through a great portion of Ossory, became dismayed at the first symptoms of preparations against him, and halting with his English friends in their career of havoc, returned to Ferns, and hastily entrenched himself there. Scarcely, however, had the Irish army assembled, when dissensions broke out in its ranks, and on marching as far as Dublin, Roderic thought fit to dispense with the services of Mac Dunlevy of Ulidia, and of O'Carroll of Oriel, who accordingly drew off their respective contingents, and returned home. Still the monarch arrived before Ferns with an army sufficient to annihilate the small force which he found collected there round Dermot; for

* The barbarous custom of blinding was a mode of punishment common to other nations at that period. It was indeed only three or four years before the time at which we have arrived when Henry II., king of England, took vengeance on the people of Wales by causing the children of the noblest families of that country, whom he held as hostages, to be treated in the same manner; ordering the eyes of the males to be rooted out, and the ears and lips of the females to be amputated. Hence when we read of such tortures in Irish history, we are not to conclude that they were indicative of any peculiar barbarity. More than two hundred years after, in the reign of Henry IV., this barbarous practice prevailed in England, and it was necessary to make a law against it.—*Hume*, c. 18.

it must be observed, that on the news of an Irish army being in the field, the king of Leinster was abandoned by a great number of his Irish followers.

The conduct of Roderic on this occasion lamentably illustrates the weakness of his character. Instead of proceeding at once to crush the dangerous foe, or insisting on the unconditional submission of Dermot, he entered into private negociations, first with FitzStephen, and then with Dermot; endeavouring to induce the former to abandon the king of Leinster, and to return to his own country, or to detach the latter from his foreign allies, and bring him to an humble admission of his allegiance. Such attempts showed the feebleness of his councils, and only excited the contempt of both FitzStephen and Dermot. Roderic's overtures were therefore rejected with disdain, and preparations were made on both sides for battle. We cannot now judge how far the strength of the position occupied by the enemy justified the reluctance of the Irish monarch to attack; but we find him again endeavouring to avert the necessity of fighting by further treating with the perfidious Dermot, so that it was Roderic, and not the besieged, who appeared to supplicate for peace. At length terms were agreed on, Roderic consenting to give the full sovereignty of Leinster to Dermot and to his heirs, on his own supremacy being acknowledged; and Dermot, on the other part, giving his favorite son, Conor, as a hostage to the monarch, and binding himself solemnly by a secret treaty to bring over no more foreign auxiliaries, and to dismiss those now in his service, so soon as circumstances would permit him to do so. About this time Maurice de Prendergast withdrew from Dermot, with his followers, to the number of 200; and finding that his departure from Ireland was prevented, he offered his services to the king of Ossory. This defection alarmed Dermot, and enabled his enemy, Mac Gilla Patrick, to make some reprisals; but Maurice soon abandoned the latter also, and returned for a short time to Wales.

Dermot, who only desired to gain time, soon betrayed the insincerity of his concessions to Roderic; for Maurice FitzGerald having in a few days after arrived with a small party of knights and archers at Wexford, he hastened to meet his new ally regardless of his treaty, and, with this addition to his force, marched to attack Dublin, which had thrown off its allegiance to him, and was then governed by Hasculf Mac Turkill, a prince of Danish descent. The territory around the city was soon laid waste in so merciless a way, that the inhabitants were obliged to sue for peace; and the king of Leinster having glutted his revenge, accepted their submission, for the

purpose of being free to lend assistance to Donnell O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who had married a daughter of Dermot's, and half sister of Eva, and had just then rebelled against the monarch, Roderic. This opportunity of weakening the power of the latter was, to the vindictive king of Leinster, too gratifying to be neglected; and Dermot felt so elated by repeated successes, that he was no longer content with his position as a provincial prince, but set up a claim to the sovereignty of Ireland, which he grounded on the right of an ancestor. In this ambitious aim he was encouraged by his English auxiliaries; and in a consultation with Fitz-Stephen and FitzGerald, it was resolved that a message should be sent immediately to Strongbow, pressing him to fulfil his engagements, and to come to their aid with as little delay as possible.

A.D. 1170.—Strongbow on his part felt himself in a difficult position He could no longer act upon Henry's letters patent, Dermot being now reinstated in his kingdom; and a new sanction being necessary to authorize a hostile expedition to Ireland, he repaired to Normandy, where the English king then was, to solicit his permission. Henry, who was naturally jealous and suspicious, and entertained a particular aversion to the ambitious earl of Pembroke, in order to rid himself of his importunity, gave him an equivocal answer, which Strongbow pretended to understand as the required permission. He thereupon returned to Wales, set about collecting men with all possible diligence, and sent Raymond le Gros with ten knights and seventy archers as his advanced guard. This party landed at a small rocky promontory then called Dundolf, or Downdonnell, near Waterford, and being joined by Hervey of Mountmaurice, they constructed a temporary fort, to enable them to retain their position until Strongbow should arrive. The citizens of Waterford, aided by O'Faelain, or O'Phelan, prince of the Deisi, and O'Ryan, of Idrone, sent a hastily collected force to dislodge the invaders; but through the bravery of Raymond, aided by accident, the besieged were not only able to defend themselves, but effectually to rout the undisciplined multitude who came against them, killing, it is said, 500 men, and taking seventy of the principal citizens prisoners.* Large sums of money were offered to ransom the latter, but the English, as some say, swayed by the sanguinary counsel of Hervey of Mountmaurice, rejected these offers; and for the purpose of striking terror into the Irish, bru-

* The English, on their landing, had, it appears, swept off a large number of cattle from the surrounding country, and placed them in the outer enclosure of their camp; and these, terrified by the noise of the battle, and rushing furiously out through the Irish assailants, spread confusion in their ranks, of which their enemy took deadly advantage.

tally massacred the prisoners by breaking their limbs, and hurling them from the summit of the precipice into the sea. This atrocity was a fitting prelude to the English wars in Ireland; but most historians vindicate Raymond le Gros from the stigma which it cast upon the English arms.

In the meantime Strongbow had assembled his army of adventurers and mercenaries at Milford, and was about to embark when he received a peremptory order from Henry forbidding the expedition. What was to be done? His hesitation, if any, was very brief, and he adopted the desperate alternative of disobeying his king. He accordingly sailed, and with an army of about 1,200 men, of whom 200 were knights, landed near Waterford on the 23rd of August, the eve of St. Bartholomew's day. Here he was immediately joined by his friend Raymond le Gros, who had been then three months in Ireland; and the very next day he proceeded to lay siege to Waterford. The citizens displayed great heroism in their defence, and twice repulsed the attempts of the assailants. At length a large breach was made in the wall by the fall of a house which projected over it, and which came toppling down when the props by which it had been supported were cut by Raymond's knights; and the besiegers pouring into the city made a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants. A tower in which Reginald, or Gillemaire, as the Irish annalists call him, a lord of Danish extraction, and O'Phelan, prince of the Deisi, continued to defend themselves, was taken; and these two brave men were on the point of being massacred by their pitiless captors when Dermot Mac Murrough arrived, and for the first and only time we see mercy exercised at his request. The carnage of the now unresisting inhabitants was suspended. Dermot expressed great exultation at the arrival of earl Strongbow, and insisted upon paying him at once his promised guerdon. He had taken his daughter, Eva, with him for that purpose; the marriage ceremony was hastily performed, and the wedding cortege passed through streets reeking with the still warm blood of the brave and unhappy citizens.

Immediately after the nuptials of Strongbow and Eva, Dermot and his allies set out on a rapid march to Dublin, leaving a small party to garrison Waterford. Roderic had collected a large army and encamped at Clondalkin, near Dublin; and Hasculf, the governor of that city, encouraged by their presence, revolted against Dermot. Hence the haste of the confederate army to reach Dublin; and as they proceeded along the high ridges of the Wicklow mountains in order to escape the fortified passes by which their march would have been impeded in the valleys,

they arrived under the walls of Dublin long before their presence there could be calculated on. This rapid movement, and the now formidable array of the Anglo-Norman army, filled the citizens with consternation, and recourse was had to negociation; the illustrious archbishop of Dublin, St. Laurence O'Toole, being commissioned to arrange terms of peace with Dermot. While the parley, however, was still proceeding in Strongbow's camp, two of the English leaders, Raymond le Gros and Milo de Cogan, regardless of the usages of civilized warfare—though some say the time for the conference had expired—led their troops respectively against the weakest or most neglected parts of the fortifications, and obtained an entrance. The inhabitants, relying on the negociations which were going forward, were quite unprepared for this assault, and flying panic-stricken, were butchered in the most merciless manner. We may conceive the horror with which St. Laurence, hastening back to the city, found its streets filled with carnage. He exposed his life in the midst of the massacre, endeavouring to appease the fury of the soldiers; and subsequently he had the bodies of the slain collected for decent burial, interceded for the clergy of the city, and procured the restoration of the books and ornaments of which the churches had been plundered.

Roderic would appear to have had some skirmishes with the enemy for two or three successive days previous to this, and then to have withdrawn with his large but ill-organized army; but the Irish annalists, in mentioning the transaction, accuse the citizens of Dublin of bad faith, probably for refusing to act in concert with the Irish, or for endeavouring to make a peace for themselves, and they also allude to a conflagration produced in the city by lightning, which, no doubt, added to the panic. "As a judgment upon them," say the Four Masters, "Mac Murrough and the Saxons acted treacherously towards them, and made a slaughter of them in the midst of their own fortress, in consequence of the violation of their word to the men of Ireland." Hasculf and a number of the principal citizens made their escape in ships, and repaired to the Hebrides and Orkneys; and Roderic, without striking a blow, drew off his army into Meath to sustain O'Rourke, to whom he had given the eastern portion of that territory. About the same time the English garrison, which had been left in Waterford, was attacked and defeated by Cormac Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, but we are not told of any consequence which resulted.

The government of Dublin was now entrusted to Milo de Cogan; and Dermot, with his allies, marched into Meath, which they ravaged

and laid waste with an animosity perfectly diabolical. The churches of Clonard, Kells, Teltown, Dowth, Slane, Kilskeery, and Desert-Kieran, were plundered and burned, and, as a matter of course, the towns or villages which surrounded them were not treated with greater mercy. This predatory incursion was extended into Tir Briuin, or the country of the O'Rourkes and O'Reillys in Leitrim and Cavan; and although the monarch himself appears to have avoided all collision with the enemy, we are told that at last a portion of the latter were twice defeated in Breffny by O'Rourke. Donnell, prince of Bregia, who had been deposed by Roderic, sided with Mac Murrough, as did also Donnell's adherents among the people of east Meath, and some of the men of Oriel.*

Alarmed at these events, Roderic foolishly imagined that he could arrest the progress of Dermot by threatening him with the death of his hostages. He accordingly sent ambassadors to remonstrate with him for his perfidy in breaking his engagements, and for his unprovoked aggressions, and to announce that if he did not withdraw his army within his own frontier, and dismiss his foreign auxiliaries, the heads of his hostages should be forfeited. Dermot treated this menace with derision. As far as we can judge of his character, he would have preferred the gratification of his revenge to the lives of all his children, had they been at stake. And he sent back word to Roderic that he would not desist until he had fully asserted his claim to the sovereignty of all Ireland, and had dispossessed Roderic of his kingdom of Connaught into the bargain.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether Roderic fulfilled his threat. Cambrensis, a cotemporary writer, informs us that he did. Keating says that he would not expose himself to so much odium as the execution of the hostages would entail; but the Four Masters, who are a much better authority, and would not have made the statement without sufficient grounds, say that "the three royal hostages" were put to death at Athlone. These were Conor, the son of Dermot; his grandson (the son of Donnell Kavanagh); and the son of his foster-brother, O'Caellaighe. The act was cruel, but in it Roderic did not exceed his strict right; and the same year Tiernan O'Rourke put to death the hostages of east Meath, which had rebelled against him.

Giraldus Cambrensis† furnishes some interesting particulars of a synod held at Armagh about the close of this year (1170). It appears

* Four Masters. † Hib. Expug. i. 18.

from it that there prevailed in England a barbarous custom of selling children as slaves, and that the Irish were the principal purchasers in that abominable market. There are other authorities also to show that this nefarious practice was prevalent in England; the twenty-eighth canon of the council of London, held in 1102, having been enacted for its prohibition.* The custom of buying English slaves was held by the Irish clergy to be so wicked, that, after deliberating on the subject, the synod of Armagh pronounced the invasion of Ireland by Englishmen to be a just judgment upon the country on account of it; and decreed that any of the English who were held as slaves in Ireland should immediately be set free. It was a curious and characteristic coincidence that an Irish deliberative assembly should thus, by an act of humanity to Englishmen, have met the merciless aggressions which the latter had just then commenced against this country.

A.D. 1171.—In the midst of his ambitious and vindictive projects, Dermot Mac Murrough died at Ferns on the 4th of May, 1171. His death, which took place in less than a year after his sacrilegious church-burnings in Meath, is described as being accompanied by fearful evidence of divine displeasure. He died intestate, and without the sacraments of the church. His disease was of some unknown and loathsome kind, and was attended with insufferable pain, which, acting on the naturally savage violence of his temper, rendered him so furious that his ordinary attendants were compelled to abandon him; and his body became at once a putrid mass, so that its presence above ground could not be endured. Some historians suggest that this account of his death may have been the invention of enemies; yet it is so consistent with what we know of MacMurrough's character and career, from other sources, as to be nowise incredible. He reached the age of eighty-one years, and is known in Irish history as Diarmaid-na-Gall, or Dermot of the Foreigners.

On the death of Dermot, earl Strongbow, regardless of his duty as an English subject, got himself proclaimed king of Leinster; and as his marriage with Eva could not under the Irish law confer any right of succession, he grounded his claim on the engagement made by the late king, when he first agreed to undertake his cause. As this was the first step in the establishment of English power in Ireland, it is well the reader should bear in mind the way it was effected. There was here no conquest. The only fighting which the invaders yet had was with the Dano-

* Wilkins' Consilia, i. 383; also Howel, p. 86.

Irish of Wexford, Waterford, and Dublin; and against these, as well as in their predatory excursions, the Anglo-Normans acted in conjunction with their Irish allies in Leinster. They can hardly be said, so far, to have come in collision with an Irish army at all, and most certainly, as Leland observes, "the power of the nation they did not contend with." "The settlement of a Welsh colony in Leinster," as the same historian, notwithstanding his strong anti-Irish prejudice, continues, "was an incident neither interesting nor alarming to any, except, perhaps, a few of most reflection and discernment. Even the Irish annalists speak with a careless indifference of the event;" but "had these first adventurers conceived that they had nothing more to do but to march through the land, and terrify a whole nation of timid savages by the glitter of their armour, they must have speedily experienced the effects of such romantic madness."*

* Leland's History of Ireland, b. i. chap. i.



CHAPTER XVIII.

REIGN OF HENRY II.

Difficulties of Strongbow.—Order of Henry against the Adventurers.—Danish Attack on Dublin.—Patriotism of St. Laurence.—Siege of Dublin by Roderic.—Desperate state of the Garrison.—Their Bravery and Success.—FitzStephen Captured by the Wexford People.—Attack on Dublin by Tiernan O'Rourke.—Henry's Expedition to Ireland.—His Policy.—The Irish Unprepared.—Submission of several Irish Princes.—Henry fixes his Court in Dublin.—Bold Attitude of Roderic.—Independence of the Northern Princes.—Synod of Cashel.—History of the Pope's Grant to Henry.—This Grant not the Cause either of the Invasion or its Success.—Disorganized State of Ireland.—Report of Prelates of Cashel, and Letters of Alexander III.—English Law extended to Ireland.—The "five bloods."—Parallel of the Normans in England and the Anglo-Normans in Ireland.—Fate of the Irish Church.—Final Arrangements and Departure of Henry.

A.D. 1171 *and* 1172.

FORTUNE thus seemed in many respects to favor Strongbow and his band of Anglo-Norman and Welsh adventurers, yet their position was one of considerable embarrassment. The king of England was jealous of their success, and indignant at the slight which they had put upon his authority. He was also annoyed at finding his own designs against Ireland anticipated by men who were likely to become insolent and troublesome; and he accordingly (A.D. 1171) issued a peremptory mandate, ordering every English subject then in Ireland to return within a certain time, and prohibiting the sending thither of any further aid or supplies. Alarmed at this edict, Strongbow despatched Raymond le Gros to Henry with a letter couched in the most submissive terms; placing at the king's disposal all the lands which he had acquired in Ireland. Henry was at the moment absorbed in the difficulties in which the murder of St.

Thomas à Becket—if not at his command, at least at his implied desire, and by his myrmidons—had involved him, and he neither deigned to notice the earl's letter, nor paid any further attention to the Irish affair for some time; so that Strongbow, still tempting fate, continued his course without regarding the royal edict. To add to his difficulties, his standard was deserted by nearly all his Irish adherents on the death of Dermot, which took place soon after the date of the royal mandate; and during his absence from Dublin, that city was besieged by a Scandinavian force, which was collected by Hasculf, in the Orkneys, and conveyed in sixty ships, under the command of a Dane called John the Furious. Milo de Cogan, whom Strongbow had left as governor, bravely repulsed the besiegers, but was near being cut off outside the eastern gate, until his brother Richard came to his relief with a troop of cavalry, whereupon the Norwegians were defeated with great slaughter, John the Furious being slain, and Hasculf made captive. The latter was at first reserved for ransom, but on threatening his captors with a more desperate and successful attack on a future occasion, they basely put him to death.

The great archbishop of Dublin, St. Lorcan, or Laurence O'Toole, whose illustrious example has consecrated Irish patriotism, perceiving the straits to which the Anglo-Normans were reduced, and judging rightly that it only required an energetic effort, for which a favorable moment had arrived, to rid the country of the dangerous intruders, went among the Irish princes to rouse them into action. For this purpose he proceeded from province to province, addressing the nobles and people in spirit-stirring words, and urging the necessity for an immediate and combined struggle for independence. Emissaries were also sent to Godfred, king of the Isle of Man, and to some of the northern islands, inviting co-operation against the common enemy.

Earl Strongbow, becoming aware of the impending danger, repaired in haste to Dublin, and prepared to defend himself; nor was he long there when he saw the city invested on all sides by a numerous army. A fleet of thirty ships from the isles blocked up the harbour, and the besieged were so effectually hemmed in that it was impossible for them to obtain fresh supplies of men or provisions. Roderic O'Conor, who commanded in person, and had his own camp at Castleknock, was supported by Tiernan O'Rourke and Murrough O'Carroll with their respective forces, and St. Laurence was present in the camp animating the men, or as some pretend, though very improbably, even bearing arms himself. The Irish chiefs, relying on their numbers, contented themselves with

an inactive blockade, and for a time their tactics promised to be successful; the besieged being soon reduced to extremities from want of food, Strongbow solicited a parley, and requested that St. Laurence should be the medium of communication. He offered to hold the kingdom of Leinster as the vassal of Roderic; but the Irish monarch rejected such terms indignantly, and required that the invaders should immediately surrender the towns of Dublin, Wexford, and Waterford, and undertake to depart from Ireland by a certain day. It is generally admitted that under the circumstances, the propositions of Roderic were even merciful, and for a while it was probable that they would, however unpalatable, be accepted

At this crisis, Donnell Kavanagh, son of the late king of Leinster, contrived to penetrate in disguise into the city, and brought Strongbow the intelligence that his friend FitzStephen was, together with his family and a few followers, shut up in the Castle of Carrig, near Wexford, where he was closely besieged, and must, unless immediately relieved, fall into the hands of his exasperated enemies. This sad news drove the garrison of Dublin to desperation; and at the suggestion of Maurice FitzGerald it was determined that they should make a sortie with their whole force, and attempt the daring exploit of cutting their way through the besiegers. To carry out this enterprise, Strongbow disposed his men in the following order: Raymond le Gros, with twenty knights on horseback, led the van; to these succeeded thirty knights under Milo de Cogan; and this body was followed by a third, consisting of about forty knights, commanded by Strongbow himself and FitzGerald; the remainder of their force, said to consist only of 500 men, bringing up the rear. It was about three in the afternoon when this well-organized body of desperate men sallied forth; and the Irish army, lulled in false security, and expecting a surrender rather than a sortie, was taken wholly by surprise. A great number were slaughtered at the first onset; and the panic which was produced spreading to the entire besieging army, a general retreat from before the city commenced; so that Roderic, who with many of his men was enjoying a bath in the Liffey, had some difficulty in effecting his escape. The English, on their side, astonished at their own unexpected success, returned to the city laden with spoils, and with an unlimited supply of provisions.*

* Leland suspects that the Irish annalists passed over in silence the events of this transaction as shame; but the Four Masters mention the siege and their version is as follows: — "There was hostility and warfare between them" (i.e. the besiegers and besieged) "for a fortnight. O'Toole then went against the Leinster men to cut down and burn the [illegible]. The foreigners [illegible] after-

Strongbow once more committed the government of Dublin to Milo de Cogan, and set out with a strong detachment for Wexford to relieve FitzStephen; but after overcoming some difficulty in the territory of Idrone, where his march was opposed by the local chieftain, O'Regan, he learned on approaching Wexford that he came too late to assist his friend. Carrig Castle had already fallen, and it is said that the Wexford men were not very scrupulous on the occasion in their treatment of foes who had proved themselves sufficiently capable of treachery and cruelty. The story is, that FitzStephen and his little garrison were deceived by the false intelligence that Dublin had been captured by the Irish army, that the English, including Strongbow, FitzGerald, and Raymond le Gros, had been cut to pieces, and that the only chance of safety was in immediate surrender; the Dano-Irish besiegers undertaking to send FitzStephen with his family and followers unharmed to England It is added, that the bishops of Wexford and Kildare presented themselves before the castle to confirm this false report by a solemn assurance; but this circumstance, if not a groundless addition, would only shew that a rumour, by which the bishops themselves had been deceived, prevailed about the capture of Dublin, a thing not at all improbable. False news of a similar kind is sometimes circulated even in our own times. At all events, the stratagem, if it was one, succeeded; and FitzStephen on yielding himself to his enemies was cast into prison, and some of his followers were put to death. Scarcely was this accomplished, when intelligence arrived that Strongbow was approaching, and the Wexford men, finding themselves unable to cope with him single-handed, and fearing his vengeance, set fire to their town, and sought refuge with their prisoners in the little island of Beg-Erin, whence they sent word to the earl that if he made any attempt to reach them in their retreat they would instantly cut off the heads of FitzStephen and the other English prisoners. Thus foiled in his purpose, Strongbow with a heavy heart directed his course to Waterford, and immediately after invaded the territory of Ossory, in conjunction with Donnell O'Brien.*

wards entered the camp of Leith Cuinn, and slew many of the commonalty, and carried off their provisions, armour, and horses."

* Regan, or the Norman rhymer, relates an honorable trait of Maurice de Prendergast on this occasion. The Welsh knight undertook to bring the king of Ossory to a conference, on obtaining the word of Strongbow and O'Brien that he should be allowed to return in safety. Understanding, however, during the conference, that treachery was about to be used towards Mac Gilla Patrick, he rushed into the earl's presence, "and sware by the cross of his sword that no man there that day should dare lay handes on the kyng of Ossery." Having redeemed his word to the Irish prince by conducting him back in safety, and defeated some of O'Brien's men whom they met on the way with the spoils of Ossory, he spent that night with Mac Gilla Patrick in the woods, and returned next day to the earl.

During the earl's absence, Tiernan O'Rourke hastily collected an army of the men of Breffny and Oriel, and made an attack on Dublin, but he was repulsed by Milo, and lost his son under the walls. With this exception, no attempt was made to molest the invaders at a period when they could have been so easily annihilated; and intestine wars were carried on among the northern tribes, and also between Connaught and Thomond, as if there had been no foreign enemy in the country.

Strongbow, on the other side, learnt at Waterford, from emissaries whom he had sent to plead his cause with Henry, that his own presence for that purpose was indispensable, and he accordingly set out in haste for England. He found the English monarch at Newnham in Gloucestershire, making active preparations for an expedition to Ireland. Henry at first refused to admit him to his presence; but at length suffered himself to be influenced by the earl's unconditional submission, and by the mediation of Hervey of Mountmaurice; and consented to accept his homage and oath of fealty, and to confirm him in the possession of his Irish acquisitions, with the exception of Dublin and the other seaport towns and forts, which were to be surrendered to himself. He also restored the earl's English estates, which had been forfeited on his disobedience to the king's mandate; but, as it were to mark his displeasure at the whole proceeding of the invasion of Ireland by his subjects, he seized the castles of the Welsh lords to punish them for allowing the expedition to sail from their coasts contrary to his commands. It is probable that in all this hypocrisy and tyranny were the king's ruling motives. He hated the Welsh, and took the opportunity to crush them still more, and to garrison their castles with his own men. These events took place not many months after the murder of St. Thomas à Becket, and it is generally admitted that the king's expedition to Ireland, if not projected, was at least hastened, in order to withdraw public attention from that atrocity, and to make a demonstration of his power before the country at a moment when his name was covered with the odium which the crime involved.

Henry II., attended by Strongbow, William FitzAdelm de Burgo, Humphry de Bohen, Hugh de Lacy, Robert FitzBernard, and other knights and noblemen, embarked at Milford, in Pembrokeshire, with a powerful armament, and landed at a place, called by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, Croch—probably the present Crook—near Waterford, on St. Luke's day, October 18th, A.D. 1171. His army consisted, it is said, of 500 knights, and about 4,000 men-at-arms; but it was probably much

more numerous, as it was transported, according to the English accounts, in 400 ships.

Henry assumed in Ireland the plausible policy which seemed so natural to him. He pretended to have come rather to protect the people from the aggressions of his own subjects than to acquire any advantage for himself; but at the same time, as a powerful yet friendly sovereign, to receive the homage of vassal princes, and to claim feudal jurisdiction in their country. It is impossible, of course, to reconcile pretences so inconsistent in themselves; but they served the purpose for which they were invented. He put on an air of extreme affability, accompanied by a great show of dignity, and paraded a brilliant and well-disciplined army with all possible pomp and display of power.

The Irish, on the other hand, seemed at a loss what to think or how to act. An event had occurred for which they were not prepared by any parallel case in their history. They neither understood the character nor the system of their new foes. Perpetually immersed in local feuds, they had not gained ground either in military or national spirit since their old wars with the Danes. The men of one province cared little what misfortune befel those of another, provided their own territory was safe. Singly, each of them had been hitherto able to cope with such foes as they were accustomed to; but where combined action could alone suffice there was nothing to unite them; they had no sentiment in common—no centre, no rallying principle.

Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, was the first Irish prince who paid homage to Henry. Marching from Waterford to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, Henry was met near the latter town by Donnell O'Brien, king of Thomond, who swore fealty to him, and surrendered to him his city of Limerick. Afterwards there came in succession to do homage Mac Gilla Patrick, prince of Ossory, O'Phelan, prince of the Deisies, and various other chieftains of Leath Mogha. All were most courteously received; many of them were of course not a little dazzled by the splendour of Henry's court and his array of steel-clad knights; some were perhaps glad to acknowledge a sovereign powerful enough to deliver them from the petty warfare with which they were harassed and exhausted; but none of them understood Anglo-Norman rapacity, or could have imagined that in paying homage to Henry as a liege lord they were conveying to him the absolute dominion and ownership of their ancestral territories.

So well was it known in Ireland that Henry disapproved of the invasion of that country by Strongbow and the other adventurers, that the

people of Wexford, who had got Fitz-Stephen into their hands, pretended to make a merit of their own exploit, and sent a deputation to Henry on his arrival to deliver to him the captive knight as one who had made war without his sovereign's permission. Henry kept up the farce by retaining FitzStephen for some time in chains and then restored him to liberty.

From Cashel Henry returned to Waterford, and thence proceeded to Dublin, where he was received in great state, and where a temporary pavillion, constructed in the Irish fashion of twigs or wickerwork, was erected for him outside the walls,* no building in the city being spacious enough to accommodate his court. Here he remained to pass the festival of Christmas, and such of the Irish as were attracted thither by curiosity were entertained by him with a degree of magnificence and urbanity well calculated to win their admiration. Among the Irish princes who paid their homage to the English king in Dublin, were O'Carroll of Oriel, and the veteran O'Rourke; but the monarch Roderic, though thus abandoned by his oldest and most powerful ally, the chief of Breffny, as he had been already by so many others of his vassals, still continued to maintain an independent attitude. He collected an army on the banks of the Shannon, and seemed resolved to defend the frontiers of his kingdom of Connaught to the last; thus regaining by this bold and dignified demeanour some at least of the esteem and sympathy which by his former weakness of character he had forfeited. Henry, whose object appeared to be not fighting but parade, did not march against the Irish monarch, but sent De Lacy and FitzAdelm† to treat with him; and Roderic, on his own sovereignty being recognised, was, it is said, induced to pay homage to Henry through his ambassadors, as it was customary in that age for one king to pay to another and more potent sovereign. We have no Irish authority, however, for this act of submission; and as to the northern princes, they still withheld all recognition of the invader's sway.

A.D. 1172.—At Henry's desire, a synod was held at Cashel in the beginning of this year. It was presided over by Christian, bishop of Lismore, who was then apostolic legate, and was attended by St. Laurence O'Toole of Dublin, Catholicus O'Duffy of Tuam, and Donald O'Hullucan of Cashel, with their suffragan bishops, together with abbots, archdeacons, &c.; Ralph, archdeacon of Landaff, and Nicholas, a royal chaplain, being present on the part of the king. It was decreed

* "Near the church of St. Andrew, on the southern side of the ground now known as Dame-street."—*Gilbert's Hist. of Dublin.* vol. ii. p. 258.

† This name is variously written Aldelm, Audelm, and Adelm.

at this synod that the prohibition of marriage within the canonical degrees of consanguinity and affinity should be more strictly enforced; that children should be catechised before the church door, and baptized in the fonts in those churches appointed for the purpose; that tithes of all the produce of the land should be paid to the clergy; that church lands and other ecclesiastical property should be exempt from the exactions of laymen in the shape of periodical entertainment and livery, &c.; and that the clergy should not be liable to any share of the eric or blood fine levied on the kindred of a man guilty of homicide There was also a decree regulating wills, by which one-third of a man's moveable property, after payment of his debts, was to be left to his legitimate children, if he had any; another third to his wife, if she survived; and the remaining third for his funeral obsequies.*

These decrees constitute the boasted reform of the Irish church introduced by Henry II. It will be observed that they indicate no trace of doctrinal error to be corrected, or even of gross abuse in discipline, unless it be the too general use of private baptism, and the celebration of marriage within the prohibited degrees, which at that time extended to very remote relationships. But the subject of this synod leads us to an incident of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, which has been a fertile source of controversy—namely, the so-called subjection of Ireland to the dominion of the king of England, by the bulls of Adrian IV. and Alexander III.

The temporal power exercised by the popes in the middle ages opens up a question too general for discussion here. It is enough for us to know that modern investigation has removed much of the misrepresentation by which it was assailed. Irrespective of religious considerations, we see in the Roman pontiffs of that period the steadfast friends of order and enlightenment; in their power the bulwark of the oppressed people against feudal tyranny, of civilization against barbarism; and we should consider well the circumstances under which they acted and the received opinions of the age, before we condemn these vicegerents of Christ for proceedings in which their authority was invoked in the temporal affairs of nations. If this authority was sometimes perverted to their own purposes by ambitious kings, or its exercise surreptitiously obtained, that

* The decrees of this synod refer solely to matters of ecclesiastical law, or church temporalities; and the immunity which they grant in one case to the clergy, as well as the setting apart of a portion of each testator's property for the church, or for the "good of his soul," as it was generally expressed, were usuages which existed in Ireland before the coming of the Anglo-Normans. As to tithes, they had also been introduced by the Irish synod of Kells. See the observations on this subject in Dr. Kelly's *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii., p. 546, &c., note.

was not the fault of the popes nor of the principle; as we shall find illustrated in the case we are now about to consider.

Nicholas Breakspere, an Englishman, was elected pope under the title of Adrian IV., December 3rd, 1154, and Henry II., who had come to the throne of England about a month earlier, sent soon after to congratulate his countryman on his elevation This embassy was followed by another insidious one, the object of which was to represent to the pope that religion and morality were reduced to the lowest ebb in the neighbouring island of Ireland; that society there was torn to pieces by factions, and plunged in the most barbarous excesses; that there was no respect for spiritual authority; and that the king of England solicited the sanction of his Holiness to visit that unhappy country in order to restore discipline and morals, and to compel the Irish to make a respectable provision for the church, such as already existed in England. This negociation, which indicates how long the idea of invading Ireland was entertained by the English king,* was entrusted by Henry to John of Salisbury, chaplain to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who urged, according to an opinion then received, that Constantine the Great had made a donation of all Christian islands to the successor of St. Peter; that, therefore, the pope, as owner of the island of Ireland, had the power to place it under the dominion of Henry; and that he was bound to exercise that power in the interests of religion and morality

A hostile authority confesses that "the popes were in general superior to the age in which they lived;"† but we have no right to expect that, on a subject of this temporal and political nature, they should have been so far in advance of the ideas of their times as to anticipate the political knowledge and discoveries of subsequent ages. We must also recollect that, however exaggerated the statements made to Adrian about Ireland may have been, they were not wholly without foundation. It is not consistent with human nature that society should not have been disorganised more or less by the state of turbulence in which we know, from our authentic history, that this country was so long plunged at that period. It was precisely the period when the moral character of Ireland had suffered most in the estimation of foreign nations. St. Bernard's vivid picture of the vices and abuses against which St. Malachy had to struggle, in one part of Ireland, had only just then been presented to the world St.

* From an obscure expression used by a cotemporary writer in the Saxon Chronicle, under the date of 1087, it may be inferred that even William the Conqueror had some idea of invading Ireland; as it is said that that king, "if he had lived two years longer would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle;" that is, that the terror of his name would have been sufficient.

† Roscoe, "Leo X."

Malachy was not long dead, and his reforms were less known than the abuses which had so loudly called for them. The recent efforts of the Irish prelates and clergy to restore discipline in the church, and piety and morals among the people, had only begun to produce their effects. Vices may have been as prevalent in other countries, but this did not render Ireland stainless. In fact, although Pope Adrian IV. had been himself the pupil of a learned Irish monk, named Marianus, at Paris, and had other sources of information on the subject, we are not to wonder that he should have formed a low estimate of the state of religion and morals in Ireland, and lent a credulous ear to the exaggerated representations of Henry's emissary. Little knowing the mind of the ambitious king, he, therefore, addressed to him his memorable letter, or bull, which was accompanied by a gold ring enriched with a precious emerald, as a sign of investiture.*

The importance of this bull in our history has been monstrously exaggerated. It can have had little, if any, influence on the destinies

* The following is the bull of Pope Adrian, as translated by Dr. Kelly from the Vatican version, published by Lynch in the *Cambrensis Eversus*, (vol. ii. p. 410, ed. of 1850):—

"Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"The design of your Greatness is praiseworthy and most useful, to extend the glory of your name on earth and to increase the reward of your eternal happiness in heaven; for, as becomes a Catholic prince, you intend to extend the limits of the Church, to announce the truth of the Christian religion to an ignorant and barbarous people, and to pluck up the seeds of vice from the field of the Lord, while, to accomplish your design more effectually, you implore the counsel and aid of the Apostolic See. The more exalted your views and the greater your discretion in this matter, the more confident are our hopes, that with the help of God, the result will be more favorable to you; because whatever has its origin in ardent faith and in love of religion, always has a prosperous end and issue. Certainly it is beyond a doubt (and thy nobility itself has recognised the truth of it), that Ireland, and all the islands upon which Christ, the sun of justice, has shone, and which have embraced the doctrines of the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter and the holy Roman Church. We, therefore, the more willingly plant them with a faithful plantation, and a seed pleasing to the Lord, as we know by internal examination, that a very rigorous account must be rendered of them. Thou hast communicated to us, our very dear son in Christ, that thou wouldst enter the island of Ireland, to subject its people to obedience of laws, to eradicate the seeds of vice, and also to make every house pay the annual tribute of one penny to the Blessed Peter, and preserve the rights of the church of that land whole and entire. Receiving your laudable and pious desire with the favour it merits, and granting our kind consent to your petition, it is our wish and desire that, for the extension of the limits of the Church, the checking of the torrent of vice, the correction of morals, the sowing of the seeds of virtue, and the propagation of the religion of Christ, thou shouldst enter that island, and there execute whatever thou shalt think conducive to the honor of God and the salvation of that land, and let the people of that land receive thee with honor, and venerate thee as their lord, saving the right of the Church, which must remain untouched and entire, and the annual payment of one penny from each house to Saint Peter and the holy Church of Rome. If then thou wishest to carry into execution what thou hast conceived in thy mind, endeavour to form that people to good morals; and both by thyself and those men whom thou hast proved duly qualified in faith, in words, and in life, let the Church of that country be adorned, let the religion of the faith of Christ be planted and increased, and all that concerns the glory of God and the salvation of souls be so ordained by thee, that thou mayest deserve to obtain from God an increase of thy everlasting reward, and a glorious name on earth in all ages. Given at Rome, &c., &c."

of Ireland. After the bull had been obtained on a false pretence, and to give a color to an ambitious design, a council of state was held in England to consider the projected invasion; but partly through deference to his mother, the empress, who was opposed to it, and partly from the pressure of other affairs, the project was for the present abandoned by Henry, and the papal document deposited in the archives of Winchester. Thirteen years after we have seen Dermot MacMurrough at the feet of Henry, imploring English aid. A few years more pass away, and we behold the English monarch making a triumphant progress through Leinster, and receiving the submission of the kings of Desmond and Thomond, and Ossory, and Breffny, and Oriel, if not that of Roderic himself; yet, not one word is breathed, all this time, about the grant from Adrian IV. We have no ground for supposing that the existence of that grant was even known to the Irish prelates, who, following the example of their respective princes, also paid their homage, and assembled at the call of Henry in the synod of Cashel; nor does one word about it appear to have transpired among the clergy or people of Ireland until it was promulgated, together with a confirmatory bull of Alexander III., at a synod held in Waterford in 1175, some twenty years after the grant had been originally made, and when the success of the invasion had been an accomplished fact. Some Irish historians have questioned the authenticity of Pope Adrian's bull; but there appears to be no solid reason for doubt upon the subject.* Others, like Dr. Keating, assign, as a ground for the right assumed by the pope, a tradition that Donough, son of Brian Borumha, had made a present of the crown of Ireland to the reigning pontiff, when he went on a pilgrimage to Rome about the year 1064; but this story merits no attention. The equally fabulous donation of Constantine the Great, even if it had been made, could not have included Ireland, to which the power of the Roman empire never had extended. Irish Catholic historians have always been sufficiently free in their animadversions on the "English pope," as Adrian IV. is styled, for his grant; but a consideration of the real circumstances, as we have endeavoured to explain them, would shew how unwarrantable such severity has been. The character of that pontiff was altogether too exalted to afford any

* See this point ably handled by Dr. Lanigan, Eccl. Hist., vol. iv. p. 164, &c., also the notes and illustrations of the *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 242, &c. Adrian's bull appears in the *Bullarium Romanum*, though Alexander's bull does not. It was inserted by Radulfus of Diceto, a cotemporary writer, in his *Ymagines Historiarum*, and was published by Cardinal Baronius from a *Codex Vaticanus*. It was recited by the Irish princes in their remonstrance to John XXII., in the reign of Edward II, and appears in the Scoti-Chronicon of John of Fordun, and in other old writers.

ground for supposing that he acted from an unworthy motive. We have no reason to think that his intentions were other than the religious ones he expresses, or that they were not wholly opposed to the ambitious views of the English monarch; and we know how utterly the conditions specified in the bull were disregarded in the Anglo-Norman invasion and subsequent government of Ireland. Some show of fulfilling these conditions was necessary, and hence the pretended reform of the Irish church, which the synod of Cashel was summoned to effect. We have enumerated the decrees of that synod to shew in what the reform consisted. The prelates assembled at Cashel, and who acted only from a sense of duty, joined in a report or wrote letters for transmission to the then pope, Alexander III., and it would appear that whatever faults were laid to the charge of the Irish were, in this document or documents, neither diminished nor excused. The Archdeacon of Llandaff accompanied this report by a more ample one, in which the representations as to the vices of the people, the power and magnanimity of the king, and the salutary effect which his authority had already produced, were no doubt highly colored. Just as Adrian's letter had been granted to Henry before that prince's vicious character was developed, and before he had begun to wage war on the church in England; so had the same unprincipled and hypocritical monarch contrived to expiate his crimes in the eyes of the pope and to exhibit himself as an humble son of the church before Alexander was called upon to interpose in his favor. Hence, appeased by the king's submission, which was the humblest and seemingly the most contrite possible, and with the bull of his predecessor, Adrian, and the reports he had just received from Ireland before him, the sovereign pontiff was induced to confirm the former grant. At the same time he issued three other letters, dated September 20th, one addressed to Henry himself, approving of his proceedings; another to "the kings and princes of Hibernia," commending them for their "voluntary" and "prudent" submission to Henry, admonishing them to preserve unshaken the fealty which they had sworn to him, and expressing joy at the prospect of peace and tranquillity for their country, "with God's help, through the power of the same king." The third letter was addressed to the four archbishops of Ireland and their suffragans; and in it the pope refers to the information which he had received from "other reliable sources," as well as from their communications relative to "the enormous vices with which the Irish people were infected;" he designates that people as "barbarous, rude, and ignorant of the divine law;" rejoices at the improvement

which had already begun to manifest itself in their manners; and exhorts and commands the prelates to use all diligence in promoting and maintaining a reform so happily commenced, and in taking care that the fidelity plighted to the king should not be violated.* Such is the history of those famous papal grants, of which sectarian industry as well as wounded national feelings, has greatly magnified the importance and misrepresented the origin.

Besides the synod of Cashel, which was convoked for ecclesiastical purposes, a council was held about this time at Lismore, in which it was decreed that the laws and customs of England should be introduced into Ireland, for the use of the British subjects settling there. The native Irish, however, still lived under their own laws and traditional usages; but the protection and benefits of English law were extended in process of time to five Irish septs or families, who in the law documents of the period are called the "five bloods." These were the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Melaghlins of Meath, the O'Conors of Connaught, the O'Briens of Thomond, and the MacMurroughs of Leinster. It was several hundred years later, namely, in the reign of James I., when English law was extended to Ireland in general, and even then it was found necessary to modify it for the purpose of adaptation.

Henry made a new grant of the principality of Leinster to Strongbow, subject to the feudal conditions of homage and military service. He appointed Hugh de Lacy justiciary of Ireland, and granted him the territory of Meath, to be held by similar feudal service. A large territory in the south of Ireland was conferred about this time on FitzGerald, the ancestor of the earls of Desmond; and thus was commenced, on a large scale, that wholesale confiscation by which the land of Ireland was taken indiscriminately from its ancient possessors, and granted, without any show of title, to the Anglo-Norman adventurers. This was only a repetition of what had taken place in England itself on the conquest of that country by William the Norman. The Saxons incurred the contempt of their invaders from the facility with which they suffered themselves to be subdued, and their property was everywhere confiscated; so that the Saxon element in the English character affords, historically speaking, no ground for national boasting. The descendants of the plunderers, equally rapacious, found a new field for spoliation in Ireland, and carried out their old system there with a total

* These three letters, which escaped the attention of preceding Irish historians, are published in Mr. O'Callaghan's *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 225, *et seq.*, and again from another source in the Appendix to that learned and laborious work.

disregard of both mercy and justice. Subduing a territory generally signified among the ancient Irish only a transitory act of plunder or the exacting of hostages. With the Anglo-Normans of the days of Henry II. and of after times, to obtain superiority of power in a country, whether by conquest or otherwise, signified, on the contrary, the complete transfer to themselves of every foot of land in the country, and the plunder, and, if possible, extermination of its ancient population.

Nor did the church of Ireland fare better than the laity, notwithstanding the provision of Pope Adrian's bull, that it should be preserved intact and inviolate. Giraldus Cambrensis, describing what he witnessed himself, and certainly without any friendly leaning towards the Irish, says :—"The miserable clergy are reduced to beggary in the island. The cathedral churches mourn, having been robbed by the aforesaid persons (the leading adventurers) and others along with them, or who came over after them, of the lands and ample estates, which had been formerly granted to them faithfully and devoutly. And thus the exalting of the church has been changed into the despoiling or plundering of the church." And again he confesses that "while we (the Anglo-Normans) conferred nothing on the church of Christ in our new principality, we not only did not think it worthy of any important bounty, or of due honor; but even, having immediately taken away the lands and possessions, have exerted ourselves either to mutilate or abrogate its former dignities and ancient privileges."*

Besides the princely rewards bestowed on Hugh de Lacy, as already mentioned, he was also appointed lord constable; Strongbow is supposed to have borne the dignity of lord marshal; the office of high steward or seneschal was conferred on Sir Bertram de Vernon; and Sir Theobald Walter, ancestor of the earls of Ormonde, was appointed to the then high office of king's butler, whence his descendants derived their family name. By the creation of these and other offices the king organised a system of colonial government in Ireland.

Intercourse with England having been for a long while interrupted by tempestuous weather, Henry, while at Wexford, whither he had removed from Dublin, at length received alarming intelligence, to the effect that an investigation relative to the murder of St. Thomas à Becket was proceeding by the pope's orders in Normandy, and that if he did not speedily appear there to defend himself, his dominions were threatened with an interdict. He accordingly prepared to depart from Ireland without waiting to complete his arrangements there, and

* *Hib. Expug.* as quoted by Dr. Lanigan. *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. iv. p. 256.

sailed on Easter Monday, April 17th. On landing the same day in Wales, he went as a pilgrim to St. David's church, and thence hastened to Normandy, where he humbled himself in the presence of the papal legates and of the bishops and barons; sparing no humiliation to purge himself of his crimes in the eyes of the sovereign pontiff, who thus, as we have already seen, became reconciled to him.

The city of Dublin was granted by Henry to the inhabitants of Bristol, and Hugh de Lacy left as governor, with Maurice FitzGerald and Robert FitzStephen to assist him, each of the three having a guard of twenty knights. The city of Waterford was given in charge to Humphry de Bohen, who had under him Robert FitzBernard and Hugh de Gundeville, with a company of twenty knights; while Wexford was committed to William FitzAdelm, whose lieutenants were Philip de Hastings and Philip de Breuse, with a similar guard. Henry also ordered strong castles to be built without delay in these towns; and thus, after a six months' stay in Ireland, did he abandon that unhappy country as a prey to a host of greedy, upstart adventurers, whom he enriched with its spoils, that they might have an interest in defending their common plunder.



CHAPTER XIX.

REIGN OF HENRY II. CONTINUED.

Death of Tiernan O'Rourke and treachery of the Invaders.—Strongbow's Expedition to Offaly, and Defeat.—The Earl called to Normandy.—His speedy Return.—Dissensions among the Anglo-Normans.—Raymond's Popularity with the Army.—His Spoliations in Offaly and Lismore.—His Ambition and Withdrawal from Ireland.—An English Army cut to pieces at Thurles.—Raymond's Return and Marriage.—Roderic's Expedition to Meath.—The Bulls Promulgated.—Limerick Captured by Raymond.—Serious Charges against him.—His Success at Cashel, and Submission of O'Brien.—Treaty between Roderic and Henry II.—Attempt to Murder St. Laurence O'Toole.—Death of St. Gelasius.—Episode of the Blessed Cornelius.—Raymond le Gros in Desmond.—Hostile Proceedings of Donnell O'Brien.—Death of Strongbow.—His Character. Massacre of the Invaders at Slane.—De Courcy's Expedition to Ulster.—Conduct of Cardinal Vivian.—Battles with the Ulidians—Supposed Fulfilment of Prophecies.—The Legate's Proceedings in Dublin.—De Cogan's Expedition to Connaught, and Retreat.—John made King of Ireland.—Grants by Henry to the Adventurers.

(A.D. 1172 to A.D. 1178.)

O'ROURKE, to whom the territory of east Meath had been given by the monarch, Roderic, on the expulsion of the usurper O'Melaghlin, called Donnell of Bregia, in 1169, did not submit without remonstrance to the encroachments of Hugh De Lacy; who, by no other title than that which he obtained from the king of England, claimed the whole of the ancient kingdom of Meath as his property; and a conference was arranged between them shortly after the departure of Henry. The interview took place at Tlachtgha, now the Hill of Ward, near Athboy, and it was settled that the two chieftains should meet alone and unarmed on the summit of the hill. The Irish prince had left the party of foot

soldiers by whom he was escorted at some distance from the foot of the hill; but De Lacy came attended by a small band of well-mounted knights in armour, who tilted around the hill and on its side; but while displaying, as it were, their skill with lance and buckler, were intent upon a more serious game. Maurice Fitzgerald, whose nephew, Griffith, was in command of this guard, also accompanied De Lacy. We are told by Giraldus that this Griffith dreamt the preceding night that O'Rourke would attack his master; that the movements of the mounted troop were consequently directed to guard against such a contingency; and that the dream was, in fact, on the point of being fulfilled, as they saw O'Rourke beckon to his men to approach, and then raise a battle-axe to strike De Lacy. The chiefs having met without arms, we should have been told where O'Rourke found the battle-axe. It is said that De Lacy fell twice in his endeavours to escape—a circumstance not much to his credit, considering that his antagonist was a very old man. The arm of the interpreter was cut off by a blow from O'Rourke's battle-axe aimed at De Lacy, and it was only then, forsooth, that the knights rushed to the rescue, cut down O'Rourke, and slaughtered the party of Irish infantry, who were coming to their prince's aid. As related thus by their own historian, the story indicates a premeditated act of treachery on the part of the Anglo-Normans; and the Four Masters are, we may be sure, justified in saying that O'Rourke was treacherously slain by Hugh De Lacy and Donnell O'Rourke, his own kinsman, who was probably the interpreter alluded to. He was beheaded, and his remains conveyed ignominiously to Dublin, where his head was placed over the gate of the fortress, and his body gibbeted with the feet upwards on the northern side of the city. The English account adds, that the head, after this insulting treatment, was sent into England to Henry. Thus perished the brave and unfortunate Tiernan O'Rourke, after a long and eventful career.*

About this time Strongbow led an army of 1,000 horse and foot into Offaly, to lay waste the territory of O'Dempsey, who had refused to attend his court; and meeting with no opposition, he spread desolation wherever he came. Returning, however, through a defile, laden with spoils, he was set upon in the rear by O'Dempsey, who had been collecting his adherents, and who gave the English a serious overthrow,

* The Four Masters, under the year 1175, say that "Manus O'Melaghlin, lord of east Meath, was hanged by the English after they had acted treacherously towards him at Trim;" and it appears that some writers have confounded this act of treachery with that mentioned above. Moore charges MacGeoghegan with an intentional error on this subject, but unjustly, for Ware and Cox had fallen into the same mistake before him.

slaying several of their knights, and among them young Robert De Quincy, who had only just been married to Strongbow's daughter by a former marriage, with whom he had obtained a large territory in Wexford as a dowry. Before he could take any step to repair this defeat, the earl received an order from Henry to attend him with a reinforcement of men in Normandy, where the king was endeavouring to make head against a formidable league entered into against him by his own sons. The prompt obedience of Strongbow on this occasion was commended and rewarded by Henry; but as the Irish chieftains had begun to repent of their hasty and humiliating submission, and disunion had appeared in the Anglo-Norman ranks in Ireland, the king thought it better to send the earl back, and in doing so invested him with the rank of viceroy, and granted to him, in addition to his other possessions, the city of Waterford, and a castle at Wicklow.

A.D. 1173.—A jealousy had arisen between Strongbow's uncle, Hervey of Mountmaurice, who held chief command in the army of Ireland, and his lieutenant, Raymond le Gros. The latter was the favorite of the soldiers, who presented themselves in a body before the earl on his return, and threatened that if Raymond did not get the command, they would either abandon the country or go over to the Irish. Strongbow was compelled to yield to their mutinous demand, and Raymond, who understood their wishes and was willing to indulge them, led them forth to plunder the Irish. They first marched into the centre of Offaly, and having ravaged that territory, they next entered Munster, and proceeded as far as the ancient town of Lismore, which, as well as the surrounding districts, was also abandoned to their merciless spoliation. Of the immense quantity of plunder collected, a large portion was placed on board some boats which had just arrived at Lismore from Waterford, for conveyance to the latter city. The convoy was attacked at the mouth of the river by a squadron of small vessels sent for the purpose by the Ostmen of Cork, but after a sharp conflict, the latter were defeated, and the booty was carried off in triumph. MacCarthy, prince of Desmond, was coming to the aid of his subjects of Cork, when Raymond, with a strong body of cavalry, encountered him on the way, and fortune again favored the Anglo-Normans, who drove before them 4,000 cows and sheep along the coast to Waterford. Upon this, Raymond, whose ambition rose with his success, demanded of Strongbow his sister, Basilia, in marriage, and the appointment of constable and standard-bearer of Leinster, that is, the civil and military command of that province, which had been held by the earl's son-in-law, De Quincy;

but the haughty request was rejected, and Raymond retired in disgust to Wales, where his father had died about this time.

A.D. 1174.—On the departure of Raymond, the command of the army once more devolved on Hervey, by whose advice an expedition, with Strongbow himself at its head, was undertaken against Donnell O'Brien This campaign was disastrous to the English. The earl, finding that he had a more powerful army than he expected to contend with, sent to Dublin for reinforcements, which were to meet him at Cashel ; but, according to the Anglo-Norman accounts, these fresh troops, which, say they, consisted of the Ostmen of Dublin in the English service, were set upon by O'Brien in their march, and while overcome by sleep at their quarters, were cut off almost to a man, 400 of them having been slaughtered nearly without resistance. This account is framed to conceal the disgrace of the defeat ; but the Irish annalists give a different version. They say that king Roderic marched to the aid of the king of Thomond, and that the English, on hearing of his arrival in Munster, solicited the assistance of the Ostmen of Dublin, who obeyed the summons, and made no delay till they came to Durlas of Eliogarty, the modern Thurles. Here they were attacked by Donnell O'Brien, with his Dalcassians, who were supported by the battalions of West Connaught and of the Sil-Murray, or O'Conor's country, and after hard fighting, the English, (or rather, Ostmen) were defeated, seventeen hundred of them, according to the Four Masters, or seven hundred, according to the annals of Innisfallen—which is probably the correct number—having been slain in the battle. Strongbow fled, with the few men who remained, to Waterford, where—or as some say, in the Little Island near that city—he shut himself up in a state of deep affliction.

This success over the invaders was a signal to the Irish chieftains in general to throw off the foreign yoke. Even Donnell Kavanagh set up a claim to his father's territory*, and Gillamochalmog, and other Leinster chiefs who had been in alliance with the English, revolted. The loss of their properties and the system of military rapine to which their country was subjected drove them to this course. At the same time, Roderic O'Conor, with a numerous army, invaded Meath, causing the Anglo-Norman garrisons to fly in trepidation from the castles which they had erected at Trim and Duleek. In this emergency Strongbow had no resource but to send to Raymond le Gros in Wales, inviting him to return speedily with all the troops he could raise, and promising him

* The Four Masters say that Donnell Kavanagh, who was so called from Kilcavan, near Clonmines, in Wexford, where he was fostered, was treacherously slain, in 1176, by O'Conor Don and O'Nolan.

the hand of Basilia and the offices which he had demanded. Raymond joyfully obeyed this summons, and arrived in Waterford with the least possible delay, accompanied by a force of thirty knights, all of his own kindred, 100 men-at-arms, and 300 archers. This succour was most timely, as the Ostmen of Waterford were meditating a massacre of the Anglo-Normans, which was actually carried into execution after Strongbow and his immediate followers had left the city to accompany the newly-arrived force to Wexford. From the Annals of Innisfallen it would appear that this massacre, in which 200 of the Anglo-Norman garrison fell, took place immediately after the battle of Thurles, but the more consistent account is that just given; and it happened that a number of the garrison escaped into Reginald's tower, from which they were subsequently able to recover possession of the city, compelling the Ostmen to submit to severe terms.

The nuptials of Basilia and Raymond were celebrated with great pomp and rejoicings at Wexford, but in the midst of the festivities news of Roderic's advance almost to the gates of Dublin was received, and the next morning the bridegroom was obliged to march with all the available troops towards the north. Accustomed only to desultory warfare, the Irish were always content with the success of the moment, and rarely thought of following up a blow; so that Roderic's army, satisfied with the destruction of a few of the enemy's strongholds, and with the devastation of the territory, had already broken up, and each detachment had withdrawn to its own district before Raymond could arrive; although it is said the latter fell on the rear of some of the retiring parties and cut off 150 men. Hugh Tyrrel, who had been left by De Lacy in command of the castle of Trim, was now ordered to restore the forts which the Irish army had demolished; and thus Roderic's expedition ended like any ordinary foray.

A. D. 1175. In this posture of affairs Henry II. thought it high time to try the effect of the Papal bulls, which, although mentioned already in connection with the events of a preceding year, now came, for the first time, to the knowledge of either the clergy or the people of Ireland. For this purpose he commissioned William FitzAdelm and Nicholas, Prior of Wallingford, to carry these documents to Ireland, where they were publicly read at a synod of the bishops convened for the occasion at Waterford; but how the bulls were received, or what effect they produced at the moment, we are not told.

For the twofold purpose of gratifying the insatiable rapacity of the soldiery and of taking revenge on Donnell O'Brien for the defeat at Thurles,

Raymond led an army against Limerick, which was captured through the gallant conduct of his nephews and himself in fording the Shannon, and was then abandoned to carnage and plunder. But on the return of FitzAdelm and Nicholas of Wallingford, they represented to Henry that these sanguinary exploits of Raymond's led to the disorganization of the army, and to outbreaks and resistance on the part of the Irish. The soldiers, they said, were converted into mere rapacious marauders, and the hostility of the Irish rendered doubly inveterate; while, to make the complaint more serious, it was stated that the popular general had formed a plan to usurp, by the aid of the army, the dominion of the island. This report emanated from Hervey, who detested Raymond; but there can be no doubt that a great portion of it was strictly true, although the last-mentioned charge was probably malicious and unfounded. Commissioners were immediately despatched by the king to bring Raymond before him in Normandy; but at this juncture, and when Raymond seemed most desirous to obey the summons in order to vindicate his character, news arrived that the ever-active king of Thomond had laid siege to Limerick, where the Anglo-Norman garrison could not long hold out. Strongbow ordered an army to march from Dublin to their relief, but the men refused to move unless their favorite general was put at their head. The royal commissioners were consulted, and, by their advice, Raymond was once more placed in command, and marched towards Limerick with a force consisting of nearly 300 cavalry, of whom fourscore were heavy armed, and 300 archers, a large body of Irish infantry under the princes of Ossory and Hy Kinsellagh joining them on the route. At the approach of this army, O'Brien raised the siege, and took up a position in a pass near Cashel, where he hoped to intercept their march. The prince of Ossory, seeing his Anglo-Norman allies, as he thought, hesitate in the face of the enemy, addressed them menacingly, and told them that if they allowed themselves to be vanquished they would have to fight against the men of Ossory as well as against those of Thomond. Meyler FitzHenry led the vanguard and forced the pass, and the Thomond army was routed with considerable slaughter.

The result of this defeat was the submission of O'Brien, and some negociations on the part of Roderic with Raymond. But the Irish monarch, instead of treating definitively with a subordinate, sent ambassadors to Henry II. himself, and in September, 1175, Cadhla or Catholicus O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, Concors, abbot of St. Brendan's of Clonfert, and the illustrious archbishop of Dublin, who is here called "Master

Laurence, his chancellor,"* proceeded to England as his plenipotentiaries. A council was held at Windsor, within the octave of Michaelmas, and a treaty was agreed on, the articles of which were to the effect that Roderic was to be king under Henry, rendering him service as his vassal; that he was to hold his hereditary territory of Connaught in the same way as before the coming of Henry into Ireland; that he was to have jurisdiction and dominion over the rest of the island, including its kings and princes, whom he should oblige to pay tribute, through his hands, to the king of England; that these kings and princes were also to hold their respective territories as long as they remained faithful to the king of England and paid their tribute to him; that if they departed from their fealty to the king of England, Roderic was to judge and depose them, either by his own power, or, if that were not sufficient, by the aid of the Anglo-Norman authorities; but that his jurisdiction should not extend to the territories occupied by the English settlers, which at a later period was called the English Pale, and then comprised Meath and Leinster, Dublin, with its dependent district, Waterford, and the country thence to Dungarvan. The annual tribute required from the Irish was a merchantable hide for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ireland; and the princes who gave hostages were, besides, for feudal service, to give presents of Irish wolf-dogs and hawks; any of the Irish who had fled from the territories occupied by the English barons were to be at liberty to return and to reside there in peace; and the king of Connaught might compel any of his own subjects to come back from the other territories, and to remain quietly in his land.

The terms of this remarkable treaty fix the nature and extent of the power which Henry II. claimed in Ireland. Nothing was added by it to the extent of territory within which the dominion of the king of England was acknowledged. He was recognized as a superior feudal sovereign; but, as we have already remarked, the Irish princes did not

* Although the signature of St. Laurence was one of those attached to the treaty of Windsor, Dr. Lanigan does not seem to think he was identical with "Master Laurence," Roderic's chancellor.—(Eccl. Hist., chap. xxix., sec. ix.) It is probable that the good archbishop had gone to England, on business connected with his diocese; and it was on this occasion, while proceeding one day to celebrate mass in the cathedral of Canterbury, where he was received with great veneration by the monks, that a madman who had heard a great deal of his sanctity, and thought it would be a good action to confer on him the crown of martyrdom, attempted to kill him at the foot of the altar, by striking him on the head with a huge club. The monks, in great alarm, believed that the holy archbishop was mortally wounded, but he desired them to wash the wound on his head with some water, over which he had previously said the Lord's Prayer and made the sign of the cross, and he was immediately healed and enabled to go through the sacred ceremonies. The king, who was then at Canterbury, condemned the intended assassin to be hanged, and St Laurence had great difficulty in obtaining his pardon.

conceive that by these new relations the fee-simple of the soil was transferred to Henry. So far, the territory over which his actual dominion extended, seems to have been almost unresistingly yielded up to him; but, as if to compensate for the fatal apathy with which this intrusion was allowed to take place, every further encroachment was resisted by the Irish of that and of subsequent times with manful and desperate energy. Thus, not only was the English colony long circumscribed within its first limits, which comprised less than a third of the island, but it became after a few reigns much more restricted; while throughout the rest of the country the Irish language, laws, and usages prevailed as they had hitherto done. Yet, we constantly hear of the "conquest" of Ireland by Henry II.

As the first exercise of his authority under the treaty, Henry appointed an Irishman named Augustin to the then vacant see of Waterford, and sent him, under the care of St. Laurence, to receive consecration from the archbishop of Cashel, as his metropolitan. This act was intended as a concession to the Irish clergy.

The venerable primate, Giolla Macliag, or St. Gelasius, as he is called by Colgan, died in the year 1173, at the patriarchal age of eighty-seven years. He did not attend the synod of Cashel in 1172, although he went on a visitation of Connaught, and presided at a synod of that province the same year, on which occasion three churches were consecrated. He however, paid his respects to Henry II. in Dublin, and the circumstance of his having in his train a white cow, on the milk of which he chiefly subsisted, is mentioned by Cambrensis. He was succeeded in the see of Armagh by Conor Mac Concoille, previously abbot of the church of SS. Peter and Paul in that city, and who has recently become familiar to Irish readers as the Blessed Cornelius, under circumstances of an interesting character.* Among other remarkable Irish ecclesiastics who

* Very soon after his consecration as archbishop, Conor or Conchobhar Mac Concoille proceeded, on the affairs of his diocese, to Rome, and was supposed to have died there, his death being recorded in the Irish chronicles as having occurred in Rome in 1175 or 1176. It appears, however, that the holy prelate had left Rome, where he was treated with great distinction by Pope Alexander III., and that, hastening towards his own afflicted country, he had got on his return as far as Savoy, where he fell sick, and died in 1176, in the monastery of St. Peter of Lemenc, near the city of Chamberry. The sanctity of his manners and of his death inspired both the monks and the people with singular veneration for his memory. Several miracles are recorded as having been performed at his shrine, from the time immediately following his death down to a very recent date, and his festival is annually celebrated there, with great solemnity, on the 4th of June, the anniversary of his death. By providential circumstances, the fact of this veneration for an ancient archbishop of Armagh, in a distant country, was brought to the knowledge of the present distinguished successor of St. Patrick, the Most Rev. Dr. Dixon, while visiting Rome in 1854, to be present at the declaration of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. His Grace directed his homeward route

closed their career about this time, was Flahertach O'Brollachan, comharb of St. Columbkille, and first bishop of Derry, a man eminent for his learning and liberality. He died in 1175, having resigned his see some years before and retired to his monastery; and from his time the ancient Columbian order would seem to have almost wholly given way to the continental religious orders.*

On the overthrow of O'Brien, near Cashel, in 1175, Raymond was invited into Desmond by Dermot Mac Carthy, to aid him in putting down the rebellion of his son Cormac. The invitation was eagerly accepted. Dermot was reinstated, and he rewarded Raymond with the district in Kerry of which Lixnaw is the centre, where his youngest son Maurice became the founder of the family of Fitzmaurice;† while the troops returned to Limerick, glutted with plunder. Mac Carthy was again assailed by his unnatural son, and cast into prison; but, while there, he found means to procure the death of the rebel Cormac, whose head was cut off. The Anglo-Normans, as we shall see in the sequel, sided with equal readiness with a son against his father, or with a father against his son. They only sought pay and plunder, and increase of territory for themselves.

The Irish Annals, under the date of 1175, accuse Donnell O'Brien of sundry acts of aggression. Donnell Mac Gillapatrick, son of the prince of Ossory, was slain by him, and he also slew the son of O'Conor of Corcomroe, a Thomond prince; and put out the eyes of his own relatives, Dermot, son of Tiege O'Brien, and Mahon, son of Turlough O'Brien, in their house at Castleconnell, the death of Dermot following from the outrage. Upon this Roderic O'Connor marched into Munster, and

through Chamberry, obtained some of the relics of his sainted predecessor for his own ancient church of Armagh, and, on his return, wrote a very interesting book, in which all the facts relating to this subject, so full both of historical and religious interest, are detailed. [*See* "The Blessed Cornelius; or, some tidings of an archbishop of Armagh who went to Rome in the 12th century, and did not return," &c. By the Most Rev. Joseph Dixon, archbishop of Armagh. Dublin: James Duffy.] The Irish name of Conchobhar, now pronounced Conor, sounded to foreign ears like the French word *Concord*, which is the name by which this holy Irish prelate has been known in Savoy. It has been traditionally latinized Cornelius. The circumstances connected with the Blessed Cornelius afford a striking illustration of the veneration paid in foreign countries to Irish saints, whose names have almost dropped from the memory of their own.

* A holy person, whose name appears in the Irish Calendars as St. Gilda-Mochaibeo, and who is praised for superior learning and wisdom as well as piety, died the proceeding year. He was a cotemporary of St. Malachy, and was abbot of the Augustinian Canons Regular of SS. Peter and Paul, Armagh; and in the same year, 1174, is recorded the death of Flann O'Gorman, chief lecturer of Armagh, "a learned sage, versed in sacred and profane philosophy;" and who is said to have spent 21 years studying in France and England, and 20 years in the direction of the schools of Ireland.

† The Marquis of Lansdown is the present representative of this family.

expelled Donnell O'Brien from Thomond, which he laid waste. It has been suggested that this expedition was undertaken by Roderic in compliance with the terms of his treaty with Henry; but it was only the course which his duties as monarch, even without that treaty, required him to adopt. As to the expulsion, it was of short duration.

A.D. 1176.—While Raymond was still at Limerick, earl Strongbow died in Dublin; and as it was important, in the precarious state of the colony, to keep his death a secret until some one adequate to fill his place should be at hand, his sister Basilia sent an enigmatical message to Raymond, stating that "her great tooth, which had ached so long, had fallen out" and begging him to return to Dublin with all possible speed. Raymond understood the message, and perceived that not a moment was to be lost; but he could not afford to leave a garrison behind in Limerick, and how was he to abandon a place which had cost so dearly? In this emergency he applied to Donnell O'Brien, whom he solicited to take charge of the city as one of the king's barons! The mockery of a formal surrender of trust was gone through; but as the last man of the Anglo-Norman garrison had recrossed the Shannon, they saw the bridge broken down behind them, and the city in flames in four different points. English historians have accused O'Brien of perfidy for this act; but the mock trust could have deceived no man. It was an insult which the warlike prince of Thomond was not likely to brook; and, in destroying Limerick, he said it should never again be made a nest of foreigners.*

On Raymond's arrival in Dublin the obsequies of earl Strongbow were performed with great solemnity. St. Laurence, as archbishop of Dublin, presided at the ceremony; and the remains were deposited in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, now Christ's Church. Strongbow's celebrity has been entirely due to his fortuitous position. He possessed none of the qualities of mind that constitute a great man. Even his eulogist, Cambrensis, states that he formed no plans of his own, but executed those of others. To the Irish he was a rapacious and a merciless foe. The native annalists call him "the greatest destroyer of the clergy and laity that came to Ireland since the time of Turgesius;" and they attribute his death, which was caused by an ulcer in his foot, to a judgment of heaven.† He died about the 1st of May, according to some authorities, and about the last of that month, according to others; and left, by his wife Eva, daughter of MacMurrough, an infant daughter Isabel, who was heiress to his vast possessions, and was afterwards married

* The Four Masters state that he recovered Limerick by siege, but this is evidently a mistake.

† Annals of Innisfallen, and Annals of the Four Masters.

to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke. Strongbow founded and richly endowed a priory for the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Kilmainham, near Dublin.

As soon as Henry II. received notice of the earl's death, he appointed William FitzAdelm seneschal, or justiciary, with John de Courcy, Robert FitzStephen, and Milo de Cogan as coadjutors, and a suitable number of knights to serve as a guard for each. Raymond, who was still an object of jealousy and suspicion to the king, hastened to Wexford to meet the new viceroy, and surrendered to him, with good grace, the authority which he had temporarily held. It is said, that on seeing Raymond approach at the head of a numerous and brilliant staff of knights, all of his own kindred, and with the same arms blazoned on their shields, FitzAdelm vowed that he would check that pride and disperse those shields; and even to that early period is traced the origin of the jealousy so often exhibited by the British government, in after times, towards the illustrious family of the Geraldines, of which Raymond was a member.

Meanwhile a disaster befel the invaders in Meath. The Hy-Niall prince, MacLoughlin, with the men of Kinel-Owen and Oriel, attacked the castle of Slane, which was held for De Lacy by Richard le Fleming, and from which it was usual to send parties to plunder the neighbouring territories. The garrison and inmates, to the number of five hundred, were all put to the sword; and this act of vengeance so terrified the adventurers, that next day they abandoned three other castles which they had erected in Meath, namely, those of Kells, Galtrim, and Derrypatrick.

A.D. 1177.—FitzAdelm's administration soon became unpopular with the colony. Whether his policy was dictated by king Henry himself or not, it is certain that he was now decidedly opposed to the system of military plunder and aggression which had hitherto been the only principle recognized by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. He discountenanced spoliation, and was openly accused of partiality to the Irish. De Courcy, one of his aids in the government, became so disgusted with his inactivity, that he set out, in open defiance of the viceroy's prohibition, on an expedition to the north, having selected a small army of 22 knights and 300 soldiers, all picked men, to accompany him. It is said that he obtained a conditional grant of Ulster from Henry II., though by what right the grant was made it would be difficult to determine, as the northern princes had never given the English king even a colorable pretence for dominion over them. John De Courcy was a man of great stature and enormous physical strength; to which qualities he added great

courage and daring, with military ardour and impetuosity fitted for the most desperate enterprise. By rapid marches he arrived the fourth day at Downpatrick, the chief city of Uladh or Ulidia, and the clangor of his bugles ringing through the streets, at the break of day, was the first intimation which the inhabitants received of this wholly unexpected incursion. In the alarm and confusion which ensued the people became easy victims; and the English, after indulging their rage and rapacity, entrenched themselves in a corner of the city. Cardinal Vivian, who had come as legate from Pope Alexander III. to the nations of Scotland and Ireland, and who had only recently arrived from the Isle of Man, happened to be then in Down, and was horrified at this act of aggression. He attempted to negotiate terms of peace, and proposed that De Courcy should withdraw his army on condition that the Ulidians paid tribute to the English king; but any such terms being sternly rejected by De Courcy, the cardinal encouraged and exhorted Mac Dunlevy,* the king of Ulidia or Dalaradia, to defend his territories manfully against the invaders. Coming, as this advice did, from the Pope's legate, we may judge in what light the grant of Ireland to Henry II. was regarded by the Pope himself.

Dunlevy returned at the end of a week with a large undisciplined force, which he had collected in the meantime; and the English took their stand in a favorable position outside the town, to give him battle. The Irish fought with great bravery, but owing to the tumultuary nature of their army, to the effect of their former panic, which had not yet wholly subsided, and, in a great measure also, to the singular personal strength and prowess of De Courcy himself, who was bravely seconded by a young man named Roger le Poer, they were vanquished in the conflict. This battle was fought about the beginning of February, and on the 24th of the following June, De Courcy again defeated the Ulidians; one of his knights, who was wounded in this second conflict, being Armoric de St. Lawrence, ancestor of the noble family of Howth.

A notion prevailed, among both Irish and English, that certain prophecies of Merlin and of Saint Columbkille were fulfilled in this invasion of Down, and while the idea encouraged the latter it had a contrary effect on the former. De Courcy assumed that he was "the White Knight, mounted on a white steed, with birds upon his shield," as described by the British prophet, and he took care that the resem-

* The original name of the Ulidian kings was O'Haughy, (Uah Eochadha) which from Dunsievy O'Haughy became Mac Dunslevy, or Dunlevy.

blance should be as perfect as possible. It was also understood that he answered the description of the "certain poor and needy fugitive from abroad," who, according to the words ascribed to the Irish saint, was to be the conqueror of Down. De Courcy carried about with him a book of St. Columbkille's prophecies, and turned the popular interpretation of them to his account.

Cardinal Vivian, having proceeded to Dublin, held a synod of bishops and abbots, at which he set forth the obligation of yielding obedience to the authority of Henry, in virtue of the papal bulls. He was probably induced by the English functionaries to take this step, as it does not appear that he had any commission from the pope to do so. On his passage through England, when coming from Rome, he had even been treated with much discourtesy, and was not permitted to proceed on his mission until he had bound himself by oath to do nothing against the king's interests. He was further induced, at the synod, to grant a general leave to the English soldiers to take whatever provisions they might want on their expeditions out of the churches, in which the Irish were accustomed to deposit them as in an inviolable sanctuary; but he required that a reasonable price should be paid to the rectors of these churches for what might be thus taken away.

The celebrated abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr (à Becket), was founded in Dublin by FitzAdelm, by order of Henry II. The site was the place now called Thomas'-court; and in the presence of cardinal Vivian and St. Laurence O'Toole, the deputy endowed it with a carucate of land called Donore, in the Liberties of the city. After the synod the cardinal passed over to Chester on his way to Scotland.

Murrough, one of the sons of Roderic O'Conor, rebelled against his father, and, at his solicitation, Milo de Cogan was sent by the deputy with a hostile force into Connaught, in direct violation of the treaty of Windsor. Roderic was then in Iar Connaught, and De Cogan, in his progress, found the country abandoned; the inhabitants having burned the houses and fled to their woods or mountains, taking with them, or concealing in subterranean granaries, all their provisions, so that the English could find neither food nor plunder. Having penetrated as far as Tuam, which they found also deserted, the invaders were obliged to retrace their steps; but Roderic hastened from the west, pressed on their rear, and at length came up with them, or, as others say, lay in wait for them, in a wood near the banks of the Shannon, where he defeated them with considerable slaughter. The unnatural Murrough, who had acted as a guide to the English, was made prisoner, and being condemned by

the Connacians with the consent of his father, his eyes were put out—a punishment which, in the case of this traitor, was too merciful. To the credit of the men of Connaught, not one of them joined the rebellious son on this occasion.

In the course of May, this year (1177), Henry II., having previously obtained the sanction of Pope Alexander III., assembled a council of prelates and barons at Oxford, and in their presence solemnly constituted his youngest son, John, still only a child, "king in Ireland." This step, which was another violation of the treaty of Windsor, by conferring on John a title recognized as belonging to Roderic O'Conor, did not lead to the settlement of Irish affairs, which Henry may have anticipated from it; nor did John ever assume any other title in this country but that of lord of Ireland and earl of Moreton.

A new grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy was made out in the joint names of Henry II. and John; and Desmond, or, as it was then called, the kingdom of Cork, was granted by charter to Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan, with the exception of the city of Cork and the adjoining cantreds, which the king reserved to himself. For some years after, however, they were able to obtain possession of only seven cantreds in the neighbourhood of the city. In the same way the kingdom of Limerick, or Thomond, was granted to two English noblemen, brothers of the earl of Cornwall, who declined the dangerous gift. It was then given by Henry to another baron, Philip de Braosa; and this new claimant, on coming in sight of the city, accompanied by De Cogan and Fitz Stephen, with an army to put him in possession, was seized with such fear, that, notwithstanding the entreaties of his confederates, he fled to Cork and left the country.

De Braosa was not a coward, as his actions in subsequent years clearly proved; but the determination exhibited by the inhabitants of Limerick, who fired their city on his approach, that it might not fall into the hands of the invaders, inspired him with awe; and he had no confidence in his own followers, who are said to have been the scum of society from the Welsh marches. The territory of Waterford was granted to Roger le Poer, the ancestor of the le Poers, or Powers; but, as in other cases, the city, with the district immediately adjoining, was reserved by Henry for himself.

Grants were also made to other hungry adventurers, with total indifference, as in the case of those already mentioned, to the rights of the Irish themselves, or to any treaty existing with them, and even without any right established by force of arms; so that Sir John

Davies, the English attorney-general of James I., remarked, that "all Ireland was, by Henry II., cantonized among ten of the English nation; and though they had not gained possession of one-third of the kingdom, yet in title they were owners and lords of all, so as nothing was left to be granted to the natives."*

* A family connection existed between several of the first English invaders, as appears from the following account:—Nesta, daughter of Rees ap Twyder, prince of south Wales, had, while mistress of king Henry I., a son, Henry, who was the father of Meyler and Robert Fitz Henry. While wife (or, as some say, mistress) of Stephen, constable of Cardigan, she bore Robert Fitz Stephen; and, finally, when married to Gerald of Windsor, she had three sons: first, William, the father of Raymond le Gros, or the Corpulent (who married Basilia, Strongbow's sister, and was the ancestor of the Graces of Wexford, and of the Fitz Maurices of Kerry), and of Griffith; second, Maurice Fitz Gerald (ancestor of the Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond), who had four sons, William, who married Ellen, another sister of Strongbow, or, as some say, Alma, a daughter of Strongbow, Gerald, Alexander, and Milo; and, third, David, bishop of St. David's. There was another Nesta, the daughter, according to some, and the grand-daughter, according to others of the former one, and she was married to Hervey of Mountmaurice, the uncle of Strongbow. A daughter of the first Nesta was married to William de Barri, a Pembrokeshire knight, by whom she had four sons, Robert, Philip, Walter, and Gerald, the last-named being the well-known chronicler of the invasion, Giraldus Cambrensis. The other leading men of the early adventurers, not mentioned among the preceding, were: Robert de Bermingham, Walter Bluet, Humphrey de Bohun, William and Philip de Braosa, Adam Chamberlain, Milo and Richard de Cogan, Raymond Canteton, or Kantune, Hugh Cantwell (according to Hanmer), or Gundeville (according to Camden) or Hugh Cantilon (according to Cambrensis), John de Courcy, Reginald de Courtenay, Adam Dullard, William Fitz Adelm de Burgo (ancestor of the Burkes), William Ferrand, Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard and Robert Fitz Godobert, Raymond Fitz Hugh, Theobald Fitz Walter (ancestor of the Butlers), Richard and Thomas le Fleming, Adam de Gernemie, Reginald de Glanvil, Geoffry de Hay, Philip de Hastings, Adam de Hereford, Hugh de Lacy, William Makrell, Gilbert Nangle, or de Angulo, William Nott, Gilbert de Nugent, Richard and William Petit, Robert, Roger, and William le Poer, Maurice and Philip de Prendergast, Purcell, Robert de Quiney, or Quincy, John and Walter de Ridelsford, or Ridensford, Adam de Rupe, or Roche, Robert de Salisbury, Robert Smith, Almeric de St. Laurence (ancestor of the Howth family), Hugh Tyrrell, Richard Tuite, Bertram de Verdon, Philip Welsh, Philip de Worcester, &c. &c.—*Vide* Giraldus Cambrensis, Camden's *Hibernia*, Hanmer's *Chronicle*, Harris's *Hibernica*, and the Rev. C. P. Meehan's translation of *The Geraldines*, p. 22.

CHAPTER XX.

(REIGN OF HENRY II. CONCLUDED. REIGN OF RICHARD I.)

Reverses of De Courcy in the North.—Feuds of Desmond and Thomond.—Unpopularity of Fitz Adelm with the Colonists.—Irish Bishops at the Council of Lateran.—Death of St. Laurence O'Toole.—His Charity and Poverty.—De Lacy Suspected by Henry II.—Death of Milo de Cogan.—Arrival of Cambrensis.—Death of Hervey of Mountmaurice.—Roderic Abdicates and Retires to Cong.—Archbishop Comyn.—Exactions of Philip of Worcester.—Prince John's Expedition to Ireland.—His Failure and Recall.—English Mercenaries in the Irish Service.—Singular Death of Hugh de Lacy.—Synod in Christ Church.—Translation of the Relics of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Brigid to Down.—Expedition of De Courcy to Connaught.—His Retreat.—Death of Henry II.—Death of Conor Moinmoy, and Fresh Tumults in Connaught.—Last Exploits and Death of Donnell More O'Brien.—Dissensions in the English Colony.—Successes of Donnell Mac Carthy.—Death of Roderic O'Conor.—His Character.—Foundation of Churches, &c.—The Anglo-Irish and the "mere" Irish.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes Lucius III., Urban III., Gregory VIII., Clement III., and Celestine III.—King of France, Philip Augustus.—Third Crusade (1188-1191).

(A.D. 1178 TO 1199.)

JOHN DE COURCY, notwithstanding the prestige of his successes in the north, was not invincible. After sweeping off, in 1178, a large spoil of cattle from Machaire Conaille, or the plain of Louth, he encamped, on his return to Down, in Glenree, the vale of Newry river, and was there attacked by O'Carroll of Oriel, and Mac Dunlevy of Ulidia, and defeated with great slaughter. On this occasion he lost 450 men, many of whom were drowned in attempting to cross the river, while the Irish had only 100 killed. Some time after he went on a plundering excursion into Dalaradia, and was defeated by Cumee O'Flynn, lord of Hy-Tuirtre and Firlee, in Antrim, when, according to Giraldus, he escaped from the field on foot, with only eleven followers, and reached his camp after a flight of two days and nights without food. The English historians attribute this

disaster to the number of cattle which he was carrying away, and which, being driven back upon his ranks by the Irish, caused such confusion that his men fell an easy prey to the enemy.

The Annals of Innisfallen mention a desolating war which raged this year between the Irish of Thomond and Desmond, in which the latter territory was so wasted that some of its ancient families, as the O'Donovans, princes of Hy-Figeinte, and the O'Collinses, subordinate chiefs of Hy-Conail Gavra, an ancient sub-division of the former territory, were driven from their patrimonies to seek refuge in the southern parts of the present county of Cork. The native chroniclers also record internecine quarrels, at the same period, between the Irish of Ulster and those of Westmeath and Offaly, the English acting as allies in the ranks of the latter.

Fitz Adelm, as already observed, had become so unpopular with the English colonists, from his opposition to rapine and suspected partiality to the Irish, that Henry found it necessary to remove him, and appointed De Lacy in his stead, with the title of procurator. Fitz Adelm was, however, made constable of Leinster; Wexford was entrusted to his care, and Waterford to that of Robert le Poer.

A. D. 1179.—Several Irish bishops proceeded this year to Rome, on the summons of Alexander III., to attend the third general council of Lateran. These prelates were—St. Lorcan or Laurence, of Dublin; O'Duffy, of Tuam; O'Brien, of Killaloe; Felix, of Lismore; Augustine, of Waterford; and Brictius, of Limerick. In passing through England they were obliged to take an oath not to act in any manner prejudicial to that country or its king. The pope treated St. Laurence with special kindness, appointed him his legate for Ireland, and conferred particular favors on the diocese of Dublin, confirming its jurisdiction over the suffragan sees of its province. There can be no doubt that the Holy Father learned, on this occasion, the unhappy results which had followed from the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland.

A. D. 1180.—Having returned from Rome, St. Laurence devoted himself, with his accustomed zeal, to his archiepiscopal and legatine duties; and he was particularly strict in punishing the lax manners of some of the Anglo-Norman and Welsh clergy who had come over with the adventurers. In the course of this year he went to England on a mission from Roderic O'Conor, one of whose sons accompanied him as a hostage; but the English king refused either to listen to his representations or to permit him to return to Ireland, and left for Normandy, whither the saint, after a few weeks' stay at the monastery of Abingdon,

in Berkshire, set out to follow him. The holy archbishop, however, was able to proceed no further than Augum, or Eu, on the borders of Normandy, in a monastery at which place he fell sick, and died on the 14th of November, 1180. When asked by the monks to make his will, he called God to witness that "he had not as much as one penny under the sun;" and a little before he expired he said in Irish, speaking of his unhappy countrymen, "Alas, foolish and senseless people! What will you now do? Who will heal your differences? Who will have pity on you?" His charity was unbounded. During a famine which prevailed for three years in Dublin he made extraordinary sacrifices to relieve the poor. His spirit of mortification was worthy of the primitive saints. His love for his ill-fated country was that of an ardent patriot, yet his country's enemies were compelled to confess and revere his virtues. Several miracles are recorded of him, and he was canonized by Honorius III., in the year 1226.*

At this time the power of Hugh de Lacy greatly exceeded that of any other English baron in Ireland. Giraldus observes that "he amply enriched himself and his followers by oppressing others with a strong hand;" yet he was less hateful to the Irish than most of the other foreigners. He married, as his second wife, a daughter of Roderic O'Conor, without previously asking the permission of Henry II.; and this alliance, together with the popularity which he enjoyed, excited the jealousy of the English monarch, who abruptly removed him from the government. De Lacy's ready obedience in yielding up his office restored him, however, to the king's confidence, and he was reinstated in power with Robert, bishop of Shrewsbury, as his councillor, or rather as a spy on his proceedings.

A.D. 1182—Milo de Cogan, one of the most chivalrous of the first adventurers, fell a victim this year to the hostility which the aggressions of the English stirred up in every quarter. He was proceeding from Cork to Lismore, accompanied by a son of Robert FitzStephen and a few other knights, to hold a conference with some of the people of Waterford, when he was set upon by MacTire, prince of Imokilly, and cut off with all his party. Giraldus says he was invited by MacTire to pass the night in his house, and that he was treacherously murdered

* See his life, by the Rev. John O'Hanlon, of Dublin; also Surius, quoted by Ussher, in the *Sylloge*, note to Epist. xlviii. "The beautiful church of Eu, in which the remains of St. Laurence are preserved, has been recently restored, and on the walls of the little oratory which marks on the hill over the town the spot where the saint exclaimed, "*hæc est requies mea*," &c., the names of several Irishmen are inscribed." (Dr. Kelly's *Camb. Ever.*, vol. ii., p. 648, *d.*)

when seated with his knights in a field; but this statement appearing, as it does, in the midst of a tissue of slanders, merits little credit. The event was a signal for a general rising of the chieftains of Munster, and FitzStephen was so closely besieged by them in the city of Cork, that he was on the point of succumbing, when his nephew, Raymond le Gros, brought succour by sea from Wexford, and raised the siege. Richard de Cogan, brother of Milo, was sent over by Henry to aid FitzStephen in the goverment of Cork, and was accompanied by two of FitzStephen's nephews, Philip and Gerald Barry.*

As new adventurers appear, the earlier ones vanish from the scene. Among the latter was Hervey of Mountmaurice, whose opposition to the more warlike Raymond has been so often noticed. He founded the beautiful abbey of Dunbrody, in Wexford; and disgusted, as it would seem, with the scenes of rapine which he had witnessed in Ireland, he retired from the strife of the world, and became a monk at Canterbury, giving to the abbey there a portion of the property which he had acquired in Ireland. We find De Lacy, in Meath, and De Courcy, in Ulster, also founding religious houses with a portion of the plunder which they had unscrupulously taken from the native clergy and people of Ireland.

De Courcy obtained, this year, at Dunbo, in Dalaradia, a decisive victory over Donnell O'Loughlin and the Kinel Owen, which, for some time, checked the heroism of the northern chieftains, and enabled him to strengthen his position and overrun the province without opposition.

A.D. 1183.—The Irish annals are filled, at this, as at other periods, with accounts of feuds among the native princes, but such of them as left no visible traces on our history we pass in silence. The strife which had long existed in the family of the unhappy monarch, Roderic, broke out now with increased violence; and after vain efforts, on the part of neighbouring princes, to settle the differences, even at the point of the sword, the wretched king, according to the annals of Kilronan, retired this year to the abbey of Cong, leaving the kingdom of Connaught to his son, Conor Moinmoy.

A.D. 1184.—On the death of St. Laurence O'Toole, Henry sent a commissioner to collect the revenues of the diocese of Dublin into the

* The latter was the oft-quoted Giraldus Cambrensis, a vain, conceited writer, and compiler of silly fables and malicious calumnies about Ireland and her people, although his *Hibernia Expugnata* is by far the most important record we possess of the Anglo-Norman invasion.

royal coffers. He then caused a number of the Dublin clergy to assemble at Evesham, in Worcestershire, and at his recommendation they elected John Comyn, or Cumming, an Englishman, to the vacant see. Comyn proceeded to Rome, and was ordained priest, and subsequently consecrated archbishop, by Pope Lucius III., at Velletri. The pope also granted him a bull, exempting the diocese of Dublin from the exercise of any other episcopal authority within its limits and without the permission of its archbishop. This privilege was intended as a protection against the power of the primate, who could not, at that time, be considered as a subject of the English king; and it was the first of a series of acts, upon which the controversy which subsequently arose as to the relative prerogatives of the sees of Armagh and Dublin was founded. The new archbishop did not come to Dublin until 1184, and his presence then was intended as a preparation for the approaching visit of prince John.

A.D. 1185.—Henry's suspicions of De Lacy were not, it appears, unfounded, as that ambitious baron is understood to have really aspired to the sovereignty of Ireland. He was, therefore, once more deprived of the government, in 1184, and in his stead was sent over Philip of Worcester, who eclipsed all his predecessors by his exactions and injustice. This man's first act was to resume, for the king's use, lands which had been sold to O'Casey by his predecessor. He levied contributions without regard to justice or mercy; and proceeding with an army to Ulster, a territory which had been hitherto left exclusively to De Courcy's enterprise, he exacted money from all parties, but chiefly from the clergy. He was accompanied by a worthy coadjutor, Hugh Tyrrel, who stripped the clergy of Armagh by his extortions, carrying off, among other things, their large brewing pan, which he was obliged to abandon on the way, as the horses which drew it were burned in a stable where they halted for the night, and he himself was seized with violent griping pains, which, in the opinion of his cotemporaries, were a just punishment for his rapine.*

This year is memorable for the wretched experiment which Henry made to govern Ireland through his son John, a step which proved utterly inconsistent with the king's boasted wisdom. The young prince, then in his nineteenth year, arrived at Waterford from Milford haven

* This plunder of the clergy of Armagh took place in the course of the Lent, and it is probable that it was then the celebrated crozier of St. Patrick, called the Staff of Jesus, was removed from the primatial city to Dublin, although it is usually stated that this transfer was made by FitzAdelm, who does not appear to have exercised any authority in the north.

the week after Easter, with 400 knights and a well-equipped force of horse and foot, conveyed in sixty transports. He assumed simply the title of earl of Moreton and lord of Ireland, although he had been invested some years before with the nominal rank of king.* He was attended by Gerald Barry, or Cambrensis, as his tutor, and by Ranulph de Glanville, justiciary of England; but he was surrounded by a retinue of insolent young Norman courtiers of as profligate manners as he notoriously was himself. The proceedings of the new visitors were most inauspiciously commenced. Some Leinster chieftains waited upon John, at his arrival, to pay their respects, but their costume and appearance excited the mirth of him and his brainless attendants, who treated them with derision, and went so far as to pluck their beards. Justly incensed at the insults offered them, the Irish princes hastily quitted the camp, and removing their families and followers from the territory occupied by the English, repaired to Connaught and those parts of Munster yet free from the foreign yoke, proclaiming everywhere the insolent treatment which they had received, and stirring up their countrymen to resistance.

John and his courtiers pursued their mad career, regardless of the storm which was gathering. Some Irish septs, who had hitherto remained peaceably in the English territory, were expelled, and driven to swell the ranks of their disaffected countrymen, their lands being given to the new comers; the old Welsh settlers were forced to leave the towns and reside in the marches, and the early Anglo-Norman colonists were harassed with exactions. Castles were erected by John's orders at Tipraid-Fachtna, now Tibraghny, in the county of Kilkenny, at Ardfinan, overlooking the Suir, in Tipperary, and at Lismore; and from these strongholds parties were sent to plunder the lands of Munster. But the indomitable Donnell O'Brien took the field, and the English were defeated by him in several encounters. He took the castle of Ardfinan, by stratagem, and put the garrison to the sword. Several of the bravest English knights were cut off in battle: Roger le Poer was slain in Ossory, Robert Barry at Lismore, Raymond FitzHugh at Olechan, and Raymond Canton in Idrone. After being decimated in detail, the remnant of John's discomfited army retired to the cities,

* When John was about to proceed to Ireland, in 1185, his father applied to Pope Lucius III. for permission to crown the young prince, but the Pope declined giving his sanction. On the accession of Urban III., at the close of the same year, the application was renewed, and this time the required leave was granted, and a crown, made of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold, was sent from Rome by the Pontiff, on the occasion; but John's expedition having in the meantime failed, his intended coronation was abandoned.

where the men, following the example of their captains, indulged in every vice, and left the surrounding country exposed to the incursions of the Irish, who destroyed the crops of the colonists. The money collected by oppressive exactions was squandered in dissipation by John, while the troops were left unpaid, and the whole colony was reduced by famine and losses to the very brink of ruin.

Things had been going on thus for several months before king Henry became aware of the real state of affairs. He then hastily recalled his hopeful son, who, on his return to England, threw the whole blame of his disasters upon De Lacy, whom he represented as leagued with the Irish, and as setting himself up for king. It is, indeed, asserted that De Lacy had at this period assumed the title of king of Meath, and that he received tribute as such from Connaught, and had got a diadem made for himself; but so far from his being on friendly terms with the native Irish, the territory of Meath was, at this very period, invaded by an Irish army, which was defeated by William Petit, a feudatory, or liegeman of De Lacys. About this time Dermot M'Carthy, king of Desmond, was killed at a conference in Cork by Theobald Fitz Walter, the chief butler.*

Parties of the older English adventurers were now in the habit of hiring themselves as auxiliaries to different Irish princes. Thus some English aided Donnell O'Brien in an inroad which he made this year into West Connaught, while another party of them served in the army of Conor Moinmoy, when he retaliated by plundering Killaloe and pillaging Thomond. "The English," say our annalists, on this latter occasion, "came as far as Roscommon with the son of Roderic, who gave them 3,000 cows as wages."

A.D. 1186.—Hugh de Lacy did not live to vindicate himself from the charges laid against him by prince John. This remarkable man, whom the Irish annals describe as the "profaner and destroyer of many churches," and the "lord (or king) of the English of Meath, Breffny, and Oriel; of whose English castles all Meath, from the Shannon to the sea, was full," was killed this year while inspecting the works of a castle which he had just completed on the site of St. Columbkille's great monastery of Durrow, in the present King's county. He was accompanied by three Englishmen, and was stooping to direct the operations of the workmen, when a young man, named O'Meyey, or Meey, belonging to an ancient family of that country, finding the enemy of his race in his

* MacCarthy was not, as Moore says, defeated in battle.—See Ware's Annals.

power, smote him with a battle-axe which he had carried concealed, and with one blow severed his head from his body, both head and trunk rolling into the castle ditch. Fleet as a greyhound, the young man bounded away, and was soon safe from pursuit in the wood of Kilclare; nor did he stop until he announced his success to the Simagh (the Fox) O'Caharny, whose territory of Teffia at one time included Durrow; and at whose instigation, the annalists say, this perilous exploit was undertaken.

Thus perished the most powerful of the English invaders; and Henry II., who feared or suspected him, did not conceal his satisfaction at his death. The king's first step, on hearing the news, was to order his son, John, to return to Ireland and take possession of De Lacy's lands and castles during the minority of the late baron's eldest son, but the death of the king's third son, Geoffry, duke of Bretagne, caused this arrangement to be abandoned.*

Archbishop Comyn held a provincial synod this year in the church of the Holy Trinity in Dublin.† This year, also, on the 9th of June, the solemn translation of the relics of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Brigid, took place in the cathedral of Down. The remains of these great saints of the primitive church of Ireland were, it is alleged, discovered in a miraculous manner in an obscure part of that church the preceding year; and the permission of the pope having been obtained for the purpose, they were solemnly transferred to one suitable monument, cardinal Vivian, who was sent over on the occasion, being present at the ceremony.

A.D. 1188.—Divided and weakened by mutual and implacable dissensions, the northern chieftains were yet able to check the foreigners by some serious defeats. On one of these occasions a strong force of the invaders issued from their castle of Moy Cova in Down, and were plundering the territory of Tyrone, when they were met at a place called Cavan na Crann-ard, or the hollow of the lofty trees, by Donnell

* Sir Hugh de Lacy left two sons by his first wife, Rosa de Munemene, Walter, lord of Meath, and Hugh, earl of Ulster; by his second wife, the daughter of Roderic O'Conor, he had a son called William Gorm, from whom (according to Duald Mac Firbis) the celebrated rebel, Pierce Oge Lacy of Bruree and Bruff, in the reign of Elizabeth, was the eighteenth in descent, and from whom also the Lynches of Galway are descended. Walter and Hugh left no male issue, but Walter had two daughters, who were married, one to Lord Theobald Verdon, and the other to Geoffry Geneville; and Hugh had one daughter, Maude, who married Walter de Burgo, (grandson of Fitz Adelm de Burgo,) who became, in her right, earl of Ulster. See Four Masters, vol. iii., p. 75, note; also, O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, p. 36.

† The synod was opened on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and the canons which were adopted at it, and were soon after confirmed by Pope Urban III., are, says Harris, extant among the archives of Christ Church. See abstracts of these canons by Harris, in Ware's Bishops, p. 316; and by Lanigan, Eccl. Hist., ch. xxx., sect. 7.

O'Loughlin, lord of Aileach, and defeated with great slaughter, although the brave Irish chieftain himself fell in the conflict. The death of this gallant chief left De Courcy at liberty to turn his arms against Connaught; Conor Moinmoy, with Melaghlin Beg, of Meath, having burnt the English castle of Kildare in Westmeath, and cut off its garrison the preceding year. The Connaught chieftains rallied at the call of their prince, who also obtained the aid of Donnell O'Brien, and Conor Moinmoy was thus able to present such an array that De Courcy avoided a collision with him. The English army then marched northward with the intention of penetrating into Tirconnell, and had advanced as far as Easdara, or Ballysadere, in Sligo, when they found the Tirconnellian chief, Flaherty O'Muldory, prepared with a sufficient force to receive them. De Courcy once more made a disgraceful retreat, having first burnt the town, but in crossing the Curlieu mountains he was attacked by the Connaughtmen and the Dalcassians, and after suffering considerable loss, escaped to Leinster with difficulty.

A.D. 1189.—The troubled and eventful career of Henry II. was at length brought to a close. That profligate and ambitious monarch died in France, broken-hearted and defeated, cursing his rebellious sons with his dying words. Some think that it was unfortunate for Ireland that the pressure of other cares had prevented Henry from devoting more attention to the government of that country; and regret that he was unable to follow up his invasion by a complete conquest. "The world would in that case," observes Mr. Moore, "have been spared the anomalous spectacle that has been ever since presented by the two nations: the one subjected, without being subdued; the other rulers but not masters; the one doomed to all that is tumultuous in independence, without its freedom: the other endued with every attribute of despotism except its power."*

But we cannot sympathize in any such vain regret. Divided as the Irish were, Henry might have done much to exterminate or crush them in detail. But that he, or any English king of his period, would have governed them with justice and moderation, or that the Irish chieftains would have patiently submitted to the wholesale spoliation of their country, are hypotheses which we cannot make. Had the native Irish race been extinct, Ireland would not the less have been ruled as a colony and for the supposed interests of England exclusively; and the subsequent history of the Anglo-Irish will show us, that the happiness

* History of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 249.

or tranquillity of this country would not have been a whit more secure.

The chivalrous Richard I., occupied, during his short reign, with the Crusades, left Ireland wholly to the management of his unprincipled brother, John, who does not seem to have given himself much trouble about its affairs. John appointed as lord justice Hugh de Lacy, son of the former lord of Meath, to the great disgust of John de Courcy, who felt himself slighted, and retired to Ulster; but the English barons were allowed to prey on the Irish as best they could, and this they contrived to do effectually by enlisting in the service of the Irish princes indiscriminately, scarcely any battle being fought in which English and Irish were not in the armies on both sides.

Conor Moinmoy, as a just punishment for his rebellion against his father, fell a victim, in 1189, to a conspiracy of his own chieftains. He was, however, distinguished for courage and generosity, and was acknowledged as sovereign by the majority of the Irish princes, who accepted stipends from him, even the unhappy Roderic submitting patiently to his usurpation. On his death Connaught was once more plunged in domestic strife. Roderic was recalled, and received homage from several chiefs; but his brother, Cathal Crovderg (Croibhdhearg), or the Redhanded, and his grandson, Cathal Carragh, the son of Conor Moinmoy, were rival claimants for the sovereignty. The attempt to settle the matter by negotiation proving fruitless, Cathal Crovderg next year established his rights either by battle or by the show of superior force, there being some obscurity in our annals as to the manner in which the event was brought about.* As to Roderic, he went from province to province among the Irish chieftains and the English barons, soliciting help to restore him to the throne of Connaught, but his applications were rejected by all; and he was at length recalled by his sept and received the lands of Tir Fiachrach Aidhne and Kinelea of Aughty, or the

* Moore and some other Irish historians would make it appear, that it was to commemorate a victory on this occasion that Cathal Crovderg founded the celebrated abbey of Knoc Moy, or *De Colle Victoriæ*, in the county of Galway; and Hanmer, Leland, and others, after the Book of Howth, which Leland only knew as "Lambeth MSS.," repeat a romantic story about Sir Armoric St. Lawrence, to account for the origin of the same abbey; but Dr. O'Donovan (Four Masters, an. 1218, note q), explodes the popular errors on this subject, and shows that the name was Cnoc Muaidhe, or the hill of Muaidhe (a woman's name), and that "*Collis Victoriæ*," by which the stories in question were suggested, is but a fanciful translation of the name, as if it had been Cnoc-mbuaidh. It may be well to correct another popular error with reference to this abbey, viz., the idea that the almost obliterated frescoes still traceable on the walls of the sanctuary represent the execution of Mac Murrough's son and other points of Irish history; the subjects being unquestionably those favorite ones of the medieval artists, the "martyrdom of St. Sebastian," the "Three Kings," &c.

O'Shaughnessy's country, in the south-western part of the present county of Galway.

A.D. 1192.—The indomitable king of Thomond again appears in arms against the English, who, with a powerful army collected from all Leinster, marched as far as Killaloe. Here they were repulsed by O'Brien and his Dalcassians; and at Thurles, in Eliogarty, they were completely overthrown by the same brave men of Thomond. In the course of this expedition the English erected the castles of Kilfeakle and Knockgrafon, in Tipperary.

Two years after the English were delivered by the death of Donnell More O'Brien from the most formidable antagonist whom they had yet met in Ireland. Brave and liberal, but capricious, this prince, as soon as the real intentions of the invaders became obvious, was the first to break through the formal submission which had been made to the English king; and with few and brief intervals he continued ever after in arms against the enemies of his country. About the same time fell two other famous Irish chieftains: Cumee O'Flynn, who had defeated De Courcy at Firlee, was slain by the English in 1194; and O'Carroll, prince of Oriel, having been taking by them the year before, was first deprived of his eyes and then hanged.

The affairs of the English colony were at this time anything but prosperous. New lords justices followed each other in quick succession. Hugh de Lacy was succeeded by William Petit, in 1191, and he again, the same year, by William earl of Pembroke and earl marshall of England, who had married Isabel, the daughter of Strongbow, and obtained all the Irish possessions of that nobleman. The insolence of this latter governor did more to rouse the Irish princes to resistance than the spoliation to which they had been subjected by others, and it was during his administration that Donnell O'Brien, as we have seen, so severly chastised the invaders in Thomond. Peter Pipard succeeded him as lord deputy, and was followed by Hamon de Valois, who, finding the treasury empty, seized without scruple the church property. Archbishop Comyn strenuously remonstrated, but seeing that the pillage of the church went on, and that he could obtain no redress from the Irish government, he laid the diocese under an interdict, and proceeded to England to make complaints, which were equally unheeded there.

Meanwhile the fatal dissensions of the Irish princes continued to do the work of the common enemy most effectually; Murtough O'Loughlin, lord of Kinel-Owen, was slain, in 1196, by Blosky O'Kane, a subordinate chief; and Rory Mac Dunlevy having thereupon raised an army,

composed partly of English and Connaught auxiliaries, marched against the Kinel-Owen, but was defeated with dreadful slaughter, on the plain of Armagh. The men of the south, however, at this moment, exhibited a brilliant exception to this state of parricidal warfare. Donnell M'Carthy, son of Dermot, the late king of Desmond, aided by the forces of Cathal Crovderg, and of Donogh Cairbrach O'Brien, defeated the English in several battles in the course of the year 1196. He destroyed their castles of Kilfeacle and Imokilly, for some time held possession of the city of Limerick, and it is asserted that he reduced the English of Cork to submission.

The English had also some reverses in the north. One Rotsel, or Russel, whom De Courcy had left in command of a castle at Eas Creeva, or the Salmon Leap, near Coleraine, was defeated on the strand of Lough Foyle by Flaherty O'Muldory, who was now recognized as chief of both Kinel-Conell and Kinel-Owen. O'Muldory, however, died very soon after (in 1197), and Eachmarcach O'Doherty, who then assumed the chieftainship of Kinel-Conell, was killed in a fortnight after this event, together with 200 of his people, in a sanguinary engagement with De Courcy, at the hill of Knoc Nascain, near Lough Swilly, in Inishowen.

A.D. 1198.—This year died the deposed and unfortunate monarch, Roderic O'Conor. If individual misfortune could have expiated the fatal imbecility of his earlier life, he suffered enough to merit our forgiveness. The unnatural rebellion of his children, and the irretrievable downfall of his country which he witnessed, and which a few years before he could so easily have prevented, might well have broken a more manly heart than his. "The only feeling his name awakens," observes Moore, "is that of pity for the doomed country which at such a crisis in its fortunes, when honor, safety, independence, national existence, were all at stake, was cursed, for the crowning of its evil destiny, with a ruler and leader so utterly unworthy of his high calling."* He died at the advanced age of 82, after several years spent in penitential exercises in the beautiful abbey which he had founded himself at Cong, on the shores of Lough Corrib, and his remains were conveyed to Clon-

* Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 340. It is only fair to state that a different estimate of Roderic's character is formed by some; and an accomplished writer has not hesitated to describe his efforts against the Norman power as heroic and self-devoted, and himself as "a great warrior and a fervent patriot." "Brave, learned, just, and enlightened beyond his age," writes his amiable apologist, "he alone, of all the Irish princes, saw the direful tendency of the Norman inroad. All the records of his reign prove that he was a wise and powerful monarch."—*Dublin University Mag.* for March, 1856. The descendants of Roderic, in the male line, have been long extinct; but it is said that the Lynches of Galway descend from him in the female line, as also the Ladies of Limerick.—*Vide supra*, page 232. note.

macnoise, where they were interred at the north side of the altar of the great church.

To the events connected with our ecclesiastical history, which have been mentioned in the course of this chapter, may be added the building of St. Patrick's cathedral, in Dublin, by archbishop Comyn, in 1190; the translation of a large portion of the relics of St. Malachy from Clairvaux to Ireland in 1194;* the building of the cathedrals of Limerick and Cashel, and the foundation of several religious houses by Donnell More O'Brien. Several of the noblest religious foundations of Ireland date from this period; and, if some of them were the offerings made by rapine to religion, or were erected by such men as Dermot Mac Murrough, the fact only illustrates one point of distinction between the bad men of that age who may have founded monasteries, and those of the present who do not; namely, that the former were not able, like the latter, wholly to throw off the trammels of faith, to which they, sooner or later, repentantly returned, or, at least, offered a tribute of recognition.†

* For the disposal of the relics of St. Malachy, see the Rev. Mr. O'Hanlon's admirable life of that great saint; chap. xviii.

† From the list of the Cistercian Abbeys of Ireland preserved in Trinity College library, and published in an appendix to Grace's annals, (p. 169), it appears that many of them were founded before the English invasion. They appear in the following order in this list, but the founders' names, and some of the dates, are added from other authorities:—St. Mary's, Dublin, (founded by the Danes for Benedictines in 948, and reformed to Cistercian in 1139); Mellifont, in Louth, by O'Carroll of Oriel, in 1142; Bective, Meath, by O'Melaghlin, in 1148; Baltinglass, Wicklow, by Dermot Mac Murrough, in 1148 or 1151; Boyle, Roscommon, in 1148; Monasternenagh, or, de Maggio, Limerick, by O'Brien, in 1148; Athlone, Roscommon, in 1152; Newry, Down, by Mac Loughlin, king of Ireland, in 1153; Odorney, Kerry, in 1154; Inislounagh, Tipperary, by Donnell O'Brien, in 1159; Fermoy, in 1170; Maur, in Cork, by Dermot Mac Carthy, in 1172; Inis Samer, Donegal, by Rory O'Canannan, in 1179; Jerpoint, Kilkenny, by Mac Gillapatrick of Ossory, in 1180; Middleton, Cork, by the Barrys, in 1180; Holy Cross, Tipperary, by Donnell O'Brien, in 1181; Dunbrody, Wexford, by Hervey of Mountmaurice, in 1182; Abbeyleix, Queen's Co., by Cuchry O'More, in 1183; Inis Courcy, Down, by John de Courcy, in 1188, as restitution for the Irish abbey of Carraig, destroyed by him; Monasterevan, Kildare, by O'Dempsey of Offaly, in 1189; Knockmoy, Galway, by Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, in 1190; Grey Abbey, Down, by Affrica, wife of John de Courcy, in 1193; Cumber, Down, in 1198; Tintern, Wexford, by William Marshall, in 1200; Corcomroe, Clare, by Donat O'Brien, in 1194; Kilcooly, Tipperary, by Donat O'Brien, in 1200; Kilbeggan, Westmeath, by the Daltons, about 1200; Douske, Kilkenny, by William Marshall, about 1200; Abingdon, or Wothenay, Limerick, by Theobald Fitz Walter, in 1205; Abbeylorha, Longford, about 1205; Tracton, Cork, by the Mac Carthys, about 1205, or 1224; Moycosquin, Derry, about 1205; Loughseudy, Westmeath, about 1205; and Cashel, Tipperary, by Archbishop Mac Carwell, in 1272. All these Cistercian abbeys were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, except that of Holy Cross, and the abbey of Athlone, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Benedict. There were, also, minor houses, cells to some of the preceding. Archdeacon Lynch enumerates about 40 monasteries erected by Irishmen about the period of the invasion, several of them being included in the preceding list. One was the Dominican house of Derry, founded by Donnell Oge O'Donnell, prince of Tirconnell, at the request of St. Dominic himself, who sent him two brothers of the order. Vide *Cambrensis Eversus*, ii., 535, &c.; O'Sullivan's *Decas Patriciana*, lib. 9, c. 2.; and Lanigan, vol. iv. The last-named writer enumerates the following primitive

Henceforth we shall have to treat of two races as constituting the population of Ireland, namely, the Anglo-Irish and the "mere Irish." The latter were, with certain exceptions, excluded from the privileges and protection of the English law, and were legally known, even during peace, as the "Irish enemy." Dissensions were constantly fomented among them by the powerful English barons, who thus made them an easy prey, and stripped them gradually of their territories; while the Anglo-Irish, especially when residing beyond the English Pale, often shared the fate of the original Irish, with whom they became, in course of time, identified in language, manners, and interests.

monastic institutions as existing at the close of the twelfth century:—viz., Armagh, Derry, Bangor, Maghbile, or Moville, Devenish, Clogher, Clones, Louth, Clonfert, Inchmacnerin, Aran Isles, Cong, Mayo, Clonard, Kells, Lusk, Kildare, Trim, Clonmacnoise, Killeigh, Glendalough, Saiger, Isle of All Saints on Lough Ree, Roscommon, Ballysadare, Drumcliff, Aghaboe, Lorra, Lismore, Molana, Cork, Iniscathy, Inisfallen &c., &c.



CHAPTER XXI.

REIGN OF JOHN.

Renewed Wars of Cathal Carragh and Cathal Crovderg.—Tergiversation of William de Burgo, and Death of Cathal Carragh at Boyle Abbey.—Massacre of the English Archers in Connaught.—Wars in Ulster.—Fate of John de Courcy.—Legends of the Book of Howth.—Death and Character of William de Burgo.—Tumults and Rebellions of the English Barons.—Second Visit of King John to Ireland.—Alarm of the Barons.—Submission of Irish Princes.—Independence of Hugh O'Neill.—Division of the English Pale into Counties.—Money Coined.—Departure of John.—The Bishop of Norwich Lord Justice.—Exploits of Cormac O'Melaghlin and Hugh O'Neill.—War in the South.—Catastrophe at Athlone.—Adventures of Murray O'Daly, the Poet of Lissadill.—Ecclesiastical Occurrences.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

[Pope Innocent III.—King of France, Philip Augustus.—Emperor of Germany, Frederick II.—King John resigned his dominions to the Pope, and did homage for them, 1213.—Magna Charta signed at Runnymead, 1215.]

(A.D. 1199 *to* A.D. 1216.)

ONE of the first acts of John, on ascending the throne of England, in 1199, was to appoint Meyler Fitz Henry chief governor of Ireland. At that time a fierce war was raging in Connaught between the rival factions of the O'Conor family. Cathal Carragh, son of Conor Moinmoy, engaged the services of William Burke, or De Burgo, better known to the reader as William Fitz Adelm, and of the English of Limerick, and by their aid he expelled Cathal Crovderg, and re-established himself on the throne of Connaught. The expelled prince enlisted the sympathy of Hugh O'Neill, who had recently appeared as chief of Tyrone, and had distinguished himself both in 1198 and 1199, by successes against De

Courcy and the English of Ulster.* Cathal Crovderg and Hugh entered Connaught with an army, but finding their force inadequate, commenced a retreat, when they were overtaken at Ballysadare in Sligo by Cathal Carragh and his English auxiliaries, and routed with great loss; O'Hegny, then chief of Oriel, being among the slain in the northern army

Cathal Crovderg next succeeded in securing the aid of John de Courcy and of young De Lacy, and marched with a strong English force as far as Kilmacduagh, where Cathal Carragh and the Connacians gave them battle. Cathal of the Red Hand was once more unfortunate, and his army was defeated with such slaughter that only two out of five battalions, of which it consisted, escaped, and these were pursued as far as the peninsula of Rinn-duin, or Rindown* on the shore of Lough Ree, where they were hemmed in and many of them killed, others being drowned in endeavouring to cross the lake in boats.

Meyler, the lord justice, now marched against Cathal Carragh, and plundered Clonmacnoise; and Cathal Crovderg, undaunted by his former losses, resolved to try the expedient of detaching De Burgo from the side of his enemy, and of purchasing his services for himself. The result proved that he calculated rightly on the mercenary character of the Anglo-Norman. The English barons recognized no principle in these wars but their own interest, and were only too glad to help the Irish in exterminating each other, while at the same time they could aggrandize and enrich themselves. Crovderg proceeded to Munster, where, by large promises, he purchased the aid of De Burgo, and obtained also that of Mac Carthy of Desmond. Some of our annals state that a war raged about this very time between the O'Briens and the Desmond families, and that William de Burgo with all the English of Munster joined the former; but the contest to which this account refers did not interfere with that between the O'Conors, and most probably followed it.

A.D. 1201.—Cathal Crovderg, with William de Burgo, the sons of Donnell O'Brien and Fineen or Florence Mac Carthy, and their respective forces, marched from Limerick to Roscommon, where the army

* The collateral Hy-Niall branch of Mac Loughlin (sometimes also called O'Loughlin), which had taken its name from Lochlainn, the fourth in descent from Niall Glundubh, and had given two distinguished monarchs to Ireland, disappears in the books of genealogy with Muircheartach, or Murtough Mac Loughlin, monarch of Ireland, who was slain 1166. With the Hugh mentioned above, called Aedh Toinleasc, the O'Neills resume their sway as chiefs of Tyrone.

* This point is now called St. John's, and contains the magnificent ruins of a castle, built in 1227, by Geoffry Mares, or De Marisco.—See Dr. Petrie's account of it in the Irish Penny Journal, pp. 73, &c.

took up its quarters in the abbey of Boyle. Every part of the sacred precincts was desecrated by the soldiery, and nothing was left of the abbey but the walls and roof, even these being partially destroyed. De Burgo had begun to surround the monastery with an entrenchment, when Cathal Carragh arrived, and several skirmishes took place between the two armies, in one of which Cathal Carragh himself, having got mixed up with some retreating soldiers, was slain in the melee. This event decided the struggle; Croyderg's Munster auxiliaries were dismissed to their homes, and Cathal and De Burgo repaired to the abbey of Cong, where they passed the Easter, having first billeted the English archers through Connaught for the purpose, as some accounts express it, of "distraining for their wages." The Four Masters say that De Burgo and O'Flaherty of West Connaught entered into a conspiracy against Cathal the Red Handed, which the latter timely discovered; and that De Burgo having then demanded the wages of his men, the Connacians rose upon them and killed 700 of them. The Annals of Kilronan, however, explain the event differently, for they say that a rumour got abroad in some mysterious manner to the effect that De Burgo was killed, and that by a simultaneous impulse the whole population rose and slew all the English soldiers who were dispersed among them. De Burgo then demanded an interview with Cathal, but the latter avoided seeing him; and the Anglo-Norman, whose rapacity was foiled for once in so fearful a manner, set off for Munster with such of his men as had escaped the massacre. Three years after he took ample vengeance by the plunder of the whole of Connaught, "both lay and ecclesiastical."

Ulster during this time was a scene of constant warfare between the Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Owen, and of domestic strife among the latter. Hugh O'Neill was deposed and Conor O'Loughlin, substituted; but the former appears to have been restored in a few years, after some sanguinary conflicts.

A.D. 1204.—This year exhibited, in the downfall of John De Courcy, one of the many instances of retribution with which the history of the first English settlers in Ireland is filled. It is said that De Courcy incurred the anger of John, by openly speaking of him as a usurper, and as the murderer of the young prince Arthur, the rightful heir to the crown of England; but at all events the "Conqueror of Ulidia" was proclaimed a rebel, and his old enemies, the De Lacys, were ordered to deprive him of his lands, and seize his person. The English army of Meath, therefore, marched against him, and he was driven to seek protection from the Irish of Tyrone. It would appear that he was

ultimately captured at Downpatrick, after a long siege, and sent to London, where he was confined in the tower for the remainder of his life. The Book of Howth relates how he was treacherously taken on Good Friday, when unarmed and engaged in his devotions in the churchyard of Downpatrick; how he seized a wooden cross and slew thirteen of his assailants on that occasion; how De Lacy punished, instead of rewarding, these persons who had betrayed their master by indicating when he might be found without arms; how De Courcy was afterwards liberated from the tower to fight a French champion, who fled from the lists on beholding him; how he then showed his strength by cleaving a helmet and coat of mail with his sword; how John thereupon pardoned him, and granted him the privilege which he asked for himself and his successors, to remain with his head covered in the royal presence; and how, by some mysterious agency, he was prevented from returning to Ireland; but it is needless to say that all this is mere fiction, although it has been mixed up with real history by Hanmer, and subsequent Irish historians, on no better authority than that repertory of Anglo-Irish legends the Book of Howth. As to Hugh De Lacy, who was then lord justice, he was rewarded by John with the possessions of De Courcy and the title of earl of Ulster.*

The same year our annals record the death of the famous William FitzAdelm de Burgo, the ancestor of the Burke family in Ireland. Giraldus Cambrensis describes him as a man addicted to many vices; bland and crafty; sweet-tongued to an enemy, and oppressive to those under him; as a man full of wiles, and concealing enmity under a smooth exterior. The Four Masters state that he died unshriven, and of some disgusting disease, in punishment of his sacrilegious plundering of churches; but other old writers, as Duald MacFirbis, and the translator of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, endeavour to vindicate his character.†

* Nothing authentic is known of the fate of Sir John De Courcy, save that he fell into the hands of De Lacy, who took him by the king's orders, and that he was confined in the tower of London. His wife, Affrica, daughter of Godfred, king of the Isle of Man, died A.D. 1193, and he left no male issue; the MacPatricks or De Courcys of Cork, who claim descent from him, being possibly the descendants of his brother who was killed during Sir John's lifetime. The privilege claimed by the barons of Kinsale, as De Courcys, to wear their hats in the presence of royalty is only supported by modern practice suggested by the above-mentioned legend.—See the subject amply discussed by Dr. O'Donovan, Four Masters, vol. iii. pp. 139-144. note *n*.

† Giraldus, who was prejudiced against FitzAdelm, says he was:—"Vir corpulentus, tam staturæ quam facturæ—vir dapsilis et curialis. . . . . Imbellium debellator, rebellium blanditor; indomitis domitus, domitis indomitus; hosti suavissimus, subdito gravissimus: nec illi formidabilis, nec isti fidelis. Vir dolosus, blandus, meticulosus, vir vino Venerique datus, &c."—Hib. Exp., ii., cap. xvi. The Annals of Kilronan mention, under the date of 1203, the erection of a castle at Meelick, on the Shannon, in the eastern extremity of the present co[illegible] of Galway, by

About this period the utmost disorganization prevailed among the English barons in Ireland, their mutual feuds being as capricious and sanguinary as any which we have had to lament among the native Irish. In 1201, Philip of Wigornia, or Worcester, and William de Braose, laid waste a great part of Munster in their broils. King John sold to the latter for four thousand marks the lands of the former and of Theobald Walter; but Walter redeemed his own for five hundred marks, and Philip re-entered upon his by force of arms. A few years later, the tables are turned, and De Braose appears as a defeated rebel, flying from the country, and his family falling into the hands of the tyrant John, who barbarously caused his wife and his son to be starved to death in Corfe castle.* Geoffrey Mares, or De Marisco, also rebelled, and Munster was once more laid waste by contending English armies. Confusion was worse confounded by the rebellion of the De Lacys, between whom and Meyler a bloody civil war was waged, until "Leinster and Munster," as our annals say, "were brought to utter destruction." Cathal Crovderg and O'Brien of Thomond aided the lord justice, Meyler, in besieging Limerick and reducing De Burgo to subjection. Some of the English fortified themselves in their castles, and plundered the country indiscriminately like highwaymen, as we find one Gilbert Nangle to have done until he was obliged to fly from Ireland.

A.D. 1209.—Dublin having been desolated by pestilence, was partly repeopled from Bristol, to which city the Irish metropolis had been capriciously granted by Henry II. The new colonists not understanding, as it would seem, the actual state of society in Ireland, were in the habit of resorting on holidays for amusement to Cullen's Wood, in the southern suburbs. A great number were thus assembled on Easter Monday, this year, when a party of the Irish septs of O'Byrne and O'Toole, who had

William Burke, who had been previously seated at Limerick, and the English of Munster, and that in constructing the castle they filled up a church with stones and earth. This would appear to have been De Burgo's only occupation of territory in Connaught, although he is called the conqueror of that province.

* On returning from Ireland, in August, 1210, John took with him the captives, Maude, wife of William de Breusa, or Braose, and her son, the father having some time before escaped to France. They were committed to Corfe Castle, in the Isle of Purbeck, where, by the king's orders, they were confined in a room, with a sheaf of wheat and a piece of raw bacon for their only provisions. On the eleventh day their prison was opened and both were found dead, in a sitting posture, the mother between her son's legs, with her head leaning on his breast. In the last pangs of hunger she had gnawed her son's cheeks, probably after his death. When William de Braose heard the tragical end of his wife and son he died in a few days. Such is the account given by a contemporary Flemish writer, who appears to have been in the service of John.—T. Wright. History of Ireland, vol. i., p. 129.

been deprived of their patrimonies, and forced into the mountains of Wicklow by the English, poured down upon them, and cut to pieces some three hundred men. The citizens of Bristol repaired the loss by a fresh supply of colonists, but for hundreds of years after, Black Monday, as it was called, was commemorated as a festival by the citizens, who paraded in arms on the field of slaughter, and made a show of challenging the Irish enemy to the fight.

A.D. 1210.—While matters were going on thus in Ireland—England, all this while, lying under the spiritual horrors of an interdict, or deprivation of the sacraments, and the king himself under a sentence of excommunication in punishment of his sacrileges and his contumacy against the church—John resolved to visit his Irish dominions for the purpose of restoring order there. Some of the oppressive exactions, under which the unhappy Jews groaned in this tyrant's reign, were levied for the expenses of this expedition. He landed at Crook, near Waterford, on the 20th June, this year, with a numerous and well-equipped army, which was conveyed in 700 ships. The presence of the king, with so powerful a force, struck awe into his rebellious subjects, and produced an immediate calm throughout the land. The De Lacys fled to France at his approach.* Others, like De Braose, followed their example. As to the Irish, they were, in fact, not at war with the English government at that moment, and as many as twenty Irish chieftains are said to have done homage to him during his stay in this country. He proceeded to Dublin, and thence to Meath, where Cathal Crovderg made his submission to him.† In compliance with the king's summons, Hugh O'Neill also repaired to the royal presence; but departed without agreeing to any terms of submission. He appears to have encamped with a numerous force near the English camp, and on leaving carried off considerable spoils from the neighbouring country. John took Carrickfergus Castle, after a short siege, from De Lacy's people, and placed a garrison of his own there; and the king of Connaught, who had accompanied him with a great retinue, then returned

* One of the crimes with which the De Lacys were charged was the murder of Sir John De Courcy, lord of Raheny and Kilbarrack, near Dublin, a relative of the famous earl of Ulster, says Ware (Annals, an. 1213). See O'Donovan's note on the De Courcy's, quoted above.

† Cathal Crovderg appears to have entered into terms with Meyler Fitz Henry a few years before this, and to have consented to yield two parts of Connaught to the English king, retaining the third part as his feudatory, and paying for it an annual sum of 100 marks. The Close rolls contain an entry of the letter, in which John expresses his satisfaction to Meyler at this arrangement. On John's arrival at Waterford, in 1210, Donough Cairbreagh O'Brien, son of Donnell More, made his submission, and received a charter for Carr' ygonnell and the lordship thereto belonging, for which he was to pay sixty marks.

home. Shortly after, John was at Rathguaire, now Rathwire, near Kinnegad, in Westmeath, and Cathal Crovderg again came, bringing four hostages, but not his son, whom it appears he had promised to bring, and whom John was to have taken under his special charge.

There being no military operations to occupy the king, he set about introducing English laws and customs into Ireland. He divided Leinster and Munster into twelve shires or counties, namely, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel (Louth), Catherlough (Carlow), Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary; but, as Sir John Davies observes, "these counties stretched no further than the lands of the English colonists extended. In them only were the English laws published and put in execution; and in them only did the itinerant judges make their circuits, and not in the countries possessed by the Irish, which contained two-thirds of the kingdom at least."* John also caused sterling money to be coined in Ireland of the same standard as that of England, and took his departure from this country in the last week of August, leaving, as lord justice, John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, the man whom he wanted to make archbishop of Canterbury in spite of the pope, and who was thus the cause of his quarrel with the Holy See.

The remaining events of our history during John's reign are not of much importance, and have no relation to the memorable transactions of which England was at that period the scene—the final submission of John to the pope, his war with the barons, the granting of the magna charta, &c. Cormac, head of the ancient Meath family of O'Melaghlin, wrested Delvin in Westmeath, from the English, and carried on a long war with them and their auxiliaries; and Hugh O'Neill of Tyrone, and Donnell O'Donnell of Tyreonnell, having settled their old differences, co-operated in beating the English on two or three occasions. The castle erected by the English at Caol Uisge, on the Erne, was captured by them, and its commandant, Mac Costello, slain; and Hugh O'Neill burned the castle of Carlingford and slaughtered its garrison.

A.D. 1215.—In the south, we are told by the Annals of Innisfallen, that a war, in which the English took part, as usual, on both sides, and which was probably fomented by them, raged between the two brothers, Dermot and Cormac Finn Mac Carthy, princes of Desmond; and that the result was the acquisition by the English of an enormous increase of territory in that quarter, where they fortified themselves by the erection of about twenty strong castles in Cork and Kerry.

* Davis' Hist. Tracts, p. 93.

The "English bishop," as De Gray is called, built a bridge of stone over the Shannon at Athlone in 1210 (1211), and erected a castle there, on the site of one which had been built by Turlough More O'Conor in 1129; but one of the towers, when just finished, fell, and crushed beneath its ruins Richard Tuite, the most powerful of the English barons since the departure of the De Lacys, together with his chaplain and seven other Englishmen. The outworks of the castle extended into the sanctuaries of St. Peter and St. Kieran, and the Irish attributed the catastrophe to this desecration.

The Four Masters, under the date 1213, relate a story which curiously illustrates the manners of the period. Donnell More O'Donnell, lord of Tirconnell, sent a steward named Finn O'Brollaghan into Connaught to collect a tribute which he claimed in the northern portion of that province. One of the first places which the steward visited was the house of the poet, Murray O'Daly, at Lissadill, in Sligo; and being a coarse, ignorant fellow, he began to wrangle with the poet, who, enraged at his conduct, seized a battle-axe and killed him on the spot. To escape the anger of O'Donnell, the poet fled to Clanrickard, in the present county of Galway, whither he was pursued by the angry prince of Kinel-Connell, so that MacWilliam (that is, Richard Burke, son of the late William de Burgo) was obliged to send him to seek refuge elsewhere. Thus was the unfortunate O'Daly compelled to fly to Limerick, and thence to Dublin, and finally to Scotland; O'Donnell pursuing him with an army, besieging towns, and plundering the country to compel the inhabitants to surrender the fugitive. In his last asylum O'Daly found time to compose three poems in praise of O'Donnell, which soothed the anger of the latter, and procured the poet's pardon. In one of these poems he complains that the cause of the hostility against him was very small indeed, namely, the killing of a clown who had insulted him!

Cadhla, or Catholicus O'Duffy, the venerable archbishop of Tuam, a cotemporary of St. Malachy and St. Laurence O'Toole, died at an advanced age in the abbey of Cong, in 1201; and the same year John De Monte Celio, the pope's legate, came to Ireland, and held synods at Dublin and Athlone. John Comyn, the first English archbishop of Dublin, died in 1213, and was interred in Christ Church; and his successor was Henry De Londres, a great friend and adherent of king John's, through all his troubles, and who, with William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, was among the few on the king's side at Runneymead, and signed the magna charta as such. Some Irish bishops attended the fourth general council of Lateran in 1215; as we find that Dionysius

O'Lonergan, archbishop of Cashel, died at Rome that year; that Cornelius O'Heney, bishop of Killaloe, died on his return from Rome; and that the death of Eugene MacGillavider, archbishop of Armagh, took place in the Eternal City the following year.*

* Besides several of the religious houses enumerated in the note at the end of the last chapter, the following were also founded in Ireland, about the period treated of in the present chapter; viz:—

The Priory of Kells, in Kilkenny, founded in 1193, by Geoffry FitzRobert, for canons regular of St. Augustin, under the Invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Priory of Kilrush, in Kildare, for canons regular, and the commandery of St. John and St. Brigid, in Wexford, for knights hospitallers, by William Marshall, earl of Pembroke; the Priory of Tristernagh, in Westmeath, for canons regular, by Geoffry De Constantine, in 1200; the Priory of Great Conall, on the banks of the Liffey, in Kildare, for the same, by Meyler FitzHenry, in 1202; the Priory of Canons Regular, at Inistiogue in Kilkenny, by Thomas, seneschal of Leinster, in 1206; and the Priory of the same order at Newtown, on the north bank of the Boyne, by Simon Rochford, bishop of Meath, in the same year. Earl Marshall founded the Convent of St. Saviour on the site occupied by the present Law Courts in Dublin, in 1216—it was first held by the Cistercians, but was transferred eight years after to the Dominican friars.



CHAPTER XXII.

(REIGN OF HENRY III.)

Extension of Magna Charta to Ireland.—Return of Hugh de Lacy.—Wars between De Lacy and Earl Marshall.—Surrender of Territory to the Crown by Irish Princes —Connaught Granted by Henry to De Burgo.—Domestic Wars in Connaught.—Interference of the English.—Famine and Pestilence.—Hugh O'Conor Seized in Dublin and Rescued by Earl Marshall.—His Retaliation at Athlone.—Death of Hugh, and Fresh Wars for the Succession in Connaught.—Felim O'Conor.—English Castles in Connaught Demolished.—The Islands of Clew Bay Plundered.—Melancholy Fate of Earl Marshall.—Connaught Occupied by the Anglo-Irish.—Divisions and War in Ulster.—Felim O'Conor Proceeds to England.—Deaths of Remarkable Men.—Expeditions to France and Wales.—The Geraldines make War at their own Discretion.—Rising of the Young Men in Connaught.—Submission of Brian O'Neill.—Battle of Creadrankille and Defeat of the English.—Death of Fitzgerald and O'Donnell.—Domestic War in the North.—Battle of Downpatrick.—Wars of De Burgo and FitzGerald.—Defeat of the English near Carrick-on-Shannon.—General View of this Reign.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENT

Popes: Gregory IX. to Clement IV.—St. Louis IX., king of France, died 1270; St. Dominic died 1221; St. Francis died 1226.—Guelphs and Guicelines in Italy, 1230.—Seventh Crusade, 1248; Eight Crusade, 1268.

[FROM 1216 TO 1272.]

HENRY III., on the death of his father, John, in 1216, ascended the throne, while yet in his tenth year, and William Marshall, earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster, was appointed protector both of the king and kingdom; Geoffrey de Marisco being continued in the office of custos, or chief governor of Ireland. The great power enjoyed by earl Marshall, his intimate ties, both of family and property, with Ireland, and his wisdom in the management of the state, secured special attention at court to the affairs of this country; and accordingly, we find that a statement of grievances, made by the English settlers, was immediately followed by the transmission to Ireland of a duplicate of the magna charta, altered in some points to suit the difference of circumstances. Legal

privileges were, however, only conceded to persons of English descent, any general extension of them to the Irish being opposed by the barons; although, in individual cases, charters of "English law and liberty" were granted to some Irish who applied for them.

One of the first acts of the reign was the pardon of Hugh de Lacy, and an invitation to him to return to his Irish estates; but William Marshall, who performed this service for him, having died soon after, (A.D. 1221.) and being succeeded by his son, William, a feud arose between De Lacy and the latter, whose father had obtained some of De Lacy's lands while this nobleman was in exile, and all Meath was ravaged in the fierce war which raged between them. The fact of Hugh de Lacy being supported by Hugh O'Neill in this contest, led the Irish annalists to suppose that the former had returned to Ireland without the king's permission, and that he had joined O'Neill in a war against the English. "The English of Ireland," they tell us, "mustered twenty-four battalions at Dundalk, whither Hugh O'Neill and De Lacy came against them with four battalions; and on this occasion the English conceded his own demands to O'Neill." In this war Trim was gallantly defended by De Lacy against William Marshall; and immediately after the war, a strong castle was erected there.

About this time died Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, and lord justice of Ireland, by whom the chief part of Dublin Castle was erected.* There is great confusion as to the order in which the lords justices then succeeded; the names of William Marshall, Geoffrey de Marisco, and Maurice FitzGerald appearing in a different order, according to different authorities.

The Anglo-Irish historians tell us that several of the Irish chieftains surrendered their territories to the English king, receiving back a portion of their lands, for which they paid rent as tenants of the crown. Thus O'Brien, of Thomond, made a formal surrender, and received from Henry this year (1221) a great part of his own territory, for which he was to pay an annual rent of one hundred and thirty marks; this desperate course being resorted to by the Irish chiefs for the purpose of obtaining the protection of government against the aggressions of the unprincipled and rapacious barons. How futile, however, their hopes

* This English prelate was nicknamed "Burn-bill," from a very improbable circumstance related of him. It is said that having got all the instruments by which the tenants of the archiepiscopal estates held their lands into his hands, on the pretence of examining them, he cast them into the fire; but that a tumult ensued which compelled him to fly, and that he was subsequently obliged to confirm the tenants' tenures. The story rests on an old tradition.

of security against wrong were, even purchased by such sacrifices, was soon evinced in the treatment of the Connacians by Henry III., who, notwithstanding such an arrangement with Cathal Crovderg, made a grant of the whole province of Connaught to Richard de Burgo, to take effect on the death of Cathal.*

A.D. 1224.—This year, in which an awful shower is said to have fallen in Connaught, and to have been followed by murrain, Cathal Crovderg, who was distinguished not less for the purity of his morals than for his valour, died in the habit of a grey friar at Knockmoy, or, as the Annals of Clonmacnoise have it, at Briola, near the Suck, in Roscommon, and his son, Hugh, assumed the government of Connaught; but the succession became the source of a most lamentable and desolating war. Henry issued a mandate, dated June, 1225, to earl Marshall, ordering him to seize the whole country of Connaught, as forfeited by O'Conor, and to deliver it to Richard de Burgo; but the Irish appear not to have been aware of any such order, or, if they were, to have treated it with contempt. Alas! there needed not the mandate of the English king to kindle the flame of war on the occasion, or to instigate the destruction which the infatuated people were too ready to execute upon themselves!

A.D. 1225.—The claims of Hugh, son of Cathal Crovderg, to the crown of Connaught were immediately disputed by his cousins, Turlough and Hugh, sons of Roderic; and O'Neill, urged by Mageraghty, chief of Sil-Murray, from motives of private vengeance, mustered a large force and marched into Connaught to assist the two latter princes. Upon this all the Connaught chieftains, with the exception of Mac Dermot, of Moylurg, and a few minor chiefs, rose against Hugh, son of Cathal; and O'Neill, having inaugurated Turlough at Carnfree,† and paid himself by the plunder of Hugh's house at Lough Nen, returned with his army to Tyrone. The English barons had a large army assembled at this time at Athlone, either for the purpose of executing king Henry's orders, or of watching the progress of affairs in Connaught. To them Hugh, the son of Cathal repaired, and he was received with open arms. Most of them had already been bountifully rewarded by

* Cox, Leland, &c. The Irish annalists make no mention of this surrender of their territories by the Irish princes. The particulars of the Connaught war, which follow in the text, are taken exclusively from our native annals, the accounts of it published on Anglo-Irish authority being full of error.

† This was the usual inauguration place of the O'Conors, and has been identified by Dr. O'Donovan as a small cairn of stones and earth near the village of Tulsk, about three miles S.E. of Ratheroghan, in the county of Roscommon.—*Four Masters*, vol. iii., p. 221, note (a).

his father or himself for military services, and they rejoiced at the present prospect of an inroad into Connaught under his standard. A strong English army, with the lord justice himself at its head, and Donough Cairbrach O'Brien, and O'Melaghlin, with their forces, as auxiliaries, besides the forces of MacDonough and other friends of Hugh, now entered Connaught, where, after the departure of O'Neill, there was no adequate force to oppose them, and the enemies of Hugh fled in various directions at their approach, carrying off their families, cattle, and other moveables. After some skirmishing with detached parties, Hugh led the English army in pursuit of the sons of Roderic, by a route which they could not have discovered themselves, as far as Attymas, in the north-east of Mayo, and they plundered and depopulated several districts. Numbers of fugitives, endeavouring to effect their escape across Ballymore Lough, in the present parish of Attymas, were drowned, and the baskets of the fishing weirs were found filled with the bodies of children. "Such of them," say the Annals, "as escaped, on this occasion, from the English and from drowning, passed into Tirawley, where they were attacked by O'Dowda, who left them not a single cow." The sons of Roderic now resolved to defer any further effort until Hugh's English allies should have left him; and some of their stanchest adherents accordingly made a feigned submission to Hugh, who soon after dismissed the English battalions, to whom he delivered, as hostages for their wages, several of the Connaught chiefs, who were subsequently obliged to ransom themselves, while he himself remained with his Irish friends to watch the O'Flahertys and others, whose fidelity he with good reason suspected.

During these hostilities, the English of Desmond and Murtough O'Brien, one of the Thomond princes, without any invitation from Hugh O'Conor, made an irruption into the south of Connaught, burning villages and slaying the inhabitants where they could be found; and all this only to share in the spoils which the lord justice and his followers were enjoying in the northern parts of the province. "Woful, indeed, was the misfortune," as the annalists exclaim, "which God permitted to fall upon the best province in Ireland at that time! for the young warriors did not spare each other, but preyed on and plundered each other to the utmost of their power. Women and children, the feeble and the lowly poor, perished of cold and famine in that war!"

The respite which ensued was very brief. As soon as the main body of the English army had left, the Connaught chieftains again

revolted, and again Hugh, son of Cathal, was obliged to call on the foreigners for help. The call was responded to cheerfully and without delay; and well was the promptitude of the English rewarded, "for their spoil was great, and their struggle trifling." The country was once more overrun with armies; but the sons of Roderic were ultimately deserted by their adherents, who judged their cause to be hopeless, and they sought refuge, together with Donn Oge Mageraghty, at the court of Hugh O'Neill.

Year after year the crops had been left on the ground all the winter: "the corn remained unreaped until after the festival of St. Bridget" (the 1st of February), "when the ploughing had commenced;" fearful dearth and sickness were the consequence; and, as the words of the old chronicles affectingly describe it, "the tranquillity which now followed was wanting, for there was not a church or territory in Connaught which had not been destroyed by that day. After the plundering and killing of the cattle, people were broken down by cold and hunger, and a violent distemper raged throughout the whole country—a kind of burning disease by which the towns were desolated, and left without a single living being."*

A.D. 1227.—Very soon after the events just described—some say in 1226—Hugh O'Conor was inveigled into the power of his late English allies in Dublin; and under the form of some pretended criminal proceedings they were about to take away his life, when earl Marshall came to his rescue, and taking him by force out of the court, escorted him safely to Connaught—his son and daughter remaining in the hands of the English. The king of Connaught found an opportunity in a week after to retaliate, and he availed himself of it without scruple. A conference between him and William de Marisco, son of Geoffry, the lord justice, was appointed to take place at the Lathach, or slough, to the west of Athlone. Hugh was accompanied by a few chosen men, and William came to the rendezvous attended by eight mounted knights. As soon as they met, Hugh seized de Marisco, and the other Irish chiefs rushing upon his companions, overpowered them, one English knight, the constable of Athlone, being killed in the fray. Hugh then proceeded to plunder and burn the market-place of Athlone, which had become an English garrison; and in exchange for his

* Annals of Kilronan and of the Four Masters. Dr. Wilde thinks "the hot, heavy death-sickness which succeeded to the war and famine that desolated large portions of Ireland at this period, was our Irish typhus."—*Census of Ireland for* 1852; *Report on Tables of Deaths.*

prisoners he obtained his own son and daughter, and some Connaught chiefs whom the English had got in their power.

A.D. 1228.—The career of Hugh O'Conor was as brief as it was troubled. Before the close of 1227, the sons of Roderic, to whose side the English had turned, once more made their appearance in Connaught; Hugh, the younger brother, with Richard de Burgo and a great army in the northern districts, and Turlough, with the lord deputy, in the central plain of Connaught, where they erected a strong castle on the peninsula of Rindown in Lough Ree. The son of Crovderg fled to Tirconnell, but his reception there was not encouraging; and returning with his family, almost unattended, he had a narrow escape from his enemies near the Curlieu mountains, his wife falling into their hands, and being delivered by them to the English. Next year (1228) he and the lord deputy, Geoffry de Marisco, were apparently reconciled, and he was in the house of the latter when an Englishman, inflamed with jealousy at an act of levity on Hugh's part, rushed upon him and slew him on the spot.*

The removal of one competitor for the crown of Connaught left the affairs of that unhappy province as complicated as ever. The brothers Hugh and Turlough now struggled against each other for the prize—so completely had the principle of succession, according to the Irish law, ceased to be respected. Hugh, the younger brother, was supported by Richard de Burgo, now justiciary of Ireland, and he was also recognized by the majority of the Connaught chieftains as their king, although Turlough had been already inaugurated by O'Neill. There was also a new competitor in the person of Felim, brother of the late king, Hugh, son of Cathal Crovderg. "An intolerable dearth," say the Four Masters, "prevailed in Connaught in consequence of the war of the sons of Roderic. They plundered churches and territories (that is, the property of the church and of the laity); they banished the clergy and *ollaves* into foreign and remote countries, and others of them perished of cold and famine."

A.D. 1229 (or 1230).—The scene in Connaught now presents some redeeming features, although it is still one of bloodshed and anarchy.

* "The cause of killing the king of Connaught," say Mageoghegan's annals of Clonmacnoise, "was that after the wife of an Englishman," (who was an attendant in the deputy's house,) "had so washed his head and body with sweet balls and other things, he, to gratifie her for her service, kissed her, which the Englishman seeing, for meer jealousie, killed O'Conor presently at unawares." The murderer was hanged next day by the deputy's orders. The Four Masters say Hugh "was treacherously killed by the English, in the mansion of Geoffrey Mares, (de Marisco,) after he had been expelled by the Connacians."

Several of the chieftains declared that they would not serve a prince who would keep them in subjection to the English; and Hugh, who had just received his crown at the hands of Englishmen, complied, not unwillingly perhaps, with their wishes. But this step comes too late, after exhausting themselves by so much mutual slaughter Hostilities ensue. Richard de Burgo enters Connaught with an overwhelming force ; desolates a large portion of the country ; slays, among many others, Donn Oge Mageraghty, the most indomitable of the chieftains ; hurls Hugh, son of Roderic, from his precarious throne, and proclaims Felim, son of Cathal Crovderg, king in his stead. Hugh finally seeks refuge with Hugh O'Neill, king of Tyrone—a prince who had never yielded hostages or tribute to the foreigners, nor indeed acknowledged any superior, Irish or English, and whose death, in 1230, removed another bulwark of Irish independence.

Thus does this sad and dreary Connaught history proceed. Insane counsels, hopeless strife, pitiless devastation, make up the sickening tale; while the foreign enemy, who has been goading on the infatuated combatants, and aiding them in their work of mutual destruction, strides in grim triumph over the wreck which he and they conspired to make, uses the rival princes as puppets, and seizes their territories with impunity. In 1231 Felim was taken prisoner at Meelick, in violation of solemn guarantees, by Richard de Burgo, who had two years before made him king ; and next year Hugh, son of Roderic, went through the mockery of recognition as king of Connaught, although before the end of the year Felim was set at liberty by the English, and thus placed in a position to re-assert his rights.

A.D. 1233.—Felim O'Conor once more raised his standard, round which his friends soon rallied in sufficient numbers to enable him to take the field. He went in pursuit of Hugh, and in his encounter with him slew that prince, together with one of his brothers, his son, and many of his leading men, both English and Irish. He next demolished the castle Bungalvy, or Galway, which had been erected the preceding year by Richard de Burgo, and also Castle Kirk, on Lough Corrib, the Hag's Castle on Lough Mask, and the Castle of Dunamon on the river Suck, in Roscommon, all of which had been built or fortified by the sons of Roderic and the English.

A.D. 1235.—Felim's hardihood, however, was speedily punished; for Richard de Burgo entered Connaught with an enormous force, and plundered the country without mercy. Not meeting any resistance, he proceeded to Thomond, at the instigation of O'Heyne, who desired to be

revenged on Donough Cairbrach O'Brien, and was committing great depredations there, when Felim, although he could not save his own territory, flew to the aid of his southern ally. A pitched battle was fought. Their cavalry, archers, and coats of mails gave the English an advantage; and O'Brien, to whose rashness the defeat was partly due, having made peace with the invaders, the Connacians returned home, the English army following close in their rear. Felim now fled with his cattle, and all those who chose to follow his fortunes, to the north, and sought refuge with O'Donnell of Tirconnell, while the English scoured the entire province for spoils. O'Flaherty, who had been all along hostile to Felim, joined the English, (who would otherwise have plundered his own territory), and conveyed his flotilla of war boats from Lough Corrib, by land, to the sea at Leenaun, the head of Killery bay. With these boats the English, who had already marched as far as Achil, which they plundered, were enabled to lay waste the Insi Modh, or islands of Clew bay, in which Manus O'Conor, son of Murtough Muimhneach had, with many others from the main land, sought refuge. Numbers were thus slaughtered on the islands, but Manus fled in his vessels; the O'Malleys, who always possessed a numerous fleet, remaining inactive spectators of the scene, as they were not on friendly terms with him. There was not a cow left on the islands, and those to whom the cows belonged would have been compelled by hunger and thirst, say the annalists, to abandon them, had they not been themselves killed by the English, or carried off as prisoners. After devastating all Umallia, and taking a prey from O'Donnell at Easdara, the English army laid siege to the castle held for O'Conor by MacDermot on the Rock of Lough Key, in Roscommon, and captured it by the aid of "wonderful machines;" but a few nights after MacDermot recovered the castle by the help of an Irishman, who closed the gate against the English garrison when they had left on a marauding party; and the fortress was then demolished, that it might not again fall into the hands of the English. By this expedition the English left the Connacians "without food, raiment, or cattle, and the country without peace, the Irish themselves plundering and destroying one another;" but they did not obtain hostages or submission. Felim made peace the same year with the lord justice, and was left in possession of "the king's five cantreds (or baronies)," which were probably the mensal lands of the kings of Connaught.

We now turn to an episode in the history of the Pale.

William Marshall, the powerful earl of Pembroke, and protector of the realm during the king's minority, left at his death five sons, all of

whom inherited in succession his title and estates; but as all died childless, the family became extinct in the male line. It is said that the father died under the bann of excommunication, inflicted on him by an Irish bishop for his plunder of the church, and that the sons refused to yield up any of the wealth which their sire had taken by the sword, whether sacrilegiously or otherwise. Be this as it may, misfortunes fell heavily upon them in the sequel. Earl Richard, one of the brothers, having taken a leading part in the rebellious preceedings of the English barons, was deprived of his vast possessions, and, taking up arms, he joined the standard of Llewellyn, the heroic prince of Wales. He defended himself successfully against the royal troops in one of his own castles; but a most vile and treacherous conspiracy, to which he fell a a victim, was now formed against him. Maurice Fitzgerald (the lord justice), Hugh and Walter de Lacy, Richard de Burgo, Geoffry de Marisco, and in fact all the leading Anglo-Irish barons, are said to have been led by the English minister into this nefarious plot, the object of which was, to inveigle earl Richard to Ireland, and to get him by some means into the hands of his enemies, the bribe offered being no less than the distribution among them of all the earl's Irish possessions. The plan succeeded so well that in 1234, the earl came to Ireland with a few followers, and took the field in the assertion of his rights. He recovered some of his own castles, and captured Limerick after a siege of four days; but this was all brought about to hasten his ruin. A truce was now proposed, and a mock conference took place on the Curragh of Kildare. At a signal given the great body of his followers suddenly deserted, drawn off by De Marisco, who is called a deceitful old man, and who had treacherously urged him on from the beginning. Seeing that he was betrayed, he took an affectionate leave of his young brother, Walter, who is described as a youth of beautiful mien, and whom he directed a servant to conduct from the field; and then, with scarcely any one by him but fifteen knights who had accompanied him from England, and assailed by overwhelming numbers, he continued bravely to defend himself · until at length, after being unhorsed, a traitor from behind plunged a knife into his back. He was then conveyed, all but lifeless, to one of his own castles, of which Maurice FitzGerald was in possession, and there he expired in the midst of his enemies. Thus perished "the flower of the chivalry of his time." His sad end, and the base means employed against him, excited a strong feeling both in England and Ireland; tumults took place in London; the king became alarmed, as it was discovered that the royal seal had been employed to give sanction to the first sug-

gestion of the plan ; and Maurice FitzGerald repaired to England to clear himself by oath from the guilt of the foul transaction. But the affair merits our attention chiefly as illustrating the character of the men who then held in their hands the destinies of Ireland.

A. D. 1236.—A conference was the usual mode with the unprincipled men of that time to get an enemy into their power, and Felim O'Conor was invited, for that purpose, to attend a meeting of the English at Athlone. He came, but having received timely intimation of their object, he made his escape, although pursued as far as Sligo, and repaired to Tirconnell, his usual asylum on such occasions. The government of Connaught was then committed by the English to Brian O'Conor, son of Turlough, son of Roderic ; but all the power of his foreign patrons was insufficient to keep him in the office. Felim returned the following year, and took the field against his competitors. His first encounter was with the soldiers of the lord justice, who were overwhelmed at the onset by the impetus of Felim's attack ; and Brian's people, seeing the English soldiers routed, took to flight themselves, and were so dispersed that, after that day, none of the descendants of Roderic had a home in their ancestral territory of the Sil-Murray. Felim plundered their lands, and, among other deeds of vengeance, expelled Cormac MacDermot, chief of Moylurg, from his territory.

A.D. 1238.—About this time we find in our annals the significant entry that " the barons of Ireland went to Connaught, and commenced erecting castles there." The country had been made a wilderness, and they had little more to do than to enter and take possession. The expulsion of the O'Flahertys from their hereditary territory of Muintir-Morroughoe, on the east shores of Lough Corrib, to the bogs and mountains west of that lake, where they became very powerful in after times, dates from this year, but they are styled lords of west Connaught long before this period.

A.D. 1239.—The scene now shifts from Connaught to Ulster, where FitzGerald, the lord justice, with Hugh de Lacy, and others, entered with a large army, deposed Donnell MacLouglin, who had succeeded Hugh O'Neill, as lord of Tyrone, and placed Brian O'Neill in his stead ; but the former recovered his position after a battle fought the same year at Carnteel. This was the game which the English had played so successfully in Connaught. In that period of disorganization there were always half a dozen claimants for the chieftaincy in each territory, and it was only necessary to pit them against each other to secure the ruin of all.

A.D. 1240.—Wearied with the aggressions of Richard de Burgo, and with the elements of strife, English and Irish, which that nobleman kept constantly in motion, the unhappy king of Connaught proceeded to England, and complained bitterly to Henry III. of the injustice with which he had to contend. The English king soothed him with empty honours, confirmed to him the five cantreds already mentioned, and soon after wrote to Maurice FitzGerald, the lord justice, ordering him "to pluck out by the root that fruitless sycamore, De Burgo, which the earl of Kent, in the insolence of his power, had planted in those parts."*

A.D. 1241.—Donnell More O'Donnell, the warlike lord of Tyrconnell, who also asserted the right of chieftainship over lower, or northern Connaught, as far as the Curlieu mountains, died in the monastic habit, among the monks of Assaroe, and was suceeeded by Melaghlin O'Donnell, who aided Brian O'Neill in recovering Tyrone from Mac Loughlin, the latter chieftain being killed in battle, with ten of his family, and several chiefs of the Kinel-Owen. Some other celebrities of Irish history made their exit about the same time. Walter de Lacy died this year; Donough Cairbrach O'Brien, son of Donnell More, lord of Thomond, the following year; and the great earl, Richard de Burgo, the year after (1243), while proceeding with some troops to join Henry III. in an expedition against the king of France.

A.D. 1245.—The king of England being hard pressed in a war with the Welsh, summoned, or rather invited, the Irish chiefs, and the Anglo-Irish barons, to muster round his standard in the principality. At this time these barons claimed exemption from attending the king outside the realm of Ireland, and Henry would appear to have conceded the privilege, as in his writ of summons, he expressly stated that their attendance on that occasion should not be made a precedent against them. Felim O'Conor accompanied the lord justice, Fitzgerald, on this expedition, and was treated with great honour by Henry; but FitzGerald incurred the king's weighty displeasure by the tardiness of his attendance, and was consequently deprived of office; Sir John, son of Geoffry de Marisco, being appointed justiciary in his stead. The English army in Wales had suffered a great deal, waiting for the Irish

* The earl of Kent here mentioned was Hubert de Burgo, who had been chief justice of England. There is extant a letter from Felim O'Conor to Henry III., thanking him for the many favors which he had conferred upon him, and especially for having written in his behalf against Walter de Burgo, to his justiciary, William Dene; but this letter, although published in Rymer (vol. i., p. 240) under the date of 1240, must refer to a period not earlier than 1260, when William Dene was justiciary.

reinforcement, and the king's feelings were embittered by the subsequent failure of the expedition. After this time we find the Geraldines in Ireland acting independently of the royal authority, and making war and peace at their own discretion.

A.D. 1247.—Maurice Fitz Gerald led an army this year into Tirconnell, and by a stratagem, cleverly carried out by one of his Irish auxiliaries, Cormac, a grandson of Roderic O'Conor, he gained a victory at the ford of Ballyshannon over O'Donnell, who was slain. A great number of FitzGerald's men were, however, killed in the fight or drowned. A rivalry for the chieftainship of Tirconnell was then promoted between Godfrey O'Donnell and Rory O'Canannan, and in the domestic strife which ensued the English were able for a while to crush the patriotic ardour of the Tirconnellians. Meanwhile another army penetrated into Tyrone under Theobald Butler, now lord justice; and the Kinel-Owen held a council, at which they came to the prudent conclusion, "that the English having now the ascendancy over the Irish, it was advisable to give them hostages, and to make peace with them for the sake of their country."

A.D. 1248.—Urged by the frightful state of oppression under which their country groaned, the young men of the ancient families of Connaughnas rose in arms against the English, devastated their possessions, and left them no security outside the walls of their castles. Turlough, son of Hugh O'Conor, and Fitzpatrick, of Ossory, entered Connaught, and burned the town and castle of Galway, and the O'Flaherties, defeated an English plundering party, who had penetrated into Connemara. The leader of the youthful warriors, who thus harassed the invaders in Connaught, was Hugh, son of Felim; and when Maurice FitzGerald arrived, in 1249, with two armies, to avenge the English settlers, Felim, dreading the storm which his son's rash heroism had brought about his ears, retired, as usual, to the north with his moveable property; and his nephew Turlough accepted, at the hands of the English, the office of ruler in his stead. Next year Felim came back with a numerous force, expelled Turlough, and was again returning northward, across the Curlieu mountains, sweeping off all the cattle of the land, when the English, thinking it better to make peace on any terms, sent after him to offer propositions, and restored him to his kingdom.

Florence or Fineen MacCarthy, who had given the English very little rest in Desmond, was slain by them this year, and after long and sanguinary hostilities, peace was restored for a while in that

quarter. In the north, Brian O'Neill, lord of Tyrone, made his submission to the lord justice in 1252 ; yet, the very next year his territory was invaded by Maurice FitzGerald, with a great hosting of the English, who, however, were defeated with considerable slaughter.

Felim O'Conor held a friendly conference in 1255, with MacWilliam Burke, as Walter, the son of Richard More, and chief of the De Burgo family, was styled; and the following year Hugh, son of Felim, who appears to have participated in his father's authority at this time, met Alan de la Zouch, the justiciary, at Rinn Duin, and ratified a peace with him. The next year, Felim got a charter for his five cantreds. Thus, the English always contrived to keep some of the Irish princes on their hands, while they carried on an exterminating war against others, and at this moment their main object was to crush the independence of Tirconnell. A furious battle was fought in 1257, between Godfrey O'Donnell, lord of that territory, and a numerous English army, under the command of Maurice FitzGerald, who was once more lord justice. The armies engaged at Creadran-Kille, in a district to the north of Sligo, now called the Rosses. O'Donnell and FitzGerald met in single combat, and severely wounded each other; and after a fierce and protracted struggle the English were defeated, the result being their expulsion from Lower Connaught. Godfrey was unable, from his wound, to follow up his success; but he demolished the castle which the English, to overawe the Kinel-Connell, had erected at Caol Uisge, now Belleek, on the Erne river.

The deaths of the two chiefs who fought so bravely against each other, at this battle, followed soon after. Maurice FitzGerald retired into a Franciscan monastery which he had founded at Youghal, and, after putting on the habit of a monk, departed tranquilly in the bosom of religion ; the only stain which historians have observed in his character being the part, whatever that may have been, which he took in the ruin and death of Richard, earl Marshall. The death of Godfrey O'Donnell was not so peaceable. Hearing that O'Donnell was on his death bed, from the wound he received at Creadran-Kille, Brian O'Neill sent to require hostages from the Kinel-Connell, but the messengers who carried the insolent demand, fled the moment they delivered their errand, and the dying chieftain only answered it by ordering a general muster of his people. He then directed his men to place him on the bier which should take him to the grave, and to carry him on it at the head of his forces. Thus did the Tirconnellian army march to meet that of Tyrone. A sanguinary battle was fought on the banks of the rive.

Swilly, in Donegal, and victory declared for O'Donnell, whose bier was then laid down in the open street of a village which, at that time, existed at the place now called Conwal, near Letterkenny, and there he expired. What a pity that such heroism should have been perverted by Irishmen to their mutual destruction, while the common enemy was driving them from the green fields of their forefathers! On hearing of O'Donnell's death, O'Neill sent again to demand hostages, but while the men of Tirconnell were deliberating on an answer, a youth only eighteen years of age, the son of Donnell More O'Donnell, having just arrived from Scotland, presented himself in the council and was elected chieftain. He is called Donnell Oge in the Irish annals.

That O'Neill's pretensions were not without some foundation may be concluded from the fact, that the same year (1259) these transactions took place, Hugh, son of Felim, and Teige O'Brien, of Thomond, probably with other chieftains, met him at Caol Uisge, and conferred on him the sovereignty of Ireland—an empty title, it is true, at that time.*

A.D. 1260.—The result of the conference of Irish chiefs at Caol Uisge, was that O'Neill and O'Conor turned whatever forces they could muster against the English, and that a battle, in which the Irish were defeated, was fought at Druim-dearg, near Downpatrick. Brian himself was killed, together with fifteen of the O'Kanes, and many other chiefs, both of Ulster and Connaught. Cox says, the battle took place in the streets of Down, and that three hundred and fifty-two of the Irish were killed. The English were commanded in this encounter by the lord justice, Stephen Longespé.

A.D. 1261.—In the south the English were not so fortunate. The Geraldines were defeated in Thomond by Conor O'Brien, and suffered fearful loss in another battle at Kilgarvan, near Kenmare, in which they were defeated by Mac Carthy; their loss, according to English accounts, including Thomas FitzThomas Fitz Gerald and his son, eight barons, fifteen knights, and a countless number besides. William Denn, the justiciary, Walter de Burgo, earl of Ulster, and Donnell Roe, son of Cormac Finn MacCarthy, with several other leading men, aided the Geraldines in this battle. Nearly all the English castles of Hy Conaill Gavra, and other parts of Desmond, were demolished by the Irish after this victory; and Hanmer says, "the Geraldines durst not put a plough into the ground in Desmond." The next year (1262)

* Some Munster historians deny that Teige O'Brien joined in conferring this distinction on O'Neill.

another sanguinary struggle took place between the English under Mac William Burke and Mac Carthy at Mangerton, in Kerry, and both sides suffered severely.

A.D. 1264.—Walter de Burgo (who was earl of Ulster by right of his wife, the daughter of Hugh de Lacy) and FitzGerald now waged war against each other, and a great part of Ireland was desolated in their hostilities. The lord justice took part against De Burgo, and this circumstance drew from Felim O'Conor the expression of gratitude to Henry III. already alluded to.* De Burgo, however, succeeded in taking all FitzGerald's Connaught castles. To such a pitch did the feuds among the Anglo-Irish barons proceed at this time, that, in one of them, Maurice FitzMaurice FitzGerald, aided by others of his family, seized, at a conference, the persons of the lord justice and other noblemen, and confined them in castles until they were released by a parliament or council, held in Kilkenny for the purpose.†

War and peace continued to alternate in rapid succession in Connaught until 1265, when Felim O'Conor died, and was succeeded by his son, Hugh, who, in the following year, having recovered from an illness, during which Connaught was trodden underfoot by the English, mustered a large force, and with renewed energy carried on the war against Walter de Burgo. The lord justice, Sir James Audley, alarmed at the formidable rising of the Irish, at length came to the aid of De Burgo with an army, and some Irish auxiliaries also fought under his standard. De Burgo thought to patch up a peace in the usual way, until a better opportunity to strike would offer; but Hugh was a match for him in the treacherous diplomacy of the time. When the two armies were in the vicinity of a ford near the modern Carrick-on-Shannon, De Burgo proposed negociations; but Hugh contrived to get the earl's brother, William Oge, into his hands before the parley commenced, and then treated him as a prisoner, and slew some of the English. The

* See note, page 258.

† For a most interesting illustration of the state of society at this turbulent period, we may refer the reader to the Anglo-Norman ballad of the "Entrenchment of New Ross," published in Crofton Croker's "Popular Songs of Ireland," from Harleian MSS., 913, in the British Museum, with a translation by the gifted Mrs. Maclean (L.E L.), and introductory observations by Sir Frederick Madden and Mr. Croker himself. The ballad describes how the burgesses of New Ross resolved, in the year 1265, to fortify their town with a wall and foss, to protect it against the hostile inroads of the contending barons; how a widow, named Rose, first suggested the plan, and offered large contributions to carry it out; how the burgesses subscribed liberally for the purpose, and, finding that the work proceeded too slowly, labored at it with their own hands; the different professions and guilds working in companies with banners flying and music playing; and how the ladies worked on Sundays, carrying stones while the men reposed. New Ross, which was called by the Irish, Ros-mic-Triuin, appears to have been at that time a considerable town.

earl flew into a rage, and an obstinate battle ensued. Turlough O'Brien who was coming to the aid of the Connacians, was met before he could form a junction with them, and slain in single combat by De Burgo; but Hugh's people avenged his death by a fearful onslaught, in which great numbers of the English were slain, and immense spoils taken from them. William Oge, the earl's brother, was put to death after the battle, which was, on the whole, a disastrous one to the English.* Walter Burke died the following year in the castle of Galway, and Hugh O'Connor survived him three years.

This long reign was at length brought to a close by the death of Henry III., in 1272. During its troubled course, the feuds of the native Irish among themselves had done more to establish the English power in this country than all that could be effected merely by English arms. Above all, the insane and deadly contention of the O'Conors was most fatal to Ireland. Connaught was for the first time overrun by the new settlers; the first submission was obtained from the prince of Tyrone; and in the south the Geraldines had begun to assume the title—as yet an unsubstantial one—of lords of Desmond. Henry changed his viceroys frequently, but with little advantage to his Irish colony. With some difficulty he established a free commerce between the colony and England; but his efforts to introduce the English laws into Ireland were sternly resisted by his own refractory barons. In 1254 he made a grant of Ireland to his son Edward, with the express

* The following account of this transaction is given in Connel Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise:—After relating how the Earl of Ulster (Walter Burke), with the lord deputy, and all the English forces of Ireland, marched against O'Conor, and describing the position of the armies near Ath-Cora-Connell, a ford on the Shannon, near Carrick-on-Shannon (the name being now obsolete), the annalist proceeds:—"The Englishmen advised the Earle to make peace with Hugh O'Connor, and to yeald his brother, William Oge mac William More mac William the Conqueror, in hostage to O'Connor, dureing the time he shou'd remain in the Earles's house concluding the said peace, which was accordingly condescended and done. As soone as William came to O'Connor's house he was taken, and also John Dolphin and his son were killed. When tyding came to the ears of the Earle how his brother was thus taken, he took his journey to Athenkip (the name, now obsolete, of a ford on the Shannon, near Carrick-on-Shannon), where O'Connor beheaved himself as a fierce and froward lyon about his prey, without sleeping or taking any rest; and the next day, soon in the morning, gott upp and betook him to his arms: the Englishmen, the same morning, came to the same foorde, called Athenkip, where they were overtaken by Terlogh O'Bryen. The Earle returned upon him and killed the said Terlogh, without the help of any other in that pressence. The Connoughtmen pursued the Englishmen, and made their hindermost part runn and break upon their outguard and foremost in such manner and foul discomfiture, that in that instant nine of their chiefest men were killed upon the bogge about Richard ne Koylle (Richard of the Wood) and John Butler, who were killed over and above the said knights. It is unknown how many were slain in that conflict, save only that a hundred horses with their saddles and furniture, and a hundred shirts of mail were left. After these things were thus done, O Connor killed William Oge, the Earle's brother, that was given him before in hostage, because the Earle killed Terlogh O'Bryen."—See *Four Masters*, vol. iii., pp. 408, &c., note.

condition, that it was not to be separated from the crown of England; and, lest the grant might lead to any such result, he took care to assert his own paramount authority by superseding some of the acts done by his son in virtue of his title of lord of Ireland. It is generally understood that Prince Edward visited Ireland in 1255.*

* A great many religious houses were founded in Ireland during the reign of Henry III. Among them were, a priory of canons regular at Tuam, by the De Burgos, about 1220; one at Mullingar, in 1227, by Ralph le Petit, bishop of Meath; one at Aughrim, in the county of Galway, by Theobald Butler; also the priories of Ballybeg, in Cork; Athassal and Nenagh, in Tipperary; Enniscorthy, St. Wolstan's, Carrick-on-Suir, and St. John's, in the city of Kilkenny; the Cistercian Abbey of Tracton, in Cork, by Maurice MacCarthy, in 1224; the Dominican convent of Drogheda, by Luke Netterville, archbishop of Armagh, in 1224; the Black Abbey (Dominican) in Kilkenny, by Wm. Marshall, jun., in 1225: the Dominican convent of St. Saviour, Waterford, by the citizens, in 1226; the Dominican convent of St. Mary, in Cork, by Philip Barry, in 1229; the convents of the same order in Mullingar (A. D. 1237), by the family of Nugent: Athenry, (1241) by Meyler de Birmingham: Cashel (1243), by MacKelly, archbishop of Cashel; Tralee (1243), by Lord John FitzThomas; Coleraine (1244), by the MacEvelins; Sligo (1252), by Maurice FitzGerald; St. Mary, Roscommon (1253), by Felim O'Conor; Athy (1257), by the families of Boiçeles and Hogans; St. Mary, Trim (1263), by Geoffrey de Geneville; Arklow (1264), by Theobald FitzWalter; Rosbercan, in Kilkenny (1268); Youghal (1268), by the baron of Offaly and Lorrah, in Tipperary, (1269), by Walter Burke, earl of Ulster; the Franciscan convents of Youghal (1231), by Maurice FitzGerald; Carrickfergus (1232), by Hugh de Lacy; Kilkenny (1234), by Richard Marshall; St. Francis, in Dublin (1236); Multifarnham, in Westmeath (1236), by William Delamer; Cork (1240), by Philip Prendergast; Drogheda (1240), by the Plunkets; Waterford (1240), by Sir Hugh Purcel; Ennis (1240), by Donough Carbreach O'Brien; Athlone (1241), by Cathal O'Conor; Wexford about the middle of the thirteenth century; Limerick, by Walter de Burgh; Cashel, by William Hackett; Dundalk, by De Verdon; Ardfert (1253), by Thomas, lord of Kerry; Kildare (1260), by De Vescy; Clane (1260), by Gerald FitzMaurice; Armagh (1263), by Scanlan, archbishop of Armagh; Clonmel (1269), by Otho de Granison; Nenagh, by the Butlers; Wicklow, by the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles, and Trim, by the family of Plunket. The Augustinian convent of the Holy Trinity, in Crow-street, Dublin, was founded by the Talbot family in 1259, and that of Tipperary, also in the course of this reign.



CHAPTER XXIII.

REIGN OF EDWARD I.

State of Ireland on the Accession of Edward I.—Feuds of the Barons.—Exploits of Hugh O'Conor.—Fearful Confusion in Connaught.—Incursion from Scotland, and Retaliation.—Irish Victory of Glendelory.—Horrible Treachery of Thomas De Clare in Thomond.—Contentions of the Clann Murtough in Connaught.—English Policy in the Irish Feuds.—Petition for English Laws.—Characteristic Incidents.—Victories of Carbry O'Melaghlin over the English.—Feuds of the De Burghs and Geraldines.—The Red Earl.—His great Power.—English Laws for Ireland.—Death of O'Melaghlin.—Disputes of De Vesey and FitzGerald of Offaly.—Singular Pleadings before the King.—A Truce between the Geraldines and De Burghs.—The Kilkenny Parliament of 1295.—Continued Tumults in Connaught.—Expeditions against Scotland.—Calvagh O'Conor.—Horrible Massacre of Irish Chieftains at an English Dinner-table.—More Murders.—Rising of the O'Kellys.—Foundation of Religious Houses.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Gregory X. died 1276; Innocent V. and Adrian V. the same year; John XXI., 1277; Nicholas III., 1281; Martin IV., 1285; Honorius IV., 1287; Nicholas IV., 1292; Celestine V., 1294; Boniface VIII., 1303; and Benedict XI., 1304.—King of France, Philip IV.; Emperor of Germany, Rodolph of Hapsburg (first of the Austrian Family), died 1291.—Kings of Scotland, John Baliol and Robert Bruce.—Llewellyn killed, and Wales subjected to the Power of England, 1282.—St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure died, 1274.—Albertus Magnus died, 1282.—Roger Bacon died, 1284.—Uninterrupted Series of Parliaments Commenced in England, 1293.—William Wallace, the Scottish hero, executed, 1304.

(A.D. 1272 TO A.D. 1307.)

EDWARD I., surnamed Longshanks, was proclaimed king on the death of his father, Henry III., in 1272, while on a crusade in the Holy Land, and until his return to England, in July, 1274, the government was administered by lords justices. The new king's absence gave free scope to strife in Ireland; but in general the movements in this country depended but little on the course of events in England. Just a century had elapsed from the coming of the Anglo-Normans into Ireland, and their power was scarcely acknowledged beyond the limits which it had reached in the days of Strongbow. The resistance to it was, on the contrary, becoming more formidable; and the English suffered numerous defeats on a small scale,

which showed how easily a combined action of the Irish might have overthrown their settlement, had these seriously contemplated anything more than the temporary liberation of their respective territories from the foreign yoke, or the gratification of enmity by some local act of spoliation. The domestic feuds of the Irish were as rife as ever, but the English barons were equally prone to strife; and the oppression and rapacity of the latter did more than the turbulence of the former, to produce the miserable disorders by which the whole country was laid waste. No attempt was made to reconcile the native race to the new order of things, or to consolidate the two races into one nation. To supplant or exterminate the old Celtic population had been all along the policy of the invaders; and to effect this object, means, more diabolical than human, were resorted to: feuds were fomented; under the pretence of crushing rebellion, incessant hostilities were kept up; and by every kind of provocation and injustice, national rancour was perpetuated. Three or four times the English monarch urged the expediency of extending the laws and constitution of England to the Irish; but this attempt was always sternly resisted by the Anglo-Irish oligarchy who ruled the country. The barons found their account in their own lawless and inhuman system of war and rapine.

Hugh O'Conor was at this time the most formidable champion of the Irish cause; and in 1272, he renewed hostilities by demolishing the English castle of Roscommon. He then crossed the Shannon into Meath, where he carried desolation as far as Granard, and on his return burned Athlone, and broke down its bridge. Two years after, this prince, who was son of Felim, son of Cathal Crovderg, died, and another Hugh O'Conor, grandson of Hugh, the brother of Felim, was elected king. His reign was short, for in three months he was slain by a kinsman in the Dominican church of Roscommon, and another Hugh, son of Cathal Dall, or the blind, son of Hugh, son of Cathal Crovderg, was chosen his successor. A fortnight after this prince was slain by Tomaltagh Mageraghty and O'Beirne; and Teige, son of Turlough, son of Hugh, son of Cathal Crovderg, was elected king. Such was the state of anarchy in which the royal succession was at that time involved in Connaught; and it became still more complicated in 1276, when Hugh Muineagh, or the Munsterman, an illegitimate and posthumous son of Felim, son of Cathal Crovderg, arrived from Munster, and, by the aid of O'Donnell, assumed the government of Connaught. In the midst of incessant contentions he retained his power until 1280, when he was slain by another branch of the O'Conor family.

Sir James Audley, the lord justice, was, according to Irish accounts, slain by the Connacians, in 1272, although the English say he was killed by a fall from his horse in Thomond. The same year his successor, Maurice FitzMaurice FitzGerald, was betrayed by his followers, and seized in Offaly by the Irish, in whose hands he remained for some time. Lord Walter Geneville, recently returned from the Holy Land, succeeded to the office, and during his administration there was an incursion of the "Scots and Redshanks" from the highlands of Scotland; Richard De Burgo, with Sir Eustace le Poer, retaliating with an Anglo-Irish army, when he carried fire and sword into the Scottish islands and highlands, and smoked out or suffocated those who had sought refuge in rocks and caverns.

A.D. 1275.—Our annals mention a victory gained this year over the English in Ulidia, "when 200 horses and 200 heads were counted (on the field), besides all who fell of their plebeians;" but this is believed to be identical with a slaughter of the English at Glandelory, now Glanmalure, in Wicklow, which is recorded by Anglo-Irish chroniclers about this time. The same year the Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Owen wasted each other's territories by mutual depredations.

A.D. 1277.—One of the blackest episodes of even that dark age of Irish history was enacted about this time in Thomond. Thomas, son of Gilbert de Clare,* and son-in-law of Maurice FitzMaurice FitzGerald, obtained from Edward I. a grant of Thomond, or of some considerable portion of it; the deed by which it was secured, by a former English king, to its rightful owners the O'Briens being wholly overlooked on the occasion. De Clare had little chance of asserting his unjust claim against the heroic princes of the Dalgais in the open field, and he had recourse to the favorite English policy of that time. He entered into an intimate alliance with Brian Roe O'Brien against Turlough, son of Teige Caoluisge O'Brien, another competitor for the crown of Thomond; and the latter having been defeated in battle, he turned suddenly to the side of Turlough, and getting Brian Roe treacherously into his hands, put him to death in a most inhuman manner, causing him, it is said, to be dragged between horses until he died. This atrocity, it is added, was perpetrated at the instance of De Clare's wife and father-in-law.† He then dispossessed the old inhabitants of that

* Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, was one of the lords justices to whom the government of England was intrusted, on the accession of Edward I., then absent on the Crusades.

† The Irish annalists say that De Clare bound himself to Brien Roe O'Brien, by ties of gossipred and vows of friendship, ratified by the ceremony of mingling their blood together in a vessel. In

part of Thomond east of the Fergus called Tradry, giving the land to his own followers, and erected the strong castles of Bunratty and Clare. His power was, however, short-lived. The sons of Brien Roe gained a victory over him the following year at Quinn, where several of his people were burned to death in an old Irish church, which was set on fire over their heads. At another time De Clare and FitzGerald were so hard pressed in a pass of Slieve Bloom, as to be compelled to surrender at discretion, after being obliged to subsist for some days on horse-flesh The captives were subsequently liberated on undertaking to make satisfaction for O'Brien's death and to surrender the castle of Roscommon. The unprincipled earl next (1281) set up Donough, son of the murdered Brian Roe, against Turlough; but two years after his protege was slain by Turlough, who continued in possession of Thomond until his death in 1306.* De Clare himself was slain by the O'Briens in 1286.

A.D. 1280.—We are again recalled to the dissensions in Connaught, where Hugh Muineach, son of Felim, was slain in the wood of Dangan, by the sept of Murtough Muineach O'Conor, one of whom, Cathal, son of Conor Roe, son of Murtough Muineach,† was inaugurated king. This sept, henceforth called in the annals the Clann Murtough or Muircheartaigh, was excessively contentious, and kept the province in turmoil for many years after.‡

About this time a petition was presented to the English king, from what he calls "the community of Ireland"—most probably from the native Irish dwelling in the vicinity of the English settlements—praying that the privileges of the laws of England might be extended to them. Edward, who wished to see that object effected, issued a writ to the lord justice, Ufford, directing him to summon the lords spiritual and temporal of the "Land of Ireland"—as the English territory in this country was then called—to deliberate on the prayer of the petition. He insultingly

the remonstrance sent by the Irish chieftains to Pope John XXII., this murder was referred to as a striking instance of English treachery.

* These transactions are related in full in the *Annals of Innisfallen* from the work called *Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaigh*, or the Wars of Turlough O'Brien.

† Murtough Muineach, (Muircheartach Muimhneach) was son of Turlough More O'Conor, and brother of Roderic.

‡ *Apropos* of the feuds which existed this year in Connaught, between the O'Conors and Mac Dermots, an incident is related by Hanmer and Ware, highly characteristic of the spirit of English rule in those days. Edward summoned the lord justice, Ufford, to account for his permitting such "shameful enormities," and the latter pleaded, through Fulburn, bishop of Waterford, whom he had deputed in his stead, "that, in policie, he thought it expedient to winke at one knave cutting off another, and that would save the king's coffers and purchase peace to the land; *whereat the king smiled and bid him return to Ireland!*"

describes the Irish or Brehon laws as "hateful to God, and repugnant to all justice;" and, informing the lord justice that the petitioners had offered 8,000 marks for the concession which they demanded, urges him to obtain the best terms he can from them; stipulating in particular that they should hold a certain number of soldiers in readiness to attend him in his wars. The writ does not appear to have been attended to, and no further step seems to have been taken in the matter. The Irish continued to feel the English law only as an instrument of oppression, and were excluded wholly from its privileges—a mode of treatment, as it has been justly remarked, wholly different from that adopted by the Romans in their conquered provinces.

Among the detached occurrences which indicate the character of the times, we find that in 1281 a bloody battle was fought between the Barretts and the Cusacks, at Moyne, near the old church of Kilroe, in the barony of Tirawly in Mayo. William Barrett and Adam Fleming were slain, and O'Boyle and O'Dowda, two Irish chieftains, who helped Adam Cusack to gain the victory, are described as having "excelled all the rest that day in deeds of prowess;" yet the very next year O'Dowda was killed by Adam Cusack. This year is also remarkable for a battle fought at Desertcreaght, in Tyrone, between the Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Owen, in which the former were defeated, and their chieftain, Donnell Oge O'Donnell, slain; Hugh, his son, being afterwards inaugurated in his stead. The English of Ulster took part with the men of Tyrone. Murrough MacMurrough, whom the annalists style "king of Leinster," and his brother Art, were taken by the English, and put to death at Arklow, in 1282; Hugh Boy O'Neill, lord of Kinel-Owen, was slain by Brian MacMahon and the men of Oriel, in 1283; Art O'Melaghlin, the native prince of Meath, who had demolished twenty-seven castles in his wars, died penitently that year; and in the same year a great part of Dublin, and the tower and other parts of Christ Church, were burned, the citizens shewing their piety by restoring the sacred edifice before they set about rebuilding their own houses after the fire.

A.D. 1285.—Theobald Butler, with some Irish auxiliaries, invaded Delvin MacCoghlan, and was defeated at Lumcloon by Carbry O'Melaghlin; Sir William de la Rochelle and other English knights being among the slain. Butler died soon after at Beerehaven. A large army was then mustered by lord Geoffry Geneville, Theobald Verdon, and others, and they marched into Offaly, where the Irish had just seized the castle of Ley. The people of Offaly solicited the aid of Carbry O'Melaghlin, and he, with his gallant followers, responded to

their call. The Irish army poured down impetuously upon the English, who were overthrown with great slaughter, and according to the English accounts, "Theobald de Verdon lost both his men and horses;" Gerald FitzMaurice also falling into the hands of the Irish the day after the battle, owing it is said, to the treachery of his followers.* The Anglo-Irish accounts also mention another defeat of the English about the same year, but they add that these losses were followed by some compensating successes the next year.

A.D. 1286.—The country had been for a long period convulsed by the feuds of the two great Anglo-Norman families, the Geraldines and De Burgos; but the death of Maurice FitzMaurice FitzGerald and of his son-in-law, lord Thomas de Clare, which took place this year, turned the scale decidedly in favor of the De Burgos. Richard de Burgo, earl of Ulster, commonly known as the red earl, whose power was so generally recognized, that even in official documents his name took precedence of that of the lord deputy himself, now led his armies through the country almost without meeting any resistance.† In Connaught he plundered several churches and monasteries, and compelled the Connacians to accompany him to the north, where he took hostages from the Kinel-Connell and Kinel-Owen, deposing Donnell O'Neill, lord of the latter, and substituting Niall Culanagh O'Neill in his stead. He laid claim to the portion of Meath which Theobald de Verdon held in right of his mother, the daughter of Walter de Lacy, and besieged that nobleman (A.D. 1288) in the castle of Athlone, but with what result we are not informed. In Connaught Cathal O'Conor was deposed by his brother Manus, and the red earl marched against the latter, who had the Geraldines on his side, but the contest was not brought to the issue of a battle.

A. D. 1289.—Carbry O'Melaghlin, who is styled, in the Anglo-Irish chronicles, "king of the Irishry of Meath," gave great trouble to the English authorities at this period; and overrun, as his territory was, by the foreign race, retained, nevertheless, a considerable amount of power.

* This incident, it will be observed, is mentioned almost in the same terms as a similar one in 1272.

† The red earl, who fills so prominent a place in our history at this period, was son of Walter de Burgo, first earl of Ulster of that family, son of Richard, who was called the great lord of Connaught, and was the son of William FitzAdelm de Burgo by Isabelle, natural daughter of Richard Cœur-de-lion, and widow of Llewellyn, prince of Wales. Walter had become earl of Ulster in right of his wife, Maud, daughter of the younger Hugh de Lacy. The red earl's grandson, William, who was murdered in 1333, was the third and last of the De Burgo earls of Ulster. The Burkes of Connaught descend from William, the younger brother of Walter, the first earl of Ulster.

An army, composed of the English of Meath, under Richard Tuite, called the great baron, with Manus O'Conor, king of Connaught, as an auxiliary, marched this year against him, and was defeated in battle; Tuite, with several of his adherents, being slain. The following year, however O'Melaghlin—"the most noble-deeded youth in Ireland in his time"—was slain, by his gossip, David MacCoghlan, prince of Delvin; David himself dealing the first blow, which was followed up by wounds from seventeen other members of the MacCoghlan family. The lord of Delvin now in his turn became troublesome, and defeated William Burke, who had marched against him; but in 1292 he was taken prisoner by MacFeorais,* or Bermingham, and put to death by order of the red earl.

A.D. 1290-1293.—Sir William de Vescy, a Yorkshire man, and a great favorite of king Edward, having been sent over as lord justice, a quarrel appears to have immediately sprung up between him and John FitzThomas FitzGerald, baron of Offaly. To such a height did their mutual animosity rise, that de Vescy charged the baron with being "a supporter of thieves, a bolsterer of the king's enemies, an upholder of traitors, a murderer of subjects, a firebrand of dissension, a rank thief, an arrant traytor," adding "before I eat these words, I will make thee eat a piece of my blade." FitzThomas retorted in an equally courteous strain; and both parties having appeared before the king with their complaints, maintained their respective causes in the royal presence with tirades worthy of Billingsgate; if we may credit the annalist Holinshed, who pretends to record the proceedings with accuracy. FitzThomas concluded his speech with a defiance, saying—"wherefore, to justify that I am a true subject, and that thou, Vescy, art an arch traytor to God and my king, I here, in the presence of his highness, and in the hearing of this honorable assembly, challenge the combat." The council shouted applause; the appeal to single combat was admitted; but when the day, named by the king, had arrived, it was found that De Vescy had fled to France. Edward then bestowed on the baron of Offaly the lordships of Kildare and Rathangan, which had been held by his antagonist, observing, that "although De Vescy had conveyed his person to France, he had left his lands behind him in Ireland."†

* This name, now pronounced MacKeorish, was the Irish surname assumed by the Berminghams from Pierce, or Piarus, son of Meyler Bermingham, their ancestor.

† The above mentioned John FitzThomas FitzGerald, baron of Offaly, was the common ancestor of the two great branches of the Geraldines; one of his two sons, John, the eighth lord of Offaly being created earl of Kildare, and the other, Maurice, earl of Desmond.—See Archdall's *Lodge's Irish Peerage*, vol. i., 63; also O'Daly's *Geraldines*, by the Rev. Mr. Meehan. The lands delivered to FitzThomas on this occasion appear to have been the principal subject of dispute between him and De Vescy, who claimed them in right of his wife, an heiress of the Marshall family.

A.D. 1294.—For some years Richard, the red earl, had been riding rough-shod over the necks of the people, both within the English territory and outside. He created and deposed the princes of Ulster, plundered Connaught more than once, and was mixed up in various feuds through the country; but the great accession of power which the chief of the Geraldines had acquired, by his triumph over De Vesey, placed an old rival, once more, in a position to cope with him. FitzThomas seized the earl and his brother, William de Burgo, in Meath, and confined them in the castle of Ley, an event which threw the whole country into commotion; and immediately after, along with MacFeorais, he made an inroad into Connaught, and devastated the country. The following year De Burgo was liberated by the king's order, or, as Grace says, by that of the king's parliament, at Kilkenny; the lord of Offaly, as the same annalist tells us, forfeiting his castles of Sligo and Kildare, and his possessions in Connaught, as a penalty for his aggression.

A.D. 1295.—Sir John Wogan was appointed lord justice, and having, by his wise and conciliatory policy, brought about a truce for two years between the Geraldines and De Burgos, he summoned a parliament which met this year at Kilkenny. The roll of this parliament contains only twenty-seven names, Richard, earl of Ulster, being first on the list; and among the acts passed was one revising king John's division of the country into counties; another provided for a more strict guarding of the marches or boundaries against the Irish; by a third a tax was levied on absentees, to support a military force to defend the colony; and a fourth enacted that private or separate truces should not be made with the Irish, or war waged by the barons without the licence of the lord justice, or the mandate of the king. Other laws restricted the number of retainers whom the barons should keep, and enacted other regulations.*

All this time Connaught and Ulster continued to be desolated by fearful discord among the Irish themselves; but the narrative would be too monotonous were we to mention each melancholy feud as it is recorded in the faithful pages of our annalists. The whole country was laid waste; neither the property of church nor layman was spared; and dearth and pestilence stalked through the land. The feuds of the De Burgos and the Geraldines were once more arranged, in 1298, and among the Anglo-Irish peace for a while prevailed.

* A statute framed in England, and entitled, "an Ordinance for the State of Ireland," was sent over, in 1289, to be acted upon as law in this country; and shortly after (in 1295) it was enacted that the treasurer of Ireland should account annually to the exchequer of England—proceedings which show that on one side, at least, the opinion was then held that Ireland might be bound by laws made in England.

A.D. 1303.—King Edward's expeditions against Scotland were attended by many of the native Irish, as well as by the principal barons of the Pale, with their troops. The earl of Ulster and John FitzThomas FitzGerald accompanied the lord justice Wogan on the expedition of 1296. It is said that king Edward's army, in 1299, was composed chiefly of Irish and Welsh. They all came in their best array, and were royally feasted at Roxburgh castle. The Irish also mustered very strong on the expedition of 1303, when the subjugation of Scotland was temporarily effected. Before leaving Ireland on this occasion, the red earl created thirty-three knights in Dublin castle. On his departure for the Scottish wars, lord justice Wogan left as his deputy William de Ross, prior of Kilmainham; but the absence of so many of the leading men invariably gave occasion to insurrectionary movements; and Leland remarks that at this time "the utmost efforts of the chief governor and of the well-affected lords were scarcely sufficient to defend the province of Leinster."

A.D. 1305.—The warlike sept of O'Conor Faly, princes of Offaly, had for some time shown themselves to be among the most dangerous of the "Irish enemies," and the heroic, but hopeless struggle, which they continued to sustain for more than two hundred years after, in their ancestral woods and fastnesses, against the foreign enemy, had begun to occupy a prominent place in the records of the time. Maurice O'Conor Faly, and his brother Calvagh, were now the chiefs of the sept, and the latter in particular was called "the Great Rebel." At one time he defeated the English in a battle in which Meyler de Exeter and several others were slain; at another he took the castle of Kildare, and burned all the records and accounts relating to the county. In order to get rid of so dangerous a foe, a deed of the blackest treachery was resorted to. The chiefs of Offaly were invited to dinner on Trinity Sunday this year, in the castle of Peter, or Pierce Bermingham, at Carrick-Carbury, in Kildare; the feast proceeded, but at its conclusion, as the guests were rising from the table, every man of them was basely murdered. In this way fell Maurice O'Conor, his brother Calvagh, and in all about thirty chiefs of his clan. Grace says the massacre was perpetrated by Jordan Cumin and his comrades at the court of Peter Bermingham. This Peter was ever after nicknamed the "treacherous baron." He was arraigned before king Edward; but no justice was ever obtained for this most nefarious and treacherous murder.*

* In the Harleian MS. which contains the cotemporary Anglo-Irish song, on the walling of New Ross, already referred to, there is preserved an old ballad celebrating the praises of the above named Pierce Bermingham, as a famous "hunter of the Irish;" he was killed in 1308, in battle with the Irish.

The Anglo-Irish chronicles record several other deeds of blood about the conclusion of this reign, such as the murder of Sir Gilbert Sutton, in the house of Hamon le Gras, or Grace, at Wexford; the murder of O'Brien, of Thomond; the slaying of Donnell, king of Desmond, by his son; the slaughter of the O'Conors, of Offaly, by the O'Dempseys, near Geashill; the defeat of Pierce Bermingham in Meath, and the burning of the town of Ballymore by the Irish; the narrow escape of the English from defeat in a well-contested battle at Glenfell; and the execution of an English knight, Sir David Canton, or Condon, for the murder of an Irishman, named Murtough Balloch. The O'Kellys, of Hy-Many, rose and took vengeance on Edmund Butler, for the burning of their town of Ahascragh, in the east of the present county of Galway, the English being defeated on this occasion with considerable slaughter.

The coin struck in England in the seventh year of the reign of Edward I. was made current in Ireland; and in a few years after, the base money called crockards and pollards was condemned by proclamation.

The events in our church history during this reign are not very important. The Four Masters and the Annals of Ulster mention the discovery of the relics of SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille, at Sabhall, or Saul, in Down, by Nicholas MacMaelisa, archbishop of Armagh, in 1293; whence it is clear that our native annalists either had not heard of, or did not believe, the statement which has already been noticed on the authority of Cambrensis, of the discovery of these relics in the cathedral of Down, in the year 1185.*

* Amongst the religious houses founded in Ireland, in the course of the first Edward's reign, were the Dominican convent of Kilmallock, founded by Gilbert, son of John FitzThomas, lord of Offaly, in 1291; that of Derry, by Donnell Oge O'Donnell, in 1274; and that of Rathbran, in Mayo, the same year, by Sir William de Burgo; the Franciscan convent of Clare-Galway, by John de Cogan, in 1290; that of Buttevant, the same year, by David Oge Barry; that of Galway, by Sir William de Burgo, in 1296; and those of Galbally, in Limerick, by the O'Briens; Killeigh, in the King's county, by the O'Conors Faly; and Ross, in Wexford, by Sir John Devereux; the Augustinian convents of the Red Abbey in Cork; Limerick (by the O'Briens); Drogheda; Clonmines, in Wexford (by the Kavanaghs); and Dungarvan, by FitzThomas, of Offaly; and finally the Carmelite convents of Dublin (Whitefriar-street), by Sir Richard Bagot; Ardee, by Ralph Peppard; Drogheda, by the inhabitants of the town; Galway, by the De Burgos; Rathmullin, in Donegal; Castle Lyons, in Cork, by the Barrys; Kildare, by De Vescy, in 1290; and Thurles, by the Butler family, about the close of the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REIGN OF EDWARD II.

Piers Gaveston in Ireland.—Fresh Wars in Connaught—the Clann Murtough.—Civil Broils in Thomond.—Feud of De Clare and De Burgo.—Growth of National Feelings.—Invitation to King Robert Bruce.—Memorial of the Irish Princes to Pope John XXII.—The Pope's Letter to the English King.—The Scottish Expedition to Ireland.—Landing of Edward Bruce.—First Exploits of the Scottish Army.—Proceedings of Felim and Rory O'Connor.—Disastrous War in Connaught.—The Battle of Athenry.—Siege of Carrickfergus.—General Rising of the Irish.—Campaign of 1317.—Arrival of Robert Bruce.—Arrest of the Earl of Ulster.—Consternation in Dublin.—The Scots at Castleknock.—Their March to the South.—Their Retreat from Limerick.—Effects of the Famine.—Retreat of the Scots to Ulster.—Robert Bruce Returns to Scotland.—Liberation of the Earl of Ulster.—Battle of Faughard, and Death of Edward Bruce.—National Prejudices.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Pope John XXII.—Kings of France: Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV.—King of Scotland, Robert Bruce.—Suppression of the Knights Templars, 1312.—William Tell flourished, and Switzerland became Independent, 1315.—Dante Died, 1321.

A.D. 1307—1327.

INDIGNANT at the honors conferred by Edward II. on his favorite, Piers Gaveston, who was recalled from banishment by that weak-minded prince on his accession to the throne, the barons loudly expressed their anger and disgust; and parliament demanded, in a peremptory tone, the expulsion of the royal minion. Edward made a show of compliance, but it was soon discovered that the place he had selected for his favorite's exile was Ireland, where, in 1308, he invested him with the dignity of lord lieutenant, accompanying him on his journey as far as Bristol. Notwithstanding his vices, Gaveston possessed some of the qualities of a good soldier. In the lists he had shown himself a match for any knight in England, and in his Irish office he displayed no small amount of energy. He led an army

against the O'Dempseys of Clanmalier, in Leinster, and killed their chief, Dermot, at Tullow. He next defeated the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, and opened a road between Castle Kevin and Glendalough, in that territory. He also rebuilt some castles which the Irish had demolished; but his career in this country was brief. Twelve months after his arrival he was recalled to England by his royal master, and three years later was taken prisoner by the barons, at Scarborough Castle, and with their sanction beheaded by the earl of Warwick.*

A.D. 1309.—Connaught still continued to be torn by discord. Hugh, son of Owen, of the race of Cathal Crovderg, was slain this year by Hugh O'Conor, surnamed Breifneach, one of the restless and ambitious Clann Murtough, and a fresh war arose for the succession. MacWilliam, as the head of the Burkes of Connaught, espoused the cause of the Cathal Crovderg branch. A conference was held near Elphin between him and Rory, Hugh Breifneach's brother, who had assumed the title of king of Connaught; but, as often happened on these occasions, the conference was converted into a battle, and Rory being defeated, was driven beyond the Curlieu mountains. Next year Hugh Breifneach was treacherously killed by one Johnock MacQuillan, who was on bonaght with him, and was hired by MacWilliam Burke to commit the murder; but MacQuillan himself was slain the following year at Ballintubber with the same axe which he had used in killing the Clann Murtough prince. Felim, son of Hugh, son of Owen O'Conor, of the race of Cathal Crovderg, was now, by the influence of his fosterfather, Mulrony MacDermot, chief of Moylurg, inaugurated king of Connaught while still almost in his boyhood; and was, for several years, maintained in his authority by that clan.

Sir John Wogan being re-appointed lord justice for the third time, summoned a parliament, which met this year (1309) at Kilkenny. Some stringent laws were here made to repress robbery, particularly that committed by persons of noble birth, and their retainers; forestalling was prohibited; and it is supposed that the law by which Irish monks were excluded from religious houses within the English pale, was repealed on this occasion.† A scarcity prevailed the following

* Piers Gaveston, though of humble birth, was married to a niece of the king's, that is, to a sister of De Clare, earl of Gloucester. De Clare's second wife was a daughter of the earl of Ulster; and De Clare's daughter, by a former marriage, was married to the earl of Ulster's son. Notwithstanding these alliances, Gaveston was despised and hated by the haughty Anglo-Irish barons, and the earl of Ulster, in order to despite him, kept up a kind of royal state at Trim.—See *Grace's Annals.*

† Grace's Annals p. 56, note *k*. The principle of excluding those of the hostile race was acted

year, when a crannoc, or bushel, of wheat sold for 20s., and the bakers were dragged on hurdles through the streets for using false weights.

A.D. 1311.—Civil broils raged in Thomond between the MacNamaras and O'Briens, the former being defeated; and subsequently the chieftain Donough O'Brien was treacherously slain by Murrough, son of Mahon O'Brien; but these feuds were thrown into the shade by those which prevailed in the same province between De Clare and William de Burgo, the latter and John FitzWalter Lacy being made prisoners at Bunratty by De Clare.* The lord justice was defeated in attempting to put down a revolt of Sir Robert Verdon; and the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles of Wicklow menaced the walls of Dublin.

A.D. 1315.—We have arrived at an epoch in our history, memorable not only for the importance of its events, but for the dawn of an intelligible national feeling among the Irish princes, and for the first movement which merits the name of a patriotic effort to shake off the English yoke. The Scots had just set a noble example by their successful struggle for national independence. By their glorious victory at Bannockburn on June 25th, 1314, they had effectually rid their country of English bondage. A strong sympathy had been excited in the north of Ireland for their cause. In the early days of his struggle (1306), Robert Bruce, the now triumphant king of Scotland, had found

upon in the religious establishments of both Irish and English: but in the former it evinced no little courage on the part of the defenceless monks. "In the abbey of Mellifont," says Cox, quoting from a record in the Tower of London, "a regulation was made in 1322 that no person should be admitted into that house until he had made oath that he was not of English descent." Dr. Kelly (*Camb. Eccr.* ii., p. 543, note), says, "In 1250, Innocent IV. addressed a letter to the archbishop of Dublin and the bishop of Ossory, complaining that Irish bishops excluded all Anglo-Irish from canonries in their churches: he ordered them to rescind that rule one month after the receipt of his letter, on the Christian principle that the sanctuary of God should not be held by hereditary right. This principle, however, became the exception in Ireland, in all churches and religious houses under the English power, down to the Reformation; the contrary principle was enacted as the rule by the statute of Kilkenny (of A.D. 1367), which excluded all Irish from English churches and religious houses, unless they had been qualified by a royal letter of denizenship. The effect of this law was to exclude the Irish not only from almost all the houses founded by the Anglo-Irish, but from a very great number founded by themselves, which had fallen under the English power. A few years (1515) before Luther began to preach his opinions, Leo X. issued a bull confirming the exclusion of the native Irish, even though qualified by a royal letter, from St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin: and on the same principle, a few years before, Dean Allen bequeathed charities to the poor, provided they were Anglo-Irish."

* Connell Mageoghegan, who translated the Annals of Clonmacnoise in 1627, appends to the record of the last event mentioned above, the following note:—"This much I gather out of this historian, whom I take to be an authentic and worthy prelate of the church, that would tell nothing but truth, that there reigned more dissensions, strife, warrs, and debates, between the Englishmen themselves in the beginning of the conquest of this kingdome, than between the Irishmen, as by perusing the warrs between the Lacies of Meath, John Coursey, Earle of Ulster, William Marshall, and the English of Meath and Munster, MacGerald, the Burkes, Butler, and Cogan, may appear."

shelter and succour in the island of Rathlin, on the Irish coast. Some of the Ulster chieftains subsequently joined in an expedition in his aid; but their attempt was abortive, for on landing in Scotland, they were encountered by the English army, and almost all cut to pieces. The summons of the English king, when mustering an army against Scotland, in this war, was not responded to by the native Irish; and when the Scots were triumphant, the Irish of the northern province lost no time in appealing to them, as a kindred people, to help them in ridding themselves of the same foreign thraldom, and proposed to Robert Bruce to make his brother, Edward, king of Ireland.

About this time Donnell O'Neill, king of Ulster, with other Irish princes of that province, acting in the name of the Irish in general, addressed a memorial, or remonstrance, to the sovereign pontiff, John XXII., setting forth the grievances which their country suffered under the English yoke.* This interesting document glances at the early history of Ireland, to show the right of the Irish to national independence; it then refers to the false statements by which his Holiness's predecessor, Adrian IV., had been induced to transfer the sovereignty of their country to Henry II.; it points out how utterly unworthy that impious king was of the confidence which pope Adrian had reposed in him—how he had perverted the papal grant to his own unjust purposes; how he and his successors had violated the conditions under which his entrance into the kingdom of Ireland had been sanctioned; how the church of Ireland had been plundered by the English, the church lands confiscated, and the persons of the clergy as little respected as their property; how vices had been imported, and the Irish, instead of being reformed, deprived of their primitive candour and simplicity; how the protection of the English laws was denied to them, so that when an Englishman murdered an Irishman, as frequently happened, his crime was not punishable before an English tribunal; and how the English clergy treated them with shameful injustice by refusing to Irish religious admission even into the monastic institutions which had been founded and endowed by their Irish ancestors. The memorial enumerates some of the atrocities of the English in Ireland, such as the treacherous massacre of the chiefs of Offaly at the dinner-table of Pierce Bermingham, and the murder of Brian Roe O'Brien by

* This memorial would appear to have been written during the period of Bruce's invasion, and after the pope had been induced by the English government to condemn the proceedings of the Scots. It makes no allusion to this condemnation, but adopts a dignified tone of justification.

Thomas de Clare: and it proceeds:—"Let no person, then, wonder if we endeavour to preserve our lives and defend our liberties, as best we can, against those cruel tyrants, usurpers of our just properties, and murderers of our persons. So far from thinking it unlawful, we hold it to be a meritorious act; nor can we be accused of perjury or rebellion, since neither our fathers nor we did at any time bind ourselves, by any oath of allegiance, to their fathers or to them; wherefore, without the least remorse of conscience, while breath remains, we shall attack them in defence of our just rights, and never lay down our arms until we force them to desist." In conclusion, the Irish princes inform his Holiness, that "in order to attain their object the more speedily and surely, they had invited the gallant Edward Bruce, to whom, being descended from their most noble ancestors, they had transferred, as they justly might, their own right of royal dominion."*

Moved by the representations contained in this memorial, Pope John addressed, a few years later, a strong letter to Edward III., in which, referring to the bull granted by Pope Adrian to Henry II., his Holiness says, that "to the object of that bull neither Henry nor his successors paid any regard, but that, passing the bounds that had been prescribed to them, they had heaped upon the Irish the most unheard of miseries and persecution, and had, during a long period, imposed on them a yoke of slavery which could not be borne." His Holiness earnestly urges the English king to adopt a different policy; to reform as speedily as possible, and in a suitable manner, the evils under which the Irish labored, and to remove their just causes of complaint, "lest it might be too late hereafter to apply a remedy, when the spirit of revolt had grown stronger."†

Robert Bruce received with avidity the invitation of the Irish, as it promised a favorable field for the military energy and ambition of his brother, Edward, who had already begun to demand a share in the sovereignty of Scotland. An expedition to Ireland was, therefore, prepared as soon as circumstances would permit, and on the 26th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce, who was styled earl of Carrick, arrived off the coast of Antrim with a fleet of 300 sail, from which an army of 6,000 men was disembarked at Larne—or, as some say, at the mouth of the Glendun river, in the county of Antrim. He was accompanied by the

* The original Latin of the memorial is preserved by Fordun, and translations of it will be found in *Plowden's Historical Review*, *Charles O'Conor's Suppressed Memoirs*, *Taafe's History*, and the *Abbé Mageoghegan*, p. 323. Duffy's Edition.

† See this letter of Pope John's in O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. Hib., p. 79., Dublin, 1850.

earl of Moray, John Monteith, John Stewart, John Campbell, Thomas Randolph, son of the earl of Moray, Fergus of Ardrossan, John de Bosco, &c. This event filled the country with excitement and consternation. The Irish flocked in great numbers to Bruce's standard, and the Anglo-Irish of Ulster were quickly defeated in several encounters. There is great confusion in the accounts given of the first exploits of Edward Bruce in Ireland; apparently not arising from intentional misstatement, but from a transposition in the order of events by some of the old chroniclers. It would appear that Dundalk, Ardee, and some other places in Oriel were taken and destroyed in rapid succession by the invaders, and that the church of the Carmelite friary of Ardee was burned, with a number of the Anglo-Irish who had sought refuge in it. The red earl raised a powerful army, chiefly in Connaught, and marched against Bruce; and on meeting the lord justice, Sir Edmond Butler, with a Leinster army, also proceeding against the Scots, he told him rather haughtily that he would take the work upon himself, which, as earl of Ulster, he conceived it to be his duty to do, and would deliver Edward Bruce, dead or alive, into the hands of the justiciary. The two Anglo-Irish armies, nevertheless, formed a junction somewhere near Dundalk. Previous to this, as it would appear from some accounts, Bruce was induced by O'Neill to march northward, and to cross the Bann at Coleraine, breaking down the bridge after him; but this move, whether made at this time or subsequently, was found to have been a wrong one, and the Scottish army was afterwards ferried across the river at a more southerly point, by one Thomas of Down, who employed four small vessels for the purpose. According to an Irish authority,* the earl of Ulster's army marched on one side of the Bann, and the Scottish army on the other, so that the archers on both sides could exchange shots; and soon after the Scots had been ferried over the river, as just mentioned, the English army, weakened by the defection of Felim, the king of Connaught, who had hitherto acted as an auxiliary to the red earl, was routed near Connor, and William de Burgo, the earl's brother, with several of the English knights, taken prisoners. This battle, according to Grace, was fought on the 10th September, and Dundalk had been captured on SS. Peter and Paul's day, the 29th of June. After the battle of Connor, the red earl fled to Connaught, where he remained for that year without a vestige of an army; and a portion of the defeated English made their way to Carrickfergus, where some of them

* Annals of Clonmacnoise.

entered the castle, and bravely defended it against the Scots. Edward Bruce, who had already caused himself to be proclaimed king of Ireland, left some men to carry on the siege of Carrickfergus, and marched with the main body of his small army towards the south.*

A.D. 1316.—We are now compelled to follow our annalists into Connaught, where events most disastrous to the Irish cause were taking place. Felim O'Conor having, as we have seen, accompanied the red earl to Ulster, had entered into correspondence with Edward Bruce, and consented to hold from him his kingdom of Connaught; but in the meantime, Rory, son of Cathal Roe O'Conor, head of the Clann Murtough, had taken up arms and kindled the flames of war throughout Connaught. He destroyed some English castles in Roscommon, and sent off emissaries to Bruce, who had already come to an understanding with Felim, and who now authorized Rory to carry on war against the English, but not to meddle with Felim's lands. Rory little heeded this injunction; and Felim found a sufficient excuse to return home to defend his territory against the depredations of the Clann Murtough chief. A series of sanguinary conflicts took place between them. Several chiefs fell on both sides; and great cattle spoils were lost and won. Even Felim's foster-father, Mulrony MacDermot, turned for a while to Rory's side, ashamed at seeing himself one of a crowd of crest-fallen chieftains at the house of the red earl, who had just returned from his defeat at Connor. The result was still doubtful, when Felim, early in the present year (1316), mustered a numerous army, composed partly of Englishmen under Bermingham, and penetrated, in pursuit of Rory, through the bogs in the north-east of the present county of Galway, by the causeway then called Togher-mona-Connee. Rory, who had been watching his movements from the summit of a hill, here gave him battle, but was slain, and his army routed with terrible slaughter.

Felim having thus disposed of his rival, lost no time in fulfilling his engagement to Bruce, and turned his arms against the English. He burned the town of Ballylahan, in the east of Mayo, and slew De Exeter and De Cogan. Co-operating with the chiefs of all the west of Ireland, including the O'Briens of Thomond, he mustered a numerous army, with which he marched to Athenry, where a large and well-armed Anglo Irish force under William de Burgo and Richard Bermingham, lord of the town, was entrenched. A fierce and desperate battle ensued. The

* See the accounts of these transactions from Mageoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, in *Four Masters*, vol. iii., pp. 504, &c., note; also *Grace's Annals*, pp. 63, &c.

coats of mail and the skill of the crossbow-men gave the English a great superiority; but the Irish, whose best soldiers were the galloglasses,* fought with unflinching bravery, and by their own accounts lost that day 11,000 men, among whom was their gallant and youthful king, Felim, then only in his twenty-third year. Cox says that 8,000 of the Irish were slain. Some of the ancient families of Connaught were almost exterminated, so great was the slaughter of the native Irish gentry, and it was said that no man of the O'Conors was left in all Connaught capable of bearing arms except Felim's brother. This battle was fought on St. Laurence's day, the 10th of August, and was the most sanguinary that had taken place since the Anglo-Norman invasion. In it the chivalry of Connaught was crushed, and irretrievable injury inflicted on the Irish cause.†

The Scots seem to have wasted the remainder of the year 1315 in a fruitless siege of Carrickfergus Castle; but on receiving a reinforcement of 500 men, on St. Nicholas day (December 6th) Bruce set out on his march to the south. His route was apparently by the north of Meath, through Nobber and Kells to Finnagh in Westmeath, thence to Granard in Longford, and Lough Seudy, where he spent Christmas. Thence he passed through Westmeath and part of the King's county into Kildare, to Rathangan, Castledermot, Athy, Rheban, and Arscoll, where he was opposed by Edmond Butler, the justiciary, whom he defeated. He then returned towards Ulster, burning in his way the castle of Ley, and passing through Geashill and Fowre to Kells, his army spreading desolation along its route.‡ At the last-named town, Sir Roger Mortimer met him with an army of 15,000 men, which was put shamefully to flight; the defeat being attributed by the English to the defection of some of their men, especially the De Lacys. Mortimer fled to Dublin, and others made their escape to Trim; and in the meantime, the Irish everywhere rose in

* The Galloglasses (Gall ōglach) who were the heavy-armed foot soldiers of the Irish, wore an iron head piece, and a coat of defence stuck with iron nails, and the weapons they carried were a long sword and a broad keen-edged axe. The Kerns, or Keherns, were the light-armed infantry, who fought with darts or javelins, and also carried swords and knives.—*Harris' Ware*, vol. ii., p. 161. Dr. O'Conor, in his suppressed work, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare*, observes that the English were, at the battle of Athenry, well armed and drawn up in regular systematic array, and that the Irish fought without armour.

† A story is told of a young man of the Anglo-Irish of Athenry, named Hussey, who is called by Grace a butcher, going out after the battle to search for the body of O'Kelly, the chief of Hy-Many, and of his meeting that chieftain still alive, and killing him under very improbable circumstances. It is added that he brought O'Kelly's head to Bermingham, who knighted Hussey on the spot, and that the latter subsequently obtained the lands of Galtrim, of which his family became barons.—Richard Bermingham was created baron of Athenry for his services that day, and the walls of the town were rebuilt out of part of the spoils of the Irish.

‡ Grace's Annals, p. 67, note u.

arms. In the heart of the English territory the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes burnt Arklow, Newcastle, and Bray; and the O'Mores rose in Leix, where, however, they were soon after defeated with great slaughter by Edmond Butler. The Anglo-Irish barons were at length thoroughly aroused to the danger of their position, and gathering round Lord John Hotham, who was deputed specially to them on the occasion by the king of England, they agreed to forego their private quarrels and to act together for the defence of the realm. Famine had at this time begun to ravage the country, and the Scots felt it severely. Edward Bruce retired into Ulster, where he exercised all the authority of a king, holding parliaments, deciding causes, and levying supplies, without any attempt on the part of the English to disturb him.

As summer advanced, Edward Bruce made his appearance once more before Carrickfergus, where Thomas Mandeville had succeeded in throwing in reinforcements, and the garrison had been thus enabled constantly to annoy the Scots in the neighbourhood. The siege was prolonged until September, when king Robert Bruce, finding that his brother was not making the progress which he had expected in Ireland, came over himself; and the operations of the besiegers being conducted with fresh energy, the garrison at length surrendered on honorable terms, having been, in the course of the siege, so hard pressed by hunger, that they ate hides and fed on the bodies of eight Scots whom they had made prisoners. The remainder of 1316 was consumed in desultory efforts, in which the English gained some advantages against the Irish in the centre and the west, and in one instance against the Scots, of whom John Logan and Hugh Bisset slew 300 in Ulster, on the 1st of November.

A.D. 1317.—All parties prepared to put forth their utmost strength at the commencement of the year. The Scottish army in Ireland at this time was computed at 20,000 men, besides an irregular force of Irish; and with this army king Robert Bruce and his brother crossed the Boyne, at Slane, after Shrovetide. They marched to Castleknock, near Dublin, on the 24th of February, and took Hugh Tyrrel, the lord of that fortress, prisoner, making the castle their own quarters. All was consternation in Dublin. The Anglo-Irish distrusted each other. About two months before this, the De Lacys, having been charged with treasonably aiding the Scots, called for an investigation, in which they were acquitted, and they then gave the most solemn pledges of their fidelity; yet now they were actually under Bruce's standard. Richard, earl of Ulster, who was far advanced in years, and had lost all his

former energy, was also suspected by the English. His daughter, Elizabeth—or, as some say, his sister—was married to Robert Bruce in 1302, and this connexion naturally gave ground for suspicion against him. When the Scots were approaching Dublin, the earl, who was living retired in St. Mary's Abbey, was suddenly arrested by the mayor, Robert de Nottingham, and confined in Dublin castle; seven of his servants being killed in the fray at his arrest, and the abbey pillaged by the soldiery, and partly burned down. The citizens, led on by the mayor, acted with a frantic spirit, which may be called intrepidity or desperation. To prepare for the expected siege, they burned the suburbs, and among the rest Thomas-street, with the priory of St. John the Baptist, which stood there; and the populace plundered the monastery of St. Mary and St. Patrick's Church, which were outside the city. They went so far as to demolish the church of St. Saviour, on the north side of the river, and to use the materials in constructing an outer wall close by the river side, along the present line of Merchant's-quay and the Wood-quay, which were then in the suburbs.*

Robert Bruce, learning that Dublin was strongly fortified, and judging of the determination of the citizens from the flames of the burning suburbs, which he witnessed from a distance, thought it better not to risk the delay of a siege, to carry on which effectually, a considerable army, and shipping to cut off supplies by water, would have been required. He therefore marched towards the Salmon Leap, on the Liffey, a locality which had been famous in the Danish wars, and having encamped there four days, he led his forces to Naas, and in succession to Tristle Dermot (Castle Dermot), Gowran, and Callan, reaching the last-named place about the 12th of March. He burnt the towns and plundered the churches along the line of march, and the English chroniclers say that even the tombs were opened by the Scots, in search of treasure. An Ulster army of 2,000 men offered their services to the English authorities; but when the king's banner was given to them, they did more harm, says Grace, than all the Scots together, burning and destroying wherever they came. Bruce proceeded as far as Limerick without meeting any opposition; but learning that active pre-

* Before this time, the town-walls were carried by St. Owen's, or Audoen's, Church, along the brow of the high ground, some 400 feet from the river. The mayor and citizens were afterwards compelled to restore the church of St. Saviour; but they received aid from public sources to repair the losses by the burning of the suburbs, and were forgiven half their fee-farm rent. They were also pardoned for the depredations which they committed in so urgent a necessity. It has been said that the existence of the English government in Ireland depended upon the fate of Dublin on this occasion.

parations were making in his rear—Murtough O'Brien, say the Annals of Innisfallen, having joined the English*—he retreated by night from Castle Connell, and on Palm Sunday (March 27th) was at Kells, in Ossory. Thence he marched to Cashel and Nenagh, laying waste, with fire and sword, the English settlements as he passed. All this time his army was sorely pressed by famine; and to this cause, and his efforts to procure food, may be attributed some of his marches, which it would be otherwise hard to account for.† On the 30th of March (Holy Thursday), a well-equipped Anglo-Irish army, mustering 30,000 men, marched against Bruce. Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, Richard de Clare, Arnold Power (Le Poer), baron of Donnoil (Dunhill, in Waterford), Maurice Rochfort, Thomas FitzMaurice, and the Cantetons, took the field with their numerous followers on the occasion: yet this powerful force hung round the camp of the half-starved and diminished Scottish army without daring to attack them, such was the dread with which Bruce's name inspired them. Sir Roger Mortimer returned from England, as justiciary, and a council was held at Kilkenny, to deliberate on their position, but no determination was arrived at. Messengers were despatched to explain to the king the desperate state of affairs in Ireland; and in the meantime, the English having moved towards Naas, Bruce marched to Kildare, and from thence, in the month after Easter, to a wood four miles from Trim, where he halted for seven days to refresh his men, exhausted by hunger and fatigue. On the 1st of May the Scots retired to Ulster; and Robert Bruce, who saw that nature itself was against him, and that the Irish were not organised to give the support which he expected, returned to Scotland with earl Moray, leaving behind his brother Edward, who was resolved to maintain his position as king of Ireland.

Famine and pestilence at this time devastated both England and Ireland. Many of the rich were reduced to penury, and great numbers of persons perished of hunger. Mothers, it was said, were known to devour their own children. People stole the children of others to eat them. Prisoners in jails killed and ate new comers sent in among them; and dead bodies were taken from the grave to be used for food.‡

* Donough O'Brien, chief of Thomond, who died in 1317, was on the side of Bruce.

† To this period may be referred an incident related in illustration of the humanity of Robert Bruce. It is said that "while retreating, in circumstances of great difficulty, he halted the army on hearing the cries of a poor lavandiere, who had been seized with labour, commanding a tent to be pitched for her, and taking measures for her to pursue her journey when she was able to travel. —Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii.

‡ "The pestilential period of the fourteenth century," says Dr. Wilde, "was, both in duration

An order was received from the king of England for the liberation of the earl of Ulster, but several months elapsed and the question had to be debated in a parliament held at Kilmainham, before the order was complied with, the earl giving pledges that he would not revenge himself on the citizens of Dublin. The retirement of the Scots to Ulster, and Robert Bruce's return to Scotland, having relieved the English from their chief source of alarm, the justiciary directed his efforts against the Irish septs, who had risen in arms in different parts of the country, and against whom he was, in general, successful. The O'Farrells, O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and the Irish of Hy-Kinsellagh were subdued for the time; and in the course of this year some sanguinary battles were fought in Connaught between the rival parties of the O'Conor family. The De Lacys were summoned to appear before the lord justice: and on their refusal, lord Hugh de Custes, or Crofts, was sent to them, but they put the envoy to death. Mortimer then plundered their lands, and they fled, some to Connaught, and others to Bruce, in Ulster. One of them, John De Lacy, who had fallen into the hands of the justiciary, was sentenced to be pressed to death. Two cardinals arrived from Rome in England to bring about a peace between the Scots and English, but their efforts were ineffectual.

A.D. 1318.—Roger Mortimer again returned to England, leaving his debts unpaid, and Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed justiciary in his stead. A good harvest relieved the country from famine, and the hostile armies were once more able to take the field. Edward Bruce had at this time, according to some accounts, an effective force of three thousand men. Scottish historians say he had only two thousand besides an irregular force of Irish; and those who make his army considerably more numerous include, no doubt, his Irish auxiliaries. He marched southwards as far as Dundalk, and encamped at the hill of Faughard, within two miles of that town. Under his banner were Philip lord Mowbray, Walter lord de Soulis, Alan lord Stewart, the three De Lacys, &c. The English army which marched from

and intensity, the most remarkably calamitous in these annals. It dates from 1315, and lasted almost without interruption for 85 years. It commenced with the foreign invasion of the Scots, under Edward Bruce, at a time when the country was labouring under the double scourge of famine and partial civil war, and its effects were to increase the one and to render the other general. Epizootics succeeded, followed by small-pox; then dearth again, with unusual severity of the seasons, and intense frosts, accompanied by the first appearance of influenza, and an outbreak of the Barking Mania. Subsequently appeared the Black Death, the King's Game, and the Third Pestilence, portions of the five general and fatal epidemics which commenced in the reign of Edward III., and the Fourth and Fifth Pestilences in the beginning of the reign of Richard II."—*Census of Ireland for* 1851. *Table of deaths.* See also Butler's note to *Grace's Annals.* An. 1317.

Dublin to encounter this force was commanded by lord John Bermingham. Its numbers are variously stated, but they were probably much larger than that of Bruce's effective men. The memorable battle which ensued, and which resulted in the death of the gallant Bruce and the overthrow of his army, was fought at Faughard, on the 14th of October. John Maupas, an Anglo-Irish knight, convinced that the fate of the day depended on the life of Bruce, rushed into the thick of the enemy, and engaging with Edward Bruce, slew him; his own body, covered with wounds, being afterwards found lying on that of the Scottish chief.* This feat determined the victory at the very outset; and Bermingham, causing the body of Bruce to be cut in pieces, sent the head, or, as some say, carried it himself, to Edward II., and other portions to be exhibited in different parts of the country. How unlike the chivalrous courtesy exhibited by king Robert Bruce to his conquered enemies at Bannockburn! Scottish historians say the body of Gib Harper was mistaken for that of Edward Bruce, and that the remains of the latter are interred in Faughard churchyard, where the peasantry point out his grave; but the other story is more probable; and Bermingham, as a reward for Bruce's head, obtained the earldom of Louth and the manor of Ardee. From the terms in which the death of Bruce is recorded by the Irish annalists, it is evident that their sympathies were not with him. They erroneously attribute to the Scottish invasion the famine and its consequences, although these calamities were at the time universal; and the old Scottish chroniclers throw, on their part, so much blame on the Irish as to show that national prejudices and selfish views existed on both sides.†

Bruce's invasion failed in its object, and the gleam of hope which had shone forth for a while rendered the darkness that followed more disheartening; but the Irish were far from being subdued. They

* The circumstance is differently related by Lodge, who says, "Sir John Bermingham encamping about half a mile from the enemy, Roger de Maupas, a burgess of Dundalk, disguised himself in a fool's dress, and in that character entering their camp, killed Bruce by striking out his brains with a plummet of lead; he was instantly cut to pieces and his body found stretched over that of Bruce, but for this service his heir was rewarded with 40 marcs a year."—*Archdall's Lodge*, vol. iii. p. 33.

† The Four Masters record the death of Bruce in the following terms:—"Edward Bruce, the destroyer of the people of Ireland in general, both English and Irish, was slain by the English through dint of battle and bravery, at Dundalk, where also MacRory, lord of the Inse-Gall (Hebrides), MacDonnell, lord of Argyle, and many others of the chiefs of Scotland were slain; and no achievement had been performed in Ireland for a long time before from which greater benefit had accrued to the country than from this; for during the three years and a-half that this Edward spent in it a universal famine prevailed to such a degree that men were wont to devour one another."

seemed, on the contrary, to have acquired a confidence in their own strength, which they had not before. Feuds prevailed among conflicting sections of the English, as well as of the Irish. The former suffered some serious defeats in Breffny, Ely O'Carroll, Offaly, and Thomond. In Connaught, after many vicissitudes and great waste of human life, Turlough O'Conor, of the race of Cathal Crovderg, succeeded, in 1324, in establishing his right as king. Richard de Burgo, the famous red earl, died in 1326. In England, the wretched Edward II., after a long war with his rebellious barons—who in the end were leagued with his profligate queen and her paramour, Roger Mortimer—was finally most cruelly murdered, in 1327.

It was a period when men's minds were unsettled, and their manners demoralized; and for the first time heresy appears to have made some inroads in Ireland. One Adam Duff, a Leinster-man, was, in 1327, convicted of professing certain blasphemous and anti-christian doctrines, and being handed over to the civil tribunal, was sentenced to be burned on Hogges'-green, now College-green, in Dublin. About the same time, some persons taught heretical opinions in the diocese of Ossory, where they gained over the seneschal of Kilkenny, and other official persons; but their doctrines did not spread among the people, and soon disappeared.*

* Great commotion was excited among the Anglo-Irish in 1325, by the prosecution of a respectable woman, named Alice Kyteler, for witchcraft, in Kilkenny. She had married four husbands, and the last of these, with some of her children by former husbands, were her chief accusers. She had accumulated enormous wealth, all of which was conferred on her favorite son, Robert Outlawe; and by the aid of powerful friends, among whom were some of the civil authorities, she managed to escape to England. One of her accomplices, named Petronilla, of Meath, who confessed her participation in several acts of foul and impious superstition, was, in compliance with the ideas of the age, burnt as a sorceress. See *Grace's Annals;* also a Cotemporary Narrative, edited for the Camden Society, by Thomas Wright, 1843.

A university was founded in Dublin, in 1320, by archbishop Bicknor, by the authority of a bull of pope Clement V., dated 1310; but the circumstances of the times and the want of funds prevented its success. Some vestiges of it still remained at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and the university which Elizabeth subsequently founded, and which was so amply endowed with the confiscated church lands, has been regarded by some people as a revival of that institution. The number of religious foundations diminishes rapidly as we advance. Among those traced to the reign of Edward II. are the Franciscan convents of Castle Lyons, in Cork, founded by John de Barry, in 1307; and of Bantry, founded by O'Sullivan, in 1320; the Augustinian convent of Adare, in Limerick, founded by John, earl of Kildare, 1315; that of Tullow, in Carlow, by Simon Lombard and Hugh Tallon, in 1312; and the Carmelite convent of Athboy, in Meath, by William de Londres, in 1317. The famous John Duns Scotus, a native of Down, in Ulster, died at Cologne in the year 1308, in the thirty-fourth year of his age. He was a Franciscan friar of extraordinary learning, and from the acuteness of his mind, was called in the schools the "Subtle Doctor." John Clyn, the author of a chronicle of great value in Irish history, also flourished about this time. He, too, was a Franciscan friar, and was the first guardian of the convent of Carrick-on-Suir, founded in 1336.

CHAPTER XXV.

REIGN OF EDWARD III.

Position of the different Races.—Great Feuds of the Anglo-Irish.—Murder of Bermingham, Earl of Louth.—Creation of the Earls of Ormond and Desmond.—Counties Palatine.—Rigour of Sir Anthony Lucy.—Murder of the Earl of Ulster.—The Burkes of Connaught Abandon the English Language and Customs.—Sacrilegious Outrages.—Traces of Piety.—Wars in Connaught.—Crime and Punishment of Turlough O'Conor.—Proceedings in the Pale.—English by Birth and by Descent.—Ordinances against the Anglo-Irish Aristocracy.—Resistance of the latter.—Sir Ralph Ufford's Harshness and Death.—Change of Policy and its results.—The Black Death.—Administration of the Duke of Clarence.—His Animosity against the Irish.—The Statute of Kilkenny.—Effects of that Atrocious Law.—Exploits of Hugh O'Conor.—Crime Punished by the Irish Chieftains.—Victories of Niall O'Neill—Difficulties of the Government of the Pale.—Manly Conduct of the Bishops.—General Character of this Reign.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban VI., Gregory XI.—Kings of France: Philip VI. of Valois, John II., Charles the Wise.—Kings of Scotland: David II., Edward Baliol, Robert Stuart.—Gunpowder invented, 1330.—Statute of Præmunire, 1344—Gold first coined in England, 1344.—Order of the Garter, 1349.—Wickliffe's tenets propagated, 1369.—Petrarch died, 1374.

[FROM A.D. 1327 TO 1377.]

THE decay of the English power in Ireland, the narrowing of the English Pale, and the fusion of the older English settlers, or as they had begun to be called, the "degenerate English," with the native population, are marked characteristics of the period of our history which we have now reached. The authority of the crown had been declining throughout the two preceding reigns; during Bruce's invasion it was shaken to its foundation, but the alienation of the Anglo-Irish, arising from the impolitic distinction made by government between the English by birth and the English by descent; the identification, in some instances, of the latter with the native Irish, and the recovery of large portions of their original territories by several of the Irish chieftains, are all distinguishing

features of the era which commences with the reign of Edward III. The great Anglo-Irish families had become septs. They confederated with the Irish against their own countrymen, or the contrary, almost indifferently; but whether the administration of affairs was intrusted to them, or to the English by birth, it was invariably employed for purposes of personal aggrandizement or revenge; and the native population were still only recognised by the government as the "Irish enemy,"—a legitimate prey for all plunderers.

A.D. 1328.—A violent feud broke out at the commencement of this reign between Maurice FitzThomas, afterwards earl of Desmond, assisted by the Butlers and Berminghams, and Lord Arnold Poer, who was aided by the great family of the De Burgos. Poer called FitzGerald a "rhymer," and thus the quarrel arose; the former was forced to fly to England; his lands, and those of his adherents, were laid waste, and torrents of blood flowed on both sides. Government became alarmed at the rebellious spirit manifested on the occasion, and issued orders for the defence of the principal towns; but the confederates allayed this disquiet by protesting that they only required vengeance on their enemies; and having submitted and sued for pardon, a council was held at Kilkenny by the justiciary, Roger Outlawe, prior of Kilmainham, to consider the case. The following year (1329) the justiciary effected a reconciliation between the parties, and although it was the season of Lent, the event was celebrated by grand banquets in Dublin, the Geraldines giving their feast in the church of St. Patrick.

A.D. 1329.—Another sanguinary fray among the Anglo-Irish took place this year; Bermingham, earl of Louth, with several of his relatives and followers, to the number in all of one hundred and sixty, or, as others say, two hundred Englishmen being slaughtered by their own countrymen, the Gernons, Savages, and others, at Balebragan, now Bragganstown, in the county of Louth.* About the same time Munster witnessed another scene of mutual carnage among the Anglo-Irish; the Barrys, Roches, and others slaying Lord Philip Bodnet, Hugh Condon, and about one hundred and forty of their followers. Meanwhile several Irish septs were up in arms. Lord Thomas Butler was, in 1328, defeated with considerable loss by Mageoghegan in Westmeath; and the young earl of Ulster, with his Irish auxiliaries, sustained a great defeat the same year from Brian Bane O'Brien in Thomond. Donnell MacMurrough, of the ancient royal stock of Leinster, led an army close

* Among the victims in this massacre, were Carroll, a famous harper, and, as Clyn adds, twenty other harpers, his pupils.

to Dublin, but was defeated and made prisoner by Sir Henry Treherne. This officer spared the Irish chieftain's life for a sum of £200, and Adam Nangle, another Englishman, afterwards assisted him with a rope to escape over the walls of Dublin Castle; but for this kindness Nangle lost his head.

James Butler, second earl of Carrick, was, in 1328, created earl of Ormond, and in 1330 Maurice FitzThomas FitzGerald was created earl of Desmond; Tipperary, in the former case, and Kerry in the latter, being erected into counties palatine. The lords palatine, of whom there were now eight or nine in Ireland, were endowed with a kind of royal power. They created barons and knights, erected courts for civil and criminal causes, appointed their own judges, sheriffs, and coroners, and like so many petty kings, were able to exercise a most oppressive tyranny over the population of their respective territories.

A.D. 1330.—The new earl of Desmond at first rendered good service to the government by his successes against some of the Irish septs in Leinster; but the old feuds between him and the earl of Ulster were soon revived, and were carried to such lengths, at a time when they were in the field against the O'Briens, that the lord justice found it necessary to make both earls prisoners, and to commit them to the custody of the marshal of Limerick.

A.D. 1331.—Sir Anthony Lucy, a Northumbrian baron, famous for his sternness of character, was now sent over as justiciary, to curb the arrogance and violence of the great Anglo-Irish lords. He summoned a parliament in Dublin, and adjourned it to Kilkenny, owing to the non-attendance of the barons. Again his summons was disregarded; and, in order to make an example of the most powerful, he seized the earl of Desmond in Limerick, and carried him a prisoner to Dublin. Several other lords were arrested in a similar manner, and among them Sir William Bermingham, who was confined with his son in the keep of Dublin Castle, called from him the Bermingham Tower, and was hanged in the course of the following year. This nobleman was popular on account of his bravery and gallant demeanour; and the feeling excited by the severity of his sentence was probably the cause of Lucy's recall, which followed soon after, when Sir John Darcy, a more moderate man, was appointed to succeed him.*

* At this time the country was suffering severely from famine, and a shoal of large fish, of the whale species, which entered Dublin bay on the evening of the 27th of June, 1331, and of which two hundred were killed by the lord justice and his servants, afforded the poor of the city a providential supply of food. The next year the dearth continued, and the people were attacked by an epidemic called the *manses*, supposed to have been influenza.

A.D. 1333.—A crime, which produced immense sensation among the Anglo-Irish, and led to some important results, was committed this year in the north. William, earl of Ulster, called the dun earl, grandson of the famous red earl, seized Walter, one of the leading members of the De Burgo family, and confined him in the stronghold called the Green Castle, in Inishowen, where he was starved to death. Walter's sister, Gyle, was married to Sir Richard Mandeville, and at her instigation, it is believed, her brother's death was soon after avenged by the murder of the dun earl. This latter nobleman, who was then only in his twenty-first year, was proceeding on a Sunday morning towards Carrickfergus, in company with Robert FitzRichard Mandeville and others, who basely rose against him and killed him while he was fording a stream, or, as Grace says, while he was repeating his morning prayers on his way to the church, Mandeville giving him the first wound. A feeling of violent indignation was aroused by this outrage, and the people of the neighbourhood rose spontaneously and slew all whom they suspected of being abettors of the crime, to the number of over 300; so that when the justiciary arrived with an army to punish the murderers, he found that justice had already been vindicated in a fearful and summary manner.* The earl's wife, Maud, on hearing of the murder, fled in terror to England, taking with her her only child, a daughter, named Elizabeth, then only one year old; and the Burkes of Connaught being the junior branch of the De Burgo family, and fearing that the earl's vast possessions would be transferred to other hands by the marriage of the heiress, immediately seized on his Connaught estates, and declared themselves independent of English law, renouncing at the same time the English language and costume. Sir William, or Ulick,† the ancestor of the earls of Clanrickard, assumed the Irish title of MacWilliam Oughter, or the Upper, and Sir Edmond Albanagh Burke, the progenitor of the Viscounts of Mayo, took that of MacWilliam Eighter, or the Lower MacWilliam.‡

A.D. 1334.—Of the crimes we read of in the history of that lawless period, none indicate more vividly the anarchy which prevailed than the

* For many years after it was usual in public pardons to make a formal exception of all who might have been implicated in the murder of the earl of Ulster.

† The name *Ulick*, or *Uliog*, is a contraction of *William-oge*, that is, William Junior, or young William. It would appear to have been long peculiar to the Burkes of Connaught.

‡ In 1352, the heiress Elizabeth, then twenty years of age, was married to Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of king Edward III., and that prince was created, in her right, earl of Ulster and lord of Connaught, titles which thus became attached to the royal family of England, but he was unable to recover the possessions which the MacWilliams had usurped in Connaught, and the government not being strong enough to assert the authority of the English law on the occasion, the territories of the Burkes in that province were allowed to descend according to the Irish custom.

sacrilegious outrages which are related of the Irish, as well as of their opponents. Incessant war had so degraded some that they rivalled the ferocity of wild beasts; and in many instances, the natural gentleness, generosity, and piety of the Irish character seem to have been wholly laid aside. Thus our annals relate how a great army of the English and Irish of Connaught having marched this year against the MacNamaras of Thomond, a party of them set fire to a church, in which were two priests and 180 other persons, and did not suffer one to escape from the conflagration. It is not said whether the party who committed this barbarity belonged to the English or the Irish portion of the army; but a similar outrage, three years before, is attributed by the Anglo-Irish chroniclers to an Irish sept in Leinster, who, they say, burned the church of Freynstown, now Friendstown, in Wicklow, with a congregation of eighty persons and their priest, who was clothed in his vestments, and carried the Sacred Host in his hands. The unhappy people in the church asked no mercy for themselves but only that the priest might be allowed to depart; yet the infuriated assailants drove him back from the door with their javelins, and he was consumed with his flock in the burning pile. This appalling atrocity drew down an interdict from the Pope on its perpetrators; and an army of them was soon after cut to pieces or driven into the Slaney by the citizens of Wexford. Supposing, however, these statements not to have been the fabrications of enemies, of which we cannot be quite sure, we have, nevertheless, ample evidence that religion was not, even in those evil days, extinct among the bulk of the population. Thus, we read that the veteran warrior Mulrony MacDermot, lord of Moylurg, took the habit of a monk in the abbey of Boyle, in 1331; and that in 1333, Hugh O'Donnell, son of the famous Donnell Oge, and lord of Tirconnell, died in the habit of a Franciscan monk in Inis Saimer, in the river Erne. Most of the Irish chieftains who were not killed in battle, are described as dying "after the victory of penance;" and numerous pilgrimages, in which the clergy and people were united, were made to avert calamities which they apprehended.

A.D. 1338.—Edmond Burke, surnamed "na-Feisoge," or "the bearded," a younger son of the red earl, was this year drowned by his kinsman, Edmond Burke, surnamed Mac William Eighter, who fastened a stone to his neck, and inmersed him in Lough Mask; and a war followed, in which the partizans of Mac William Eighter and the English of Connaught in general suffered enormous losses; Turlough O'Conor succeeding, after a sanguinary struggle, in driving Edmond Burke altogether out of

the province. The English were, on this occasion, expelled from the territories of Leyney and Corran in Sligo, and the hereditary Irish chieftains resumed their own lands there and in other parts of Connaught As for Edmond Burke, he collected a fleet of ships or boats, with which he remained for some time among the islands on the coast of Mayo, but from these Turlough drove him the following year, and obliged him to withdraw to Ulster.

A.D. 1339.—Turlough O'Connor, thus far crowned with success, brought ruin upon himself by his domestic misdeeds. Despising the laws of the church and of society, he put away his wife Dervail, daughter of Hugh O'Donnell, the lord of Tirconnell, and married the daughter of Turlough O'Brien, the widow of Edmond Burke who had been drowned in Lough Mask. This act alienated from him the Connaught chieftains, and after an interval of three years spent in constant warfare, he was in 1342 deposed by the Sil-Murray and other septs, and Hugh, the son of Hugh Breifneach O'Conor, one of the Clann Murtough, chosen king in his stead. Notwithstanding this election, however, it is stated that when the unhappy Turlough was killed with an arrow in 1345, his son, Hugh, was inaugurated king of Connaught after him.

Reverting to the affairs of the Pale, we find that Desmond, who had been released from prison on bail in 1333, after eighteen months' captivity, repaired to Scotland with some troops, in obedience to a summons from the king, and was probably present at the decisive battle gained by Edward over the Scots at Hallidon Hill; the famous expedition of Edward III. into Scotland on this occasion, having been cloaked up to the last moment by a pretence that the preparations he was making were for a visit to Ireland. Subsequently, the earl of Desmond was actively engaged against the Irish in Kerry, as the earl of Kildare was against the O'Dempseys and other septs, in Leinster, Twelve hundred of the men of Kerry were slain in one battle, in 1339. and Maurice FitzNicholas, lord of Kerry, who had been fighting in their ranks, was taken and confined in prison, where he died.*

A.D. 1341.—Plans which Edward had long since formed for breaking down the ascendancy of the great Anglo-Irish lords were now matured, and he sent over Sir John Morris, as lord deputy, to carry them into execution. His first sweeping measure was the resumption of all the lands, liberties, seigniories, and jurisdictions which either he or his

* This English knight had, many years before, rushed into the assize court at Tralee, and killed Dermot, heir of the MacCarthy More, while sitting with the judge on the bench; yet, the law suffered this crime to go unexpiated.

father had granted in Ireland. Another ordinance recalled any remission which had been made by himself or his predecessors, of debts due to the crown, and decreed that all such debts should be levied without delay. Other rigorous and arbitrary measures were also adopted, but that which indicated most clearly the design of the king was an ordinance declaring that, whereas it had appeared to him and his council that they would be better and more usefully served in Ireland by Englishmen, whose revenues were derived from England, than by Irish or English who possessed estates only in Ireland, or were married there, his justiciary should, after diligent inquiries, remove all such officers as were married or held estates in Ireland, and replace them by fit Englishmen having no personal interest whatever in Ireland.*

A.D. 1342.—This declaration of the royal views and intentions aroused the indignation of the proud Anglo-Irish nobles, who had been allowed to become much too powerful before this attempt was made to humble them. It was the first public avowal of a jealous distinction between the English by birth and the English by descent, and was subsequently condemned as a fatal mistake. To allay the excitement produced by it, the lord deputy summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin, in October; but the earl of Desmond and many other lords peremptorily refused to attend, and held a general assembly, or convention, of their own, at Kilkenny, in November, where they adopted a long and spirited remonstrance to the king, setting forth the rights which they had inherited from their ancestors, their claims to the favor and protection of the king, and the injustice and unreasonableness of the ordinances now issued against them. They complained bitterly of the neglect, peculation, fraud, and mismanagement of the English officials sent over to this country; enumerated a long catalogue of charges, attributing, among other things, to the maladministration of these Englishmen, the unguarded state of the country, the loss of one-third part of the territories which, they said, had been conquered by the king's progenitors, and were now retaken by his Irish enemies, and the abandonment to the Irish of the strong castles of Roscommon, Randown, Athlone, and Bunratty; and, in conclusion, they prayed that they might not be deprived of their free holdings without being called in judgment, pursuant to the provision of magna charta. The king's answer to the remonstrants was favorable on most points; in particular he confirmed the grants of his predecessors, and in the case of lands granted by himself,

* Close Roll, 1 Ed. III. Pryne's Collections. Cox, vol. i. p. 118.

he restored those which had been resumed, on security being given that they should be surrendered if found to have been granted without cause. He was just then entering upon a war with France, and this circumstance suggested the propriety of a more conciliatory policy towards the Anglo-Irish barons.

A.D. 1344.—Sir Ralph Ufford, who had married the widow of the murdered earl of Ulster, was now appointed to the office of lord justice, and exercised his authority with a harshness and rigour that drew upon him general odium. His first efforts were directed against the power of Desmond. That haughty earl refused to attend a parliament, called by Ufford, in Dublin, and attempted to assemble one of his own at Callan, but the new deputy soon showed that this game could not be played with him. He proceeded to Munster with an armed force, seized the earl's lands, and farmed them at rents to be paid to the king. He next got possession, by stratagem, of the strongholds of Castle-island and Iniskisty, in Kerry, and hanged Sir Eustace Poer, Sir William Grant, and Sir John Cottrel, who held command in them, charging them with the illegal exaction of coyn and livery.* The bail which had been given for the earl, when he was liberated in 1333, was declared to be forfeited, and thus eighteen knights lost their estates.† Ufford contrived, and again by the employment of stratagem, to get the earl of Kildare into his custody; but the war which he thus waged so successfully against the proud and powerful aristocracy was cut short by his own death, in the month of April, 1346. Some of his harshness was attributed to the persuasion of his wife; and it is said, that this lady, who was received like an empress on her arrival, was obliged to retire clandestinely, amidst the execrations of the people and the clamour of creditors, carrying with her the body of her husband, in a leaden coffin, to England.

The policy of the king towards the Anglo-Irish was now modified; the severity of Ufford was condemned; the earl of Desmond was suffered to repair to England to plead his cause before the king, and was

* "Coyn and livery," was an exaction of money, food, and entertainment for the soldiers, and of forage for their horses. A tax of a similar kind, under the name of *bonaght*, existed among the Irish, but it was regulated by fixed rules, and was part of the ordinary tribute paid to the chief. Among the Anglo-Irish it became a source of the most grievous oppression, without any just measure, or any compensating consideration; and as it pressed heavily upon the English as well as Irish population, it became necessary to prohibit it by stringent laws. The earl of Desmond referred to above is said to have been the first who introduced this exaction in its Anglo-Irish form. See Harris's Ware, vol. i., chap. xii.

† According to some accounts, the earl surrendered himself to Ufford, and the recognisances sestreated as mentioned above were those entered into for his liberation, on this occasion.

allowed 20s. *per diem* for his expenses while detained there; the estreated recognizances were restored; the Anglo-Irish nobles were invited to aid the king in his expedition against France, and the earl of Kildare earned the honor of knighthood from Edward by his gallant conduct at the siege of Calais in 1347. Thus, after a few years, the struggle between the crown and the great lords of the Pale ceased for a time, all the lands and jurisdictions of which the latter had been for a while deprived being restored. Desmond rose to such favor with the king that, in 1355, he was entrusted with the office of lord justice for life; but he died five months after this honor had been conferred upon him, and his body was removed from Dublin castle to Tralee, where it was interred in the church of the Dominican friars. Thus ended the career of Maurice FitzThomas FitzGerald, the first earl of Desmond.

About this time Brien MacMahon gained an important victory over the English in Oriel, more than 300 of them having been slain, according to their own historians. In Leinster, the colonists were not allowed much rest by the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, on one side, or by the septs of Leix and Offaly on the other. Lysaght O'More, chief of Leix, took and burned in one night ten English castles, destroyed Dunamace, and expelled nearly all the English from his ancestral territory. The MacMurrough was also in the field with a large following, as were also O'Melaghlin and the Irish of Meath. These latter were defeated by the lord justice, in 1349, with the slaughter of several of their chiefs. Need we wonder at finding that about this time a royal commission was issued to inquire why the king derived no revenues from his Irish dominions?

A.D. 1348.—This year is memorable for the outbreak of the terrible pestilence called the Black Death. That age was, indeed, one of fearful visitations. Our annals record about that period several years of famine from ungenial seasons. In 1341, an epidemic, called the barking disease, prevailed, when persons of both sexes and all ages went about the country barking like dogs. But the most awful of all these visitations was the Black Death.* For some years, during which the pestilence

* Friar Clyn, who was an eye-witness of its ravages, and is believed to have fallen a victim to it himself the following year, describes the Black Death in his annals under the year 1348, in the following expressive terms:—"It first," he says, "broke out near Dublin, at Howth and Dalkey; it almost destroyed and laid waste the cities of Dublin and Drogheda, insomuch that in Dublin alone, from the beginning of August to Christmas, 14,000 souls perished ..... That pestilence deprived of human inhabitants villages and cities, castles and towns, so that there was scarcely found a man to dwell therein; the pestilence was so contagious, that whosoever touched the sick or the

continued, our annals record few events save the deaths of remarkable persons who fell victims to it. Then followed, in 1361, another visitation called the "King's Game," or second pestilence, the exact nature of which is not known, although it was possibly only a return of the Black Death; and in 1370 appeared the third great plague, which lasted for a period of three or four years, and produced a fearful mortality. There can be little doubt that this series of calamities paralyzed the country, and left its marks upon the history of the times.*

A.D. 1361.—Lionel, third son of Edward III., and earl of Ulster by right of his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the murdered earl, was now appointed to the government of Ireland, with extraordinary authority, as lord lieutenant. He landed in Dublin on the 15th of September, 1360, with an army of 1,500 men, and evinced from the first a bitter animosity towards the Irish, reviving, moreover, the distinction between the English by birth and by descent. A royal mandate had been issued a short time before, ordering that no "mere Irishman" should be appointed mayor, bailiff, or other officer of any town within the English dominion; or be received through any motives of consanguinity, affinity, or other causes, into holy orders, or be advanced to any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion.† But the principle of interdiction was carried much farther by duke Lionel. In a war which he had to carry on against the O'Byrnes, just after his arrival, he issued a proclamation "forbidding any of Irish birth to come near his army;" thus excluding from his ranks all the old colonists, to their infinite disgust. After this

dead was immediately affected and died, and the penitent and the confessor were carried together to the grave." And after describing the terror it produced and the symptoms of the disease, which show it to have been the real eastern plague, he adds:—"That year was beyond measure wonderful, unusual, and in many things prodigious, yet was sufficiently abundant and fruitful, however sickly and deadly. That pestilence was rife in Kilkenny in Lent. Scarcely one ever died alone in a house; commonly husband, wife, children, and servants, went the one way—the way of death." See the authorities on this subject collected by Dr. Wilde, in his important report on the Table of Deaths; Census of 1851. This plague, which originated in the east, ravaged the whole of Europe. Dr. Hecker says it must have swept away at least twenty-five millions of the human race. Stow, in his Chronicles says that in Ireland it destroyed a great number of English people that dwelt there; but such that were Irish born, that dwelt in the hill country, it scarcely touched. This, observes Dr. Wilde, was here called "the first great pestilence," being the first of the five remarkable plagues of the fourteenth century, three of which occurred in the reign of Edward III.

* During this dreary period the following entry occurs in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 1351, "William MacDonough Moyneach O'Kelly (chief of Hy-Many), invited all the Irish poets, brehons, bards, harpers, gamesters, or common kearroghs, jesters, and others of their kind in Ireland, to his house upon a Christmas this year, where every one of them was well used during Christmas holidays, and gave contentment to each other at the time of their departure, so as every one of them was well pleased, and extolled William for his bounty."

† Rymer, t. vi., 326.

gross insult a hundred of his best soldiers appear to have been slain at night in some unaccountable manner, whereupon, he abandoned the distinction of English by birth and English by descent, and summoned all the king's subjects to his standard.* Subsequently he endeavoured to establish discipline in the army; expended £500 in walling the town of Carlow, whither he removed the exchequer, and ingratiated himself by other acts with the colonists, who granted him two years' revenue of all their lands towards the prosecution of the war against the Irish.

A.D. 1367.—Having returned to England in 1364, Lionel was created duke of Clarence, and twice in the three following years he was again entrusted with the office of lord lieutenant. In the year 1367, during the last period of his administration, was held the memorable parliament at Kilkenny, in which was passed the execrable act known as the "Statute of Kilkenny." It is said that Lionel's chief object in his later visits to Ireland was to regain the possessions usurped by the Burkes of Connaught, and that his failure to attain that end was the real cause of the bitterness of the act in question. The following are the principal provisions of this statute:—That intermarriage with the natives, or any connection with them in the shape of fostering, or gossipred, should be dealt with and punished as high treason; that any man of English race assuming an Irish name, or using the Irish language, apparel or customs, should forfeit all his lands and tenements; that to adopt the Brehon law, or submit to it, was treason; that without the permission of the government the English should not make war or peace with the Irish: that the English should not permit the Irish to pasture cattle on their lands, nor admit them to any ecclesiastical benefices or to religious houses; nor entertain their minstrels, rhymers, or news-tellers. There were also enactments against the oppressive tax of coyn and livery, against the abuse of royal franchises and liberties, and upon some other matters: but the principal and manifest object of this most tyrannical and insulting statute was to keep the English and Irish for ever separate, and to wage a perpetual war against those of the English race, who, holding lands and residing among the Irish, were necessitated, more or less, to adopt the Irish customs and laws.† It was impossible to enforce such a

* Grace's Annals.

† "The result," says the late eminent antiquary and historian, Mr. Hardiman, describing the effect of this statute, "was such as might be expected. English power and influence continued to decrease, insomuch that at the close of the succeeding century they were nearly annihilated in Ireland. At the beginning, the native Irish, apprehending that the real object of a law enacted and proclaimed with so much pomp and appearance of authority was to root them altogether out of the land, naturally combined together for safety, and some of the more powerful chieftains

law, and practically it became a dead letter; but the distrust and national enmity which it created were kept alive, and in the reign of Henry VII. (A.D. 1494) it was to a great extent revived and confirmed. As to duke Lionel, he left Ireland in 1367, and died next year in Italy, where he had just taken as his second wife the daughter of the duke of Milan.

While the Anglo-Irish were struggling with enemies in the very bosom of their colony, and praying by a petition to the king for relief from the payment of scutage upon the lands of which the Irish had deprived them in their daily encroachments upon the bounds of the Pale,* we see the native chieftains acting in their respective territories without any reference whatever to English authority, and without appearing to recognise its presence in the country. Hugh O'Conor, king of Connaught, and Cathal O'Conor (Sligo), led an army into Meath, in 1362, and laid waste the English lands, burning no less than fifteen churches which had been used by their enemies for garrisons; but Cathal died of the plague the same year. In 1365, Brian MacMahon, lord of Oriel, induced Sorly MacDonnell, a prince of the Hebrides, to put away his wife, the daughter of O'Reilly, and to marry Brian's own daughter. Soon after he added another crime to this, by drowning his son-in-law, whom he had invited to drink wine in his house. The O'Neills, O'Donnells, and other Ulster chieftains confederated to punish the offending chief; MacMahon was driven from Oriel, and having returned, was again attacked, and ultimately slain by a gallowglass of his own followers when marching with them against the English. His fate and that of Turlough O'Conor, already related, show that the Irish chieftains, even in that age of anarchy, and among men of their own order, would not suffer glaring crimes to go unpunished.

Garrett, earl of Desmond, at the head of an Anglo-Irish army suffered

resolved upon immediate hostilities. O'Conor of Connaught and O'Brien of Thomond for the moment laid aside their private feuds, and united against the common foe. The earl of Desmond, lord justice, marched against them with a considerable army, but was defeated and slain (captured) in a sanguinary engagement, fought A D. 1369, in the county of Limerick. O'Farrel, the chieftain of Annaly, committed great slaughter in Meath. The O'Mores, Cavanaghs, O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles, pressed upon Leinster, and the O'Neills raised the red arm in the north. The English of the Pale were seized with consternation and dismay, and terror and confusion reigned in their councils, while the natives continued to gain ground upon them in every direction. At this crisis an opportunity offered, such as had never before occurred, of terminating the dominion of the English in Ireland; but if the natives had ever conceived such a project, they were never sufficiently united to achieve it. The opportunity passed away, and the disunion of the Irish saved the colony."—*Statute of Kilkenny*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, with introduction and notes by the late James Hardiman, Esq., M.R.I.A. Dublin, 1843.

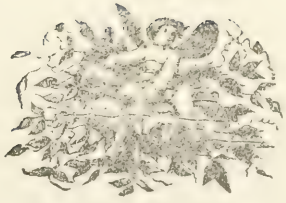
Close Roll. 46 Ed. III. Prynne, 302.

a great overthrow from Brian O'Brien, chief of Thomond, in 1369. Garrett himself was made prisoner; his army was slaughtered, and Limerick was burned by the men of Thomond. Niall O'Neill defeated the English, in 1374, and again gained an important victory over them the following year in Down, slaying several of their knights; but the native septs of Leinster were not so successful at this time in the harassing war which they had to sustain against the forces of the English government. Melaghlin O'Farrell was slain in 1374. Donough Kavanagh MacMurrough, king of the Irish of Leinster, was cut off by stratagem in 1375. The MacTiernans were defeated the same year, and Hugh O'Toole, lord of Imaile, was killed in 1376. There was the usual amount of discord among the Irish themselves; but the broils among the English at the same time, and especially the sanguinary feuds which raged between the different sections of the Burkes in Connaught, show that the curse of dissension was not confined to the native race.

So difficult and odious had the task of governing Ireland become, that we find Sir Richard Pembridge, the warden of the cinque ports, positively refusing the office of lord justice, which he was ordered to undertake, in 1369; and his refusal was not adjudged an offence, on the ground that the law required no man, not condemned for a crime, to go into exile, which a residence in Ireland, even in so honorable a position, was admitted to be. When Sir William de Windsor was then appointed to the office, he undertook to carry on the government for £11,213 6s. 8d. per annum, but Sir John Davies assures us that the whole revenue of Ireland at that time did not amount to £10,000 annually in the best years. Previously the salary of the lord justice used to be £500 a year, out of which sum he should support a certain number of armed men. The subsidies which Edward III. was obliged to levy in Ireland, not only for the wars in this country, but for those in France and Scotland, were intolerably oppressive, and were exacted from ecclesiastical as well as lay property. Ralph Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, opposed the collection of one of these imposts, as far as it affected the church lands in his province, and, accompanied by the suffragan bishops of Limerick, Emly, and Lismore, dressed in their pontifical robes, appeared in the streets of Clonmel, and solemnly excommunicated the king's commissioner of revenue, and all persons concerned in advising, contributing to, or levying the tax. When cited to answer for this conduct, the prelates pleaded the magna charta, which decreed the exemption of church property; and although the cause was given against them, no judgment appears to have been executed in the

case. On the whole, it may be said of the reign of Edward III., that however brilliant it was in English history, it was most disastrous to the English interests in this country; and as far as Irish interests were concerned, Mr. Moore has well observed that during it were laid "the foundations of that monstrous system of misgovernment in Ireland to which no parallel exists in the history of the whole civilized world; its dark and towering iniquity having projected its shadow so far forward as even to the times immediately bordering upon our own."*

* Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii., p. 118.—A curious entry on the Exchequer Issue Roll for the year 1376 refers to the close of this reign, and has often been quoted as singularly expressive; it is to the effect that Richard Dere and William Stapolyn came over to England to inform the king how very badly Ireland was governed; and that the king ordered them to be paid ten pounds for their trouble.



CHAPTER XXVI.

REIGN OF RICHARD II.

Law against Absentees.—Events in Ireland at the Opening of the Reign.—Partition of Connaught between O'Conor Don and O'Conor Roe.—The Earl of Oxford made Duke of Ireland—His Fate.—Battles between the English and Irish.—Richard II. visits Ireland with a Powerful Army.—Submission of Irish Princes—Hard Conditions.—Henry Castide's Account of the Irish.—Knighting of Four Irish Kings.—Departure of Richard II. and Rising of the Irish.—Second Visit of King Richard—His Attack on Art MacMurrough's Stronghold.—Disasters of the English Army.—MacMurrough's Heroism.—Meeting of Art MacMurrough and the Earl of Gloucester.—Richard Arrives in Dublin.—Bad News from England.—The King's Departure from Ireland—His unhappy Fate.—Death of Niall More O'Neill, and Succession of Niall Oge.—Pilgrimages to Rome.—Events Illustrating the Social State of Ireland.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Popes: Urban VI., Boniface IX.—King of France, Charles VI.—King of Scotland, Robert III.—Emperor of the Turks, Bajazet I.

[A.D. 1377 TO A.D. 1399.]

RICHARD II., only surviving child of Edward the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather, Edward III., as king of England, when only in his eleventh year, and the government of the state was carried on by the young king's uncles. One of the first measures of his reign relating to Ireland was a stringent law against absenteeism, obliging all persons who possessed lands, rents, or other income in Ireland, to reside there, or to send proper persons to defend their possessions, or else to pay a tax to the amount of two-thirds of their Irish revenues; those who attended the English universities, or were absent by special licence being excepted.

A.D. 1380.—Edmond, grandson of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, came to Ireland with extraordinary powers as lord lieutenant. Having married Philippa, the daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, and

of Elizabeth, daughter of the dun earl, he became in her right earl of Ulster; and several of the native Irish princes paid court to him on his arrival; among others, Niall O'Neill, O'Hanlon, O'Farrell, O'Reilly, O'Molloy, Mageoghegan, and the Sinnagh or Fox. One of the Irish nobles who thus visited the earl was Art Magennis, lord of Iveagh, in Ulster, who, for some charge trumped up against him, while thus within the grasp of his enemies, was seized and cast into prison. This act destroyed the confidence not only of the Irish, but, as we are told, of many of the English, who consequently kept aloof from the deputy. Mortimer invaded Ulster shortly after, destroying much property, lay and ecclesiastical, and the following year he died in Cork.*

A.D. 1383.—Roger Mortimer, the youthful son of the late earl, was nominated in his father's place, his uncle Sir Thomas Mortimer, chief justice of the common pleas in England, administering affairs for him as deputy. In so absurd a way was the office of lord justice of Ireland disposed of at that time, that a grant of it was next made for ten years to Philip de Courtney, a cousin of the king's, who abused his power by such gross peculation and injustice, that the council of regency had him taken into custody and punished for his crimes. An army was this year led by Niall O'Neill against the English of Antrim; and the following year that prince took and burned Carrickfergus, and, as the annals say, "gained great power over the English."

At this period the country was desolated by plague as well as by war, the fourth great pestilence of the fourteenth century having broken out in 1382; and the ravages of the disease may be traced for some years in the numerous obituaries which our annalists record.†

A.D. 1384.—A fresh source of disorder now arose in Connaught. Rory, son of Turlough O'Conor, and last king of that province, died, after a stormy reign of over sixteen years, and two rival chieftains were set up in his place. One of these, Turlough Oge, a nephew of the late chief, was inaugurated king by O'Kelly of Hy-Many, Clanrickard, and some of the O'Conors; and Turlough Roe, son of Hugh, son of Felim O'Conor, the other competitor, was, about the same time, installed by MacDermot, of Moylurg, the Clann Murtough, and all the chiefs of the

* In 1380, before the arrival of Edmond Mortimer, a number of French and Spanish galleys retired from the English fleet into the harbour of Kinsale, where they were attacked by the inhabitants, English and Irish, 400 of their men being killed, and their principal officers captured. Holinshed gives this statement on the authority of Thomas Walsingham, but it is not alluded to in the Irish or Anglo-Irish chronicles.

† This pestilence Dr. Wilde suspects to have been a visitation of typhus fever.—*See Report on Table of Deaths.*

Sil-Murray. The former was the ancestor of the sept of O'Conor Don (the brown), and the latter of that of O'Conor Roe (the red); and between these two branches of the O'Conor family and their respective adherents implacable hostility prevailed for many years after. The territory of Connaught was divided between them, by which partition the ancient power of that province was crushed for ever, while the country was laid waste by feuds, which seldom allowed any interval of repose.

A.D. 1385.—In a moment of puerile caprice, Richard, who had been heaping honors upon Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, bestowed Ireland upon that young favorite. He created him marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland, transferring to him for life the sovereignty of that kingdom, such as he possessed it himself; and the parliament, which confirmed this grant, also voted a sum of money for the favorite's intended expedition to Ireland. Having accompanied de Vere as far as Wales, the youthful monarch changed his mind, and sending Sir John Stanley to Ireland as his deputy, he kept his favorite near himself. Like that of all royal minions, the fate of the young duke of Ireland was unfortunate. The irritated nobles took up arms; the duke of Gloucester, one of the king's uncles, joined them, and de Vere, defeated in battle, was driven into exile, and died in Belgium, in 1396.

A.D. 1392.—Our annals mention a victory gained by O'Conor, of Offaly, in 1385, over the English, at the tochar, or pass, near the hill of Croghan, in the King's county; and the Anglo-Irish chronicles record a battle, in which 600 of the Irish were slain, in the county of Kilkenny, in the year 1392. In this latter year Niall O'Neill led an army to Dundalk, where he defeated the English; he himself, although then far advanced in years, killing Seffin White in single combat. This year died O'Neill's eldest son, Henry, who was distinguished for his justice and munificence, but was surnamed, by antiphrasis, Avrey (Aimhreidh) or the Contentious. Henry's sons were warlike, and their names long occupy a conspicuous place in the annals of the northern province.

A.D. 1394.—Richard, having suddenly formed a project of visiting Ireland in person, countermanded the preparations which the duke of Gloucester was making by his orders to come to this country. Ireland had become a perpetual drain on the royal exchequer. Notwithstanding the absentee laws, a great number of the Anglo-Irish proprietors resided in England, and the power and daring of the neighbouring Irish septs were daily increasing. The king was resolved to take into his own hands the subjugation of the country; but this was not the sole motive for his expedition. He had just suffered a mortifying repulse in Ger-

many, where he hoped to be elected emperor, and had also lost his queen; and he sought by excitement and change of scene to heal his wounded feelings. Richard landed at Waterford, on the 2nd of October, with an army of 4,000 men-at-arms and 30,000 archers, which had been conveyed in a fleet of 200 ships. This was the largest force ever landed on the coast of Ireland; and the Irish, after retiring for awhile to their fastnesses, prudently judged that resistance to such an army was worse than useless, whereupon their chiefs came in considerable numbers to yield him homage. Beyond this show of submission, however, and a parade of his power which gratified his vanity, Richard, with his splendid and costly armament, effected nothing. No measure of justice or conciliation was thought of; nothing was done to gain the confidence and esteem of the Irish; the laws of England were not extended to them; in fact every law was framed against them; and there was no idea of treating them as subjects of the crown, on equal terms with the English, or of securing to them the possession of such portions of their ancient patrimonies as had not yet been wrested from them.

O'Neill and other lords of Ulster met the king at Drogheda, and there did homage in the usual form. Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and lord marshal of England, was commissioned to receive the fealty and homage of the Irish of Leinster; and on an open plain at Balligorey, near Carlow, he held an interview with the famous Art MacMurrough, heir of the ancient Leinster kings, who was at this time the most dreaded enemy of the English, and was accompanied at this meeting by several of the southern chiefs.* The terms exacted from these chieftains were that they should not only continue loyal subjects, but engage, for themselves and their swordsmen, that on a certain fixed day they would surrender to the king of England all their lands and possessions in Leinster, taking with them only their moveable goods, and that they would serve him in his wars against any others of their countrymen. In return for their hereditary rights and territories they were to receive pensions during their lives, and the inheritance of such lands as they could seize from the "rebels" in other parts of the realm, and for the fulfilment of these hard terms they were severally bound by indentures

* It must have been immediately before this that Art MacMurrough, according to the Irish annals, burned the town of New Ross (Ros-mic-Triuin) in Wexford, carried off a large quantity of valuable property, and slew a great number of the English. It was with difficulty this chief was pursuaded to offer his submission, and when the English had him in their hands there was some attempt made to detain him, O'Byrne, O'More, and O'Nolan being finally kept as hostages for him.

and in heavy penalties. No less than seventy-five chieftains from different parts of Ireland appear to have proffered their homage to Richard or his commissioner on this occasion; and it is curious that the king in a letter, written at the time, to his council in England, after classifying the population of the English Pale under the three heads of "wild Irish, or enemies," "Irish rebels," and "English subjects," admits that the "rebels" had been made such by wrongs and English misrule, and that if not wisely treated they might enter the ranks of the "enemies," whence he thought it right to grant them a general pardon, and to take them under his special protection.* The council thought the king's treatment of the Irish too lenient, and suggested that he should exact large fines and ransoms for the pardons which he granted; but his experience taught him otherwise.

When Sir John Froissart, the French chronicler, was, in 1395, at the court of Richard II. in England, he met there an English gentleman, named Henry Castide, or Castile, who told him that he had lived for many years in Ireland; that he had been captured by the Irish in a skirmish, but had been well treated by the Irish gentleman who took him prisoner, and who afterwards gave him his daughter in marriage; that he had thus acquired a knowledge of the Irish language, and was on that account employed by king Richard to instruct four Irish kings, on whom he desired to confer the honor of knighthood, in such things as might be necessary for the ceremony. A courtier like Froissart was not apt to favor a people such as the Irish were then represented to be, nor was his informant prejudiced in their favor; but the details transmitted to us through such hands are extremely curious. "To tell you the truth," said Castide, "Ireland is one of the worst countries to make war in or to conquer, for there are such impenetrable and extensive forests, lakes, and bogs, there is no knowing how to pass them. It is so thinly inhabited that whenever the Irish please they desert the towns and take refuge in these forests, and live in huts made of boughs, like wild beasts; and whenever they perceive any parties advancing with hostile disposition, and about to enter their country, they fly to such narrow passes it is impossible to follow them . . . . And no man-at-arms, be he ever so well mounted, can overtake them, so light are they of foot. Sometimes they leap from the ground behind a horseman, and embrace the rider (for they are very strong in their arms) so tightly that he can no way get rid of them." Sir Henry then proceeds to relate,

* *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, edited by Sir Harris Nicholas.

among other things, how "four of the most potent kings of Ireland had submitted to the king of England, but more through love and good humour than by battle or force;"* how they were placed for about a month under his "care and governance at Dublin, to teach them the usages of England;" how they refused to sit to dinner unless their minstrels and attendants were allowed seats with them at the same table, according to the custom of their own country; how they at first objected to receive knighthood, observing that they had been created knights already when they were only seven years of age, such being the custom of their country, especially with the sons of kings; how they ultimately acceded to the wishes of king Richard in everything, and were knighted by him in the cathedral of Dublin, on the feast of Our Lady, in March; and dined that day, in robes of state, at the table of king Richard, "where they were much stared at by the lords and those present, not, indeed, without reason, for they were strange figures, and differently countenanced to the English and other nations." So the courtly Sir John reports the words of Master Castide, and he adds that the success of Richard II. in Ireland on this occasion was partly owing to the veneration in which the natives held the cross of St. Edward, which the king emblazoned on all his banners, instead of his own leopards and *fleurs de lis*.

A.D. 1395.—After nine months passed in Ireland, chiefly in those displays of pomp and pastimes which he so much loved, Richard was recalled to England by affairs of state early in the summer of this year, and left young Roger Mortimer, who had been declared heir-presumptive to the crown, as his viceroy in Ireland. Scarcely, however, had the king departed when several of the Irish chiefs cast off the allegiance to which they had submitted for the moment. It would appear that even before he left the English suffered partial defeats in Offaly and Ely O'Carroll. We are told, on English authority, that Sir Thomas Burke and Walter Bermingham slew 600 of the Irish this year, and that the O'Byrnes of Wicklow were defeated by the viceroy and the earl of Ormond. But, on the other hand, MacCarthy gained a victory over the English in Munster; O'Toole slaughtered them fearfully in a battle in 1396, six score heads of the foreign foe being counted before the chief after the conflict; the earl of Kildare was taken prisoner by Calvagh O'Conor of Offaly, in 1398; and the same year the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles avenged many of their former losses by a victory at Kenlis

* The names of the Irish kings are strangely metamorphosed in the orthography of Froissart, but they appear to have been O'Neill, O'Conor, O'Brien and MacMurrough.—Chron. Book IV. c. 64. Johns' Translation.

in Ossory, in which young Mortimer was slain and a great number of the English cut to pieces.

A.D. 1399.—King Richard, who had of late incurred great popular odium in England by his exactions and oppression, undertook the mad project of another expedition to Ireland; and set out at a moment when his government was surrounded by perils at home, leaving his uncle, the Duke of York, regent in his absence. He once more landed at Waterford with another magnificent army, which, like the former one, was transported in a fleet of 200 ships; and it is curious that on this occasion we are again indebted to a French chronicler for an account of the royal transactions in Ireland. A French gentleman named Creton, who was induced to accompany a friend on Richard's second expedition, has left us, in a metrical account of the last days of that unfortunate monarch's reign, some highly interesting details of what he witnessed in this country.*

After six days' delay in Waterford the king marched to Kilkenny, where he remained fourteen days waiting for the arrival of the duke of Albemarle, who still disappointed him; but, in the meantime, Janico d'Artois, a foreign officer of great tact and bravery, and who performed many important services for the English, defeated the Irish at Kells, in Ossory. On the eve of St. John the Baptist, Richard departed from the city of St. Canice, victualling his army as best he could, and marched against Mac Murrough, the indomitable king of Leinster. The main object of the expedition was, indeed, to conquer, if possible, this celebrated chieftain, the most heroic of the Irish princes of his time, who in a territory surrounded by the settlements of his English foes, and spite of all the lords justices sent against him with armies of mail-clad warriors and archers, and all the chivalry of the earls of the Pale, was able to hold his position as an independent king, to keep the Anglo-Irish government in perpetual terror, and to afford a rallying point to his oppressed countrymen, and an example of patriotic heroism to the native chieftains of all Ireland.† MacMurrough's stronghold was in a wood, "guarded by 3,000 stout men, such, as it seemed to me," says the narrator, "were very little astonished at the sight of the English." The king marshalled his army in battle array before the

* See the *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre, Richard;* translated by the Rev. J. Webb, in the twentieth vol. of the Archæologia: London, 1824. The portion of it relating to Ireland was translated long before by Sir George Carew, and published in Harris's *Hibernica.*

† See, for an interesting account of this Irish hero and his exploits, Mr. T. Darcy M'Gee's "*Life and Conquests of Art MacMurrough*," in *Duffy's Library of Ireland.*

wood, the standard being, this time, not St. Edward's gold cross on a red field and four white doves, but his own three leopards; and the Irish not choosing to leave their defences and meet him in the plain, he ordered the villages in the wood to be set on fire, and compelled 2,500 of the peasantry to cut a passage for his army through the wood. Meanwhile he amused himself with one of his favorite pageants, going through the ceremony of knighting his cousin, the duke of Lancaster's son, "a fair and puny youth," who was afterwards king Henry V. of England, together with eight or ten other knights. While marching through the passage opened for them his army was constantly assailed both in the van and rear by MacMurrough's soldiers, who attacked them with loud shouts, casting their javelins with such might "as no habergeon or coat of mail was of sufficient proof to resist their force;" and who were "so nimble and swift of foot that like unto stags they ran over mountains and valleys." MacMurrough's uncle and some others came forward in an abject manner to make their submission to Richard, who thereupon sent a message to the king of Leinster himself, inviting him to follow his uncle's example, and promising not only to pardon him but "to bestow upon him castles, towns, and ample territories." The answer of the heroic Art was that "for all the gold in the world he would not submit himself, but would continue to war, and endamage the king in all that he could." This defiant message was delivered at a time when king Richard's army was in the utmost straits for want of food. The surrounding country had been ravaged over and over, and no provisions were to be found. Several men had perished of famine, and even the horses were without fodder. "A biscuit in one day between five men was thought good allowance, and some in five days together had not a bit of bread!" At length three ships arrived with provisions from Dublin, the army being encamped somewhere near the coast in Wexford; but the starving soldiers plunged into the sea and rifled the vessels without waiting for a regular distribution of food, so that much of it was destroyed and many lives lost in the confusion; and the men indulged to intoxication in the wine which they found in the ships.

Covered with humiliation, king Richard decamped, and marched towards Dublin, the Irish hovering on his rear and skirmishing with the same provoking effect as hitherto; but soon after his departure MacMurrough sent after him to make overtures of peace and to propose a conference. This filled the English camp with delight, and Richard gladly commissioned the earl of Gloucester, who commanded in the rear, to meet

MacMurrough. For this purpose the earl took with him a guard of 200 lances and 1,000 good archers; and among the gentlemen who accompanied him to see the Irish king was our French friend who relates the circumstance:—"From a mountain, between two woods, not far from the sea, we saw MacMurrough descending, accompanied by multitudes of the Irish, and mounted upon a horse, without a saddle, which cost him, it was reported, 400 cows. His horse was fair, and in his descent from the hill to us, ran as swiftly as any stag, hare, or the swiftest beast I have ever seen. In his right hand he bore a long spear, which, when near the spot where he was to meet the earl, he cast from him with much dexterity. The crowd that followed him then remained behind, while he advanced to meet the earl near a small brook. He was tall of stature, well composed, strong, and active; his countenance fierce and cruel." The parley was a protracted one, but led to no reconciliation. Such terms as the earl was empowered to offer were haughtily spurned by MacMurrough, who declared that he would not submit to them while he had life. Richard, on hearing the result, "flew into a violent rage, and swore by St. Edward he would not depart out of Ireland until he had MacMurrough in his hands, living or dead."

Dublin was at that time so prosperous that the arrival of the English king, with an army of 30,000 hungry men, produced no change in the price of provisions. The duke of Albemarle next arrived with his reinforcements, and Richard, forming his army into three divisions, resolved to renew the war against MacMurrough, and at the same time offered a reward of a 100 marks to any one who would deliver that chieftain to him dead or alive. His own fate, however, was nearer at hand than that of Art MacMurrough. After an ominous interruption of news from England for six weeks, owing to stormy weather, disastrous accounts reached him from that country. His cousin, the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was up in rebellion, and had been joined by the barons and a large portion of the population. All his Irish schemes were in a moment crushed. The duke of Albemarle, in whom he trusted, put him on a wrong course. His departure from Ireland was delayed until his Welsh friends were scattered, and he only arrived in England to become a prisoner. Ultimately he was murdered in Pontefract Castle; and thus to this second ill-omened expedition of king Richard to Ireland may be traced the fate of that unfortunate monarch, and the origin of the war between the houses of York and Lancaster, which so long continued to deluge England with blood.

Niall More O'Neill died at an advanced age, in 1397, and was suc-

ceeded by his son, Niall Oge, who chastised the O'Donnells for some of their late aggressions, and made war upon the English so effectually, in 1399, as to plunder or expel nearly all of them whom he found in Ulster. Garrett, fourth earl of Desmond, who died in 1398, and was called the poet, is described as excelling "all the English and many of the Irish in the knowledge of the Irish language."* He was a great patron of learned men, who, even in that age of anarchy, found many friends among the Irish chieftains. Thus Niall O'Neill, whose death we have just mentioned, built a house for the ollavs and poets on the site of the famous palace of Emania, near Armagh. We begin at this time to meet frequent mention of pilgrimages to Rome. In 1396, Thadeus O'Carroll, lord of Ely, repaired, says an Irish chronicler, to the threshold of the apostles on a religious pilgrimage; and, on his return through England, he presented himself, with three other Irish gentlemen, O'Brien, Gerald, and Thomas Calvagh MacMurrough, of the royal race of Leinster, to king Richard, who received them in the most courteous manner, and took them with him on a visit to the king of France.

*Two plaintive quatrains in Norman French, written by this earl while a prisoner, are printed in Croker's popular songs of Ireland, p. 287. Earl Garrett is the theme of many legends still preserved in the south of Ireland; according to one of which, his spirit appears once in seven years on Lough Gur, in the county of Limerick, where he had a castle. See *Four Masters*, vol. v. p. 761, note.

CHAPTER XXVII.

REIGNS OF HENRY IV. AND HENRY V

State of the English Pale.—The Duke of Lancaster in Ireland.—Defeats of the English.—Retaliation.—Lancaster again Lord Lieutenant.—His Stipulations.—Affairs of Tyrone.—Privateering.—Complaints from the Pale.—Accession of Henry V.—Sir John Stanley's government.—Rhyming to death.—Exploits of Lord Furnival.—Reaction of the Irish.—Death of Art MacMurrough Kavanagh.—Death of Murrough O'Conor, of Offaly.—Defeat of the O'Mores.—Petition against the Irish.—Persecution of an Irish Archbishop.—Complaint of the Anglo-Irish Commons.—State of Religion and Learning.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., John XXIII., Martin V.—King of France, Charles VI.—King of Scotland, Robert III.—Revolt of Owen Glendower in Wales, 1401.—Death of Tamarlane, the Tartar Conqueror, 1405.—Cannon first used in England, 1405.—Battle of Azincourt, 1415.—Paper first made of linen rags, 1417.

[FROM 1399 TO 1422.]

WE have already remarked that the reigns of the English kings form no epochs in Irish history. In England the struggles between the crown and the parliament, the consequent growth of popular liberty, the alternate wars and alliances with other countries, and events of like importance, sufficiently distinguish one reign from another. In Ireland the scene varied but little. It was one of continuous strife and warfare; the only redeeming feature being the indomitable heroism with which the native Irish not only maintained their ground against their powerful and rapacious enemies, but gradually regained territories that had been wrested from their ancestors, and even succeeded, as was now the case, in levying tribute within the English Pale.*

A.D. 1402.—Thomas, the young duke of Lancaster, second son of Henry IV., was sent over as lord lieutenant, though not yet of age, and landed at Bullock, near Dalkey. Soon after his arrival, John Drake,

* To that territory within which the English retreated and fortified themselves when a reaction began to set in after their first success in Ireland we have all along applied the name of *Pale*,

then mayor of Dublin, marched against the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, whom he routed at Bray, slaying 500; and as a recognition of this and other similar services, the privilege of having the sword borne before the mayor was granted to the city of Dublin. John Dowdal, sheriff of Louth, was publicly murdered in Dublin, by Sir Bartholomew Vernon and three other English gentlemen, for which and other crimes they were outlawed and their estates forfeited; but soon after they received the king's pardon and had their lands restored. The duke of Lancaster remained two years, and left as deputy Sir Stephen Scroop, who soon after resigned the office to the earl of Ormond, but on the death of the latter in 1405, the earl of Kildare was elected, and he was followed in quick succession by Scroop, and the new earl of Ormond, as deputies to the duke.

Gillapatrick O'More, lord of Leix, defeated the English in battle at Ath-duv, in 1404, killing great numbers and taking a large amount of spoils. The following year Art MacMurrough renewed hostilities by plundering Wexford, Carlow, and Castledermot; and in 1406 the English of Meath were defeated by Murrough O'Conor, lord of Offaly, and his son Calvagh. Three hundred of the English were killed on this occasion.

A.D. 1407.—This year the English avenged some of their recent losses. The lord deputy Scroop, with the earls of Desmond and Ormond, and the prior of Kilmainham, led an army against MacMurrough, who made so gallant a stand that victory for some time seemed to be on his

although that term did not really come into use until about the beginning of the 16th century. In earlier times this territory was called the English Land. It is generally called *Galldacht*, or the "foreigner's territory," in the Irish annals, where the term *Galls* comes to be applied to the descendants of the early adventurers, and that of *Saxons* to Englishmen newly arrived. The formation of the Pale is generally considered to date from the reign of Edward I. About the period of which we are now treating it began to be limited to the four counties of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, which formed its utmost extent in the reign of Henry VIII. Beyond this the authority of the king of England was a nullity. The border lands were called the *Marches*. Campion describes the Pale as the place "whereout they (the English) durst not peepe." The Wicklow septs of O'Toole and O'Byrne frequently scoured the country as far as Clondalkin, Saggard and other places in the immediate vicinity of Dublin. An authority of the reign of Henry VIII. complains that even the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel, or Louth, were not "free from Irish invasions, and were so weakened, withal, and corrupted, that scant four persons in any parish wore English habits; and coine and liverie were as current as in the Irish counties."—The same authority (a Report on the condition of Ireland in 1515, preserved in the English State Paper Office, and printed in the first volume of the "State Papers" relating to Ireland) states that but half of each of the four counties just mentioned was subject to the king's laws, and that "all the comyn Peoplle of the said Halff Countyes that obeyeth the Kinges Laws, for the more part ben of Iryshe Byrthe, of Iryshe Habyte, and of Irishe Language;" and in enumerating the English territories which paid tribute, or "Black Rent," to the "wylde Irish," it is stated that the county of Uriel (Louth) paid yearly to the "great Oneyll" £40; the county of Meath, to O'Conor of Offaly, £300; the county of Kildare, to the same O'Conor, £20; the King's Exchequer to MacMurrough, 80 marks; besides the tributes paid by nglish settlements outside the Pale to their respective Irish chieftains. Such was the state of things more than 300 years after the so-called conquest.

side, although it ultimately declared for the English. The latter then made a rapid march to Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, where they came by surprise upon Teige O'Carroll, lord of Ely, and his adherents, and slew 800 of them in the panic which ensued.*

Teige O'Carroll, who was killed in the fray, was a generous patron of learning; and it will be remembered that a few years before this time, when returning from a pilgrimage to Rome, he was honorably received at the court of Richard II., in Westminster. A parliament was held this year at Dublin in which the statute of Kilkenny was confirmed, but the insolence which prompted this proceeding was soon after humbled.

A.D. 1408.—The duke of Lancaster again assumed the reins of government in person; but stipulated that he should be allowed to transport into Ireland, at the king's expense, one or two families from every parish in England, that the demesnes of the crown should be resumed, and the laws against absenteeism enforced. Soon after his arrival he seized the earl of Kildare in an arbitrary manner, and demanded 300 marks for his ransom. Meanwhile MacMurrough, who had again taken the field, was victorious in battle, and O'Conor Faly carried off enormous spoils from the English in the lands bordering on his own territory. The royal duke finally left Ireland in 1409, after appointing Thomas Butler prior of Kilmainham, as his deputy. The latter held a parlialiament in Dublin the following year, when the law against coyn and livery was further confirmed; he also made an incursion into O'Byrne's country, with a force of 1,500 kernes or light-armed infantry, but without success.†

A.D. 1412.—Tyrone was for many years, about this period, a scene of contention between different sections of the O'Neill family, and the neigbouring chieftains were generally involved in the strife. When Niall Oge O'Neill died in 1402 his son Owen was unable to enforce his

* Both English and Irish accounts agree as to the number of slain, but the former add "that the sun stood still that day for a space, until the Englishmen had ridden six miles!" a prodigy on which the Irish annals are silent.

About this time the first notice of usquebagh or whiskey occurs in the Irish annals, which mention that Richard MacRannal, chief of Muintir-Eolais in Leitrim, died from drinking some at Christmas, in the year 1405. Connell Mageoghegan (Ann. of Clon.) playing upon the name, says "mine author sayeth that it was not *aqua vitæ* to him, but *aqua mortis*." Fynes Morryson, a writer of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, lauds the *usquebagh* or *aqua vitæ* of Ireland, as better than that of England.—Hist. of Ir. vol. ii. p. 366.

† An Act passed in the parliament held in the year 1411, affords a striking example of the malevolence with which the legislature of the Pale was animated towards the Irish. It was enacted that none of the "Irish enemy" should be allowed to depart from the realm, without special leave under the great seal of Ireland; and that any one who seized the person or goods of a native thus attempting to depart should be rewarded with one-half of the aforesaid goods, the remainder to be forfeited to the State.

right of succession, and Donnell, of the Henry O'Neill branch, was recognised as chieftain. In 1410 Donnell was made prisoner by Brian MacMahon of Oriel, who delivered him up to his enemy, Owen O'Neill, and through the agency of the latter he was transferred to the English, who already had in their hands Hugh, another of the Henry O'Neill faction. Hugh made his escape from Dublin in 1412, after ten years' imprisonment, and contrived to take with him several other captives; among others, his kinsman Donnell. This escape created great alarm in the Pale, and threw Ulster once more into confusion. Seven years later Donnell O'Neill was expelled by Owen and the other northern chiefs; and the following year we find the earl of Ormond, then justiciary, acting with an English army against the Ultonians on his behalf. Donnell and his Anglo-Irish auxiliaries were, however, unsuccessful, and the former was then obliged to fly for shelter to the O'Conors of Sligo.

A piratical warfare was carried on at this period between the Scots and the English merchants of Dublin and Drogheda. The latter were obliged to arm in their own defence, as government was unable to protect them, and they fitted out privateers and plundered the Scottish and the Welsh coasts indiscriminately. MacMurrough gained a victory over the English of Wexford in 1413, and the O'Byrnes another over those of Dublin the same year. A little before this, the sheriff of Meath was taken prisoner by O'Conor Faly, and a large ransom exacted for him. In fact, the state of the English Pale was at this time such that it was necessary to remove the prohibition of trading with the Irish of the Marches. Permission was granted to take Irish tenants on the border lands, and licenses were given to place English children with Irish nurses, and even to intermarry with the Irish. The English of Meath were obliged to purchase peace from the Irish by annual tributes or black rent. The English of Louth complained that the king's commissioners had billeted or assessed Eochy MacMahon and other "Irish enemies" upon them, and that these men were prying into all the woods and strong places about the country. A petition was presented by the commons to the king, complaining that even the king's ministers frequently committed open acts of spoliation on the English subjects. * In a word, the speaker of the English House of Commons, Sir John Tibetot, broadly asserted "that the greater part of the Lordship of Ireland, (that is, the English territory there,) had been conquered by the natives." †

A.D. 1413.—Henry V. succeeded to the crown of England on the death

* *Proceedings, &c., of the Privy Council*, edited by Sir H. Nicholas, vol. ii.
† Rot. Parl. 573.

of his father this year; but although he made his first essay in arms in Ireland, having been knighted when a boy by Richard II., in a camp in Wexford, he does not appear to have ever taken much interest in Irish affairs. The English overthrew the Irish in a battle at Kilkea in Kildare; but in the following year they were defeated in Meath by Murrough O'Conor, lord of Offaly, when the baron of Skreen and many of the English gentry were killed, and the sum of 1,400 marks exacted as a ransom for the son of the baron of Slane, who was made prisoner. Sir John Stanley, who was now sent over as lord deputy, rendered himself odious by his cruelties and exactions; and the Irish annals say that he was "rhymed to death" by the poet Niall O'Higgin of Usnagh, whom he plundered in a foray, and who then lampooned him so severely that he only survived five weeks!* He is accused of having enriched himself by extortion and oppression, and of having incurred enormous debts, which his executors refused to liquidate; and it was said that he "gave neither money nor protection to clergy, laity, or men of science, but subjected them to cold, hardship, and famine."

A.D. 1415.—Sir John Talbot of Hallamshire, who was called lord Furnival, in right of his wife, and was subsequently rewarded for his services with the title of earl of Shrewsbury, was sent to Ireland as lord justice at the close of 1414, and entered on the duties of his office with determined energy. Setting out on a martial circuit of the borders of the Pale, he first invaded the territory of Leix, took two of O'More's castles, and laid waste the whole of his lands in so merciless a way, that that chief was obliged to sue for peace, and to deliver up his son as a hostage. The hardest of his terms was, that O'More should fight under the English standard against his brother chieftains, as he was compelled to do immediately after against MacMahon of Oriel, who was likewise subdued and compelled to yield to similar terms; so that it was said lord Furnival "obliged one Irish enemy to serve upon the other." These successes, achieved in the space of a few months, gained for him the approbation of the inhabitants of the Pale; but as it was necessary to revive the exaction of coyn and livery to support the soldiery, the advantages were more than counterbalanced by the losses.†

* This was the second "poetic miracle" performed by this Niall O'Higgin by means of his satire and imprecations, the former being "the discomfiture of the Clann-Conway the night they plundered Niall at Cladann." In the case mentioned above, one of the Anglo-Irish, Henry Dalton, took up the bard's cause, and plundered "James Tuite and the king's people," giving the O'Higgins out of the prey a cow for every one that had been taken from them, and then escorting them to Connaught.

† The oppressive nature of coyn and livery is thus explained in the preamble to the statute (not printed) of 10 Hen. VII., c. 4:—"That of long there hath been used and exacted by the lords and

A.D. 1416.—No sooner had this formidable deputy departed to attend his royal master in France, where he became the most distinguished of the English commanders, than the Irish again rose and made ample reprisals. O'Conor Faly took large spoils from the Pale's men; and the invincible king of Leinster overran the English settlements in Wexford, killing or taking prisoners in one day 340 men. The next day the English sued for peace and delivered hostages to him. This was the last exploit of Art MacMurrough Kavanagh. That Irish prince, the most illustrious of the ancient royal line to which he belonged, died in 1417. Our native annals say "he nobly defended his own province against the invaders from his sixteenth to his sixtieth year." He was distinguished for his hospitality, and his patronage of learning as well as for his chivalry, and was a munificent benefactor of churches and religious houses. He is supposed to have been poisoned along with his chief brehon, O'Doran, by a drink administered to him by a woman at New Ross the week after Christmas, and was succeeded by his son Donough, who was worthy of his father's military fame. Two years after this Donough was made prisoner by Richard Talbot, then lord deputy, and sent to London, where he was confined in the Tower.

A.D. 1421.—Murrough O'Conor, lord of Offaly, whom we have seen so often victorious over the English, died this year, having assumed the habit of a grey friar a month before his death in the monastery of Killeigh, near Geashill. The same year the earl of Ormond, then lord deputy, defeated O'More in "the red bog of Athy," the historian, Campion, relating on this occasion the prodigy which Ware refers to a former one, namely, that the sun stood still to accommodate the victorious English! Thus war was carried on with inveterate animosity on both sides; but unfortunately it was not confined to the hostile races of Celt and Saxon, for during the whole of this time our annals teem with accounts of internecine quarrels among the Irish chiefs themselves in almost every part of the country.*

gentlemen of this land, many and divers damnable customs and usages, which being called coyn and livery and pay—that is, horse meat and man's meat for the finding of their horsemen and footmen, and over that, 4d. or 6d. daily to every of them, to be had and paid of the poor earth-tillers and tenants, without anything doing or paying therefor. Besides, many murders, robberies, rapes, and other manifold oppressions by the said horsemen and footmen daily and nightly committed and done, which have been the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of the said land, so as the most part of the English freeholders and tenants be departed out of the land."—*Grace's Annals*, p. 147, note; *Davis' Discovery*, pp. 143, 144; also, Printed Statutes, 10 Hen. VII., cc. xviii. and xix. The exactions of the Irish chiefs were remodelled after the English invasion, and soon became totally different from those set down in the Book of Rights.—*See O'Donovan's Introduction to the Book of Rights*, p. xviii.

* A small body of Irish troops, under the command of Thomas Butler, prior of Kilmainham,

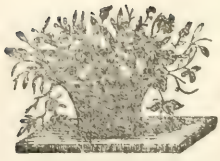
A petition was presented to parliament in 1417, praying that as Ireland was divided into two nations, the English subjects and the Irish enemies, no Irishman should be presented to any office or benefice in the church; and that no bishop, who was of the Irish nation, should, under pain of forfeiting his temporalities, collate any Irish cleric to a benefice; moreover, that he should not be allowed to bring any Irish servant with him when he came to attend parliament or council. The prayer of this atrocious petition was granted; and soon after we find an attempt made to carry out the principle in a prosecution against Richard O'Hedian, archbishop of Cashel, who was distinguished for his zeal and bounty in promoting religion and fostering its establishments, but who was now impeached for showing favor to Irishmen; for giving no benefice to English ecclesiastics; for advising other bishops to follow his example, and for some other trumpery charges; but the matter does not appear to have been followed up. It is plain, that the only real cause of accusation against this prelate was the display of some kindness and generosity towards his persecuted countrymen.

About the close of this reign, the Irish commons presented a petition to the king, complaining of several monstrous grievances and abuses on the part of his officers in Ireland. Among them were the cruelty, oppression, and extortion practised by several of the lord deputies, some of whom, like Sir John Stanley, and lord Furnival, incurred enormous debts which they left unpaid. They complained also of the hostility shown to the Anglo-Irish in England, however loyal they might be as subjects, hostility which was carried so far as to exclude Irish law students from the Inns of Court in London, and to cause a variety of obstructions and annoyances to Irish students attending the English schools, although the statutes concerning absentees contained an express exception in favor of studious persons. Thus were even those of English descent made to feel daily more and more painfully the alien and unkind sentiments with which everything pertaining to Ireland was regarded in England.

Many entries meet us in our searches through the Irish annals, which show that even in the dreary period that we have been just exploring, men were not always occupied with war and rapine. The magnificent Franciscan monastery of Quin, in Clare, was founded by Sheeda Cam MacNamara in 1402; and in 1420, James, earl of Desmond,

attended king Henry V. in one of his French wars, and gained great eclat by their wild impetuosity and heroism in battle.

erected the abbey of the same order at Eas Gephtine or Askeaton, where the noble ruins, washed by the tide of the Deel, still remind us of days when religion exulted in its pomp as well as in its fervor. Several of the Irish chiefs gave edifying evidence of repentance in their deaths; and some of them assumed the religious habit, as Turlough, son of Niall Garv O'Donnell, lord of Tirconnell, who died in the monastery of Assaroe in 1422, causing his son, another Niall Garv, to be inaugurated in the chieftainship. Gilla-na-neev O'Heerin, the author of a valuable Irish topographical poem, often quoted by our antiquaries, died in 1420, and the obituaries of some other persons, distinguished for historical knowledge, are mentioned under that and the following year, as David O'Duigenman, Farrell O'Daly, ollav of Corcomroe, and Gillareagh O'Clery of Tirconnell.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

REIGNS OF HENRY VI., EDWARD IV., EDWARD V., AND RICHARD III.

State of Ireland on the Accession of Henry VI.—Liberation of Donough Mac Murrough.—Incursions of Owen O'Neill.—His inauguration.—Famine.—The "Summer of slight acquaintance."—Distressing State of Discord.—Domestic War in England at this Period.—Dissensions in the Pale.—Complaints against the Earl of Ormond.—Proceedings of Lord Furnival.—Pestilence.—Devotedness of the Clergy.—The Duke of York in Ireland.—His Popularity.—Confesses his Inability to Subdue the Irish—His subsequent Fortunes and Death in England.—Irish Pilgrimages to Rome and St. James of Compostella.—Munificence of Margaret of Offaly—Her Banquets to the Learned.—The Butlers and Geraldines take opposite sides in the English Wars.—Popular Government of the Earl of Desmond.—He is unjustly Executed.—Wretched Condition of the English Pale.—Fatal Feuds and Indifference of the Irish, and Cotemporary Disorders in England.—Atrocious Laws against the Irish.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Eugenius IV., Calixtus III., Pius II., Paul III., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII.—Kings of France: Charles VII., Louis XI., Charles VIII.—Kings of Scotland: the First, Second, and Third James.

Joan of Arc Burned by the English as a Sorceress, 1434.—Constantinople taken by the Turks, 1453.—Printing Invented by Guttenberg, 1440, and introduced into England by Caxton, 1471.—St. Thomas á Kempis died, 1471.

(A.D. 1422 TO 1485.)

HENRY VI. was proclaimed king of England while yet an infant, not quite nine months old; and those who governed during his minority found the English colony in Ireland in a very precarious state at the time they entered on their duties. In 1423, Donnell O'Neill, chief of Tyrone; his old competitor for the chieftaincy, Owen, son of Niall Oge O'Neill; Niall O'Donnell, chief of Tirconnell, and several other princes of Ulster, laid aside their feuds for the moment in order to make a combined inroad on the English of that province. They marched first to Dundalk, thence to the town of Louth, and subsequently into Meath, where Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, who then filled the office of lord deputy,

attempted to arrest their progress, but in vain, his army having been routed with considerable loss. Finally, peace was made with the Irish after they had obtained enormous spoils, and levied a tribute or black rent on the wealthy burgesses of Dundalk. The following year James, earl of Ormond, came to Ireland as lord lieutenant with an English army, and mustering a strong force he hastened to avenge the colonists on the northern chieftains. He ravaged the plains of Armagh and part of Monaghan. The O'Neills of Clannaboy, O'Hanlon, and MacMahon were driven, either by necessity or private jealousy, to fight on the English side, and the men of Tyrone and Tirconnell retired to their own territories.

A.D. 1425.—Edward Mortimer, earl of March, having assumed the government of Ireland, landed here with a large army, according to the Irish annals, in September, 1424, but according to English authorities, in the preceding year. The year after his arrival he died of the plague at his residence in Trim; and Talbot, lord Furnival, who succeeded him in office, came suddenly on a number of Ulster chieftains, who were negotiating peace with earl Mortimer at the time of his unexpected death. These chiefs were carried prisoners to Dublin, and their seizure produced the utmost excitement in the north. Owen O'Neill was ransomed, but how the other prisoners eventually got off we are not told. The annals add that the Clann Neill then arranged their mutual differences, and recovered by their united force all the lands which they had lost in their contentions.

A.D. 1428.—Donough MacMurrough, son of the celebrated Art Mac Murrough Kavanagh, was this year liberated from the Tower, after an imprisonment of nine years. The Irish annals say he was ransomed by his people, the Irish of Leinster. On his return to Ireland he resumed the honors of his hereditary chieftaincy, and with its honors its chivalrous resistance to the English; as we find that in 1431 he made an incursion into the county of Dublin, and that in a battle fought on that occasion he was victorious in the early part of the day, although in the evening the English rallied, regained the captured spoils, and killed many of his men. One of the O'Briens and two sons of O'Conor Kerry were in MacMurrough's army at the battle, and the O'Toole fell into the hands of the English. MacMurrough took revenge the following year by another incursion, and a battle in which he routed the English and made several prisoners.

A.D. 1430.—Owen O'Neill led an army this year into Louth and devastated the English settlements there. He burned the castles which

defended Dundalk, and made the inhabitants of that town pay tribute. He then marched into Annaly and Westmeath, spreading desolation wherever he went; the English were obliged to purchase mercy at a dear rate, and several Irish chiefs, as O'Conor Faly, O'Molloy, O'Madden, Mageoghegan, and O'Melaghlin, acknowledged him as their lord paramount by the old form of accepting stipends from him. The history of the time is made up of such driftless hostilities, which served only the purposes of personal revenge or plunder, and left the fate of the country untouched. On the death of Donnell O'Neill, of the Henry Avry branch, who was killed by the O'Kanes, in 1432, Owen O'Neill was regulary inaugurated at Tullaghoge as chief of the Kinel-Owen. This year Manus MacMahon committed frequent depredations on the English, and was in the habit of placing their heads on the stakes which enclosed his garden at Baile-na-Lurgan, where the town of Carrickmacross now stands.

In 1433 the O'Neills and O'Donnells waged a terrific war against each other; and to add to the misfortunes of the country, a famine prevailed; so that the season was afterwards known as "the summer of slight acquaintance," from the selfish distance and reserve which the dearth created among friends. In 1434 the chiefs of Tyrone and Tirconnell once more combined to invade the English districts and to enforce the tribute which they had imposed on Dundalk; but, on this occasion a rash movement on the part of some of the young O'Neills led to the loss of a battle and the capture of Niall Garv O'Donnell, who was taken off to England and confined in the tower. In 1439 this heroic chieftain was removed to the Isle of Man to negotiate for his ransom, but he died there, and, to the exclusion of his sons, his brother Naghtan O'Donnell was installed chief of Tirconnell.

The feuds and alliances which alternated in such rapid succession among the Irish chieftains appear to us, at this distance, to have been in the utmost degree capricious and uncertain; but the most melancholy feature in the social picture was the unprincipled competition for the chieftaincy by which the ruling families in almost all the independent territories were torn into factions. The old law of tanistry was perverted or trampled under foot by the ambitious. Brothers were arrayed against each other, and uncles and nephews were engaged in perpetual warfare. At the time we are treating of, Owen O'Neill, prince of Tyrone, had to defend himself against his kinsman Brian Oge O'Neill, and was ultimately banished by his own son Henry. A few years later

(1452) Naghtan O'Donnell was murdered at night by the two sons of his brother Niall Garv, whom he had disinherited. In 1437 the indomitable O'Conor Faly had the mortification to see his brother, Cahir, leagued against him for a time with the English. Brian and Manus MacMahon contended for the chieftaincy of Oriel, and in the south, Tiege O'Brien, chief of Thomond, was in 1438 deposed by his brother Mahon. In Connaught the insignificance to which the leading septs had been reduced by their family divisions has rendered it unnecessary for us for some time past to notice their still uninterrupted broils. That such a state of things should have prevailed in Ireland, where anarchy was rendered in a manner inevitable by the conflicts of the hostile races and the absence of a controlling power, is perhaps not to be wondered at. But at this period England herself presented in the struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster an example of the same kind of family warfare, on a gigantic scale, and at an enormous sacrifice of human life.

Nor was the English Pale all this time free from dissension. About the beginning of this reign a violent feud broke out between the earl of Ormond and the Talbots, and continued to disturb the country for many years. A parliament, held in Dublin, in 1441, acting under the influence of Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, and brother of lord Furnival, adopted certain statements or articles, the object of which was to prevent the re-appointment of the earl as lord-lieutenant. They prayed the king to appoint a "mighty lord of England" to the office, on the ground that the people would more readily favor and obey him than any man of Irish birth; as Englishmen "keep better justice, execute the laws, and favor more the common people than any Irishman ever did, or is ever likely to do." They urged that the earl of Ormond had lost all his castles, towns, and lordships in Ireland; that he was too old and feeble to take the field against the king's enemies, and made sundry other charges to show his unfitness for the office.* These accusations did not appear to weigh with king Henry, for the earl, who was a staunch supporter of the house of Lancaster, was re-appointed lord-lieutenant the next year. Sir Giles Thorndon was, however, sent over to observe how things were going on, and he made a report, although only in general terms, on the factions which distracted the king's subjects in Ireland. Two years later (1444) he made a second report, in which the earl of

* Proceedings of the Privy Council, vol. vi.

Ormond was directly charged with misappropriating part of the public revenue, with compromising crown debts for his own benefit, and with sundry acts of corruption, peculation, &c. The earl was, upon this, arrested and confined in the tower on a charge of high treason, and Sir John Talbot, then earl of Shrewsbury, but better known to the reader as lord Furnival, was made lord lieutenant (1446), and soon after created earl of Waterford and baron of Dungarvan.*

A.D. 1446.—The earl of Shrewsbury succeeded in establishing peace on the borders of the Pale. This remarkable man always achieved some important exploits on his appointment to the government of Ireland. His fame was world-wide. The English boasted that he won for them the kingdom of France: and all the English power in that country was unquestionably centered in him. Yet this great captain and extraordinary man was able to do no more on this occasion in Ireland, with the aid of an army which he had brought with him from England, than to compel O'Conor Faly, an Irish chieftain in the very heart of Leinster, to make peace with the English government, to pay for the ransom of his son, and to send some beeves for the use of the king's kitchen! A fact worth volumes in illustrating the precise extent of the English power in Ireland more than 270 years after the invasion by Henry II.†

A.D. 1447.—Ireland was at this period seldom free from pestilence, but this year a destructive plague raged in the summer and autumn, and carried off, it was said, 700 priests who had fearlessly exposed themselves to its fury in the discharge of their sacred duties.‡ The plague was also rife the following year in Meath.

A.D. 1449.—The duke of York, who was nephew of the last earl of March, and inherited his right to the earldom of Ulster and other Irish titles,

* In the letters conferring these honors the country from Youghal to Waterford is described as waste, and redounding more to the king's loss than to his profit; but the barony of Dungarvan was soon after restored to the earl of Desmond, from whom it had been taken on that occasion on some unexplained grounds. As an instance of the pretexts for which the petty wars of the time were sometimes carried on, we are told that the son of Birmingham, lord of Louth, was, in 1443, affronted at Trim by the son of Barnwell, treasurer of Meath, who gave him a *caimin* or blow on the nose. Enraged at the insult, young Birmingham left the town privately and repaired to O'Conor Faly, who was only too happy to have one English party to aid him against another. A plundering foray ensued, and Birmingham obtained ample satisfaction, at the same time that Calvagh O'Conor secured his own dues from the English of Offaly. "Never was such abuse better revenged," says Dudley Firbis, "than the said *caimin*."

† The Irish annals add that the earl of Shrewsbury took the lands of several Englishmen for the king's use, and that he made the Dalton prisoner, and turned him into Lough Dan. —*Annals of Four Masters, quoted in note to Four Masters*, vol. iv., p. 951.

‡ In this year an absurd law was passed by a parliament held in Dublin, which enacted that any man who did not shave his upper lip might be treated as an "Irish enemy," and this law remained unrepealed until the second year of Charles I.

was appointed lord lieutenant for a period of ten years with extraordinary powers and privileges, and with a grant of money from England to carry on the government, in addition to the crown revenues of Ireland.* The appointment of a prince of the royal blood to the government of Ireland was always sure to be popular; and in the case of the duke of York, the connection of his family with this country, and his own honest principles and amiable disposition, procured for him the sympathy and confidence of all parties in Ireland. Some of the native chiefs showed him the most marked respect, and gave him, say our annals, as many beeves for the use of his kitchen as he chose to demand.

A.D. 1450.—The son of the chief Mageoghegan was at this time committing great depredations on the English of Meath. He burnt Rathguaire, or Rathmore, Killucan, and several other places in that territory, and at length the duke of York led an army against him, under the royal standard, to Mullingar, where Mageoghegan came at the head of a strong body of cavalry to oppose him. The duke chose not to risk a conflict, and agreed to terms of peace, forgiving Mageoghegan for all his aggressions. He then wrote to his brother, the earl of Salisbury, to state that unless he received an immediate supply of money from England, and was enabled to increase his army, he could not defend the land against the Irish, or keep it in subjection to the king; and that rather than Ireland should be lost through any fault or inability on his part, he would return to England and live on his own slender means.

The main object of the English government in sending the duke to Ireland, was to remove him to a distance from a scene where his presence was dangerous to the reigning house of Lancaster; but the adherents of his party did not forget him in what was intended to be his exile. In the insurrection of Jack Cade, who was an Irishman, one of the objects professed by the insurgents was to place Richard, duke of York, on the throne. The duke now (1451) thought it right to return to England and put himself at the head of his friends, having previously appointed as his deputy the earl of Ormond, who, although of the Lancastrian party, was personally attached to him. It is not our business to follow him in his proceedings in England; but when his party was defeated, and for a time broken up in 1459, he fled to Ireland with his two sons, and was received with enthusiasm in the Pale, resuming the

* In 1442 the Irish parliament, representing to the king the miserable state of the country, alleged that the public revenues fell short of the necessary expenditure by £1,156.

functions of viceroy at the very time that an act of attainder was passed against him and his family by the English parliament. How he could remain at the head of the government of Ireland under such circumstances, is one of the anomalies of which our history affords so many instances. Subsequently, through the energy of the earl of Warwick, who visited Ireland in the course of this war, the white rose of York was again in the ascendant. At the battle of Northampton, in 1460, king Henry was made prisoner, and a compromise was entered into which secured the succession, on the king's death, to the duke of York and his heirs; the duke, in the meantime, being appointed protector; but the queen contrived to rally her party once more, and in the battle of Wakefield, which was fought on the last day of the year 1460, York was killed, together with 3,000 of his followers, among whom were several Irish chiefs from Meath and Ulster.

The events recorded in the Irish annals during the years over which we have just glanced, are, in many cases, full of interest, and serve to throw light upon the state of society. Several pilgrimages to Rome are mentioned almost every year. In 1444 we are told, that the bishop of Elphin and many of the clergy of Connaught and of other parts of Ireland repaired to the eternal city, and that several of them died there. Pilgrimages to St. James of Compostella were also frequent among the Irish chieftains at that period, and even some of the Irish ladies accompanied their lords on that long journey. Calvagh O'Conor, the veteran chief of Offaly, went on the great Spanish pilgrimage in 1451, and in the same year is recorded the death of his wife, Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll, king of Ely, a woman in whose praises the Irish annalists are enthusiastic.* Calvagh himself died in 1458, and was succeeded by his son, Con, who inherited his father's chivalry.

* The literati of Ireland and Scotland were entertained by this Margaret at two memorable feasts. At the first, which was held at Killeigh, in the present King's county, 2,700 guests, all skilled in poetry, or music, or historic lore, were present. The nave of the great church of Da Sinchell (St. Seanchan) was converted, for the occasion, into a banqueting hall, where Margaret herself inaugurated the proceedings by placing two massive chalices of gold, as offerings, on the high altar, and committing two orphan children to the charge of nurses to be fostered at her expense. Robed in cloth of gold, this illustrious lady, who was as distinguished for her beauty as for her generosity, sat in queenly state in one of the galleries of the church, surrounded by the clergy, the brehons, and her private friends, shedding a lustre on the scene which was passing below; while her husband, who had often encountered England's greatest generals in battle, remained mounted on a charger outside the church to bid the guests welcome and see that order was preserved. The invitations were issued and the guests arranged according to a list prepared by O'Conor's chief brehon; and the second entertainment, which took place at Rathangan, was a supplemental one, to embrace such men of learning as had not been brought together at the former feast. *Dudley Firbis's Annals*, quoted in note to Four Masters, vol. iv., p. 972. This queen of Offaly is also celebrated for constructing roads and bridges, building churches, and causing illuminated missals to be written. Her

The Geraldines adhered to the house of York and the Butlers to that of Lancaster, "whereby," says Sir John Davies, "it came to pass that not only the principal gentlemen of both those surnames, but all their friends and dependants did pass into England, leaving their lands and possessions to be overrun by the Irish."* In this manner the Pale became more and more restricted, until half of Dublin, half of Meath, and a third part of Kildare were reckoned in the border territories, where the English law was not fully in force.

A.D. 1462.—On the accession of Edward IV., son of Richard, duke of York, to the throne, in 1461, the earl of Kildare was lord justice of Ireland. The king's brother, the duke of Clarence, was then appointed lord lieutenant, and FitzEustace, afterwards lord Portlester, was sent over as his deputy. He found Ireland plunged in a war between the young earl of Ormond and the earl of Desmond. A pitched battle was fought between them at Baile-an-phoill, now Pilltown, in the county of Kilkenny, when the earl of Ormond's army was defeated with a loss of four or five hundred men. His kinsman, MacRichard Butler, was taken prisoner, and part of the ransom given for him was the copy of the Psalter of Cashel now preserved in the Bodleian library.† After the battle the Geraldines took Kilkenny and other towns of the Butler's country; but the earl of Ormond shut himself up in a strong position, and soon after received some aid from England, under one of his brothers, who captured four ships belonging to the earl of Desmond, and thus the power and courage of the Butlers once more revived.

Thomas, who had succeeded as eighth earl of Desmond, on the death of his father, James,† in 1462, and was appointed lord deputy the

daughter, Finola, took the veil in the convent of Cill-Achaidh (Killeigh, in the King's county), in 1447, after having been the wife, first of O'Donnell, and then of Hugh Boy O'Neill. She was, say the annalists, "the most beautiful and stately, and the most renowned and illustrious woman of her time in all Ireland, her own mother only excepted."

* *Discovery, &c.*, p. 65.

† The following memorandum, made in Irish by MacRichard himself, appears at fol. 115 of the above mentioned interesting MS., "A blessing on the soul of the archbishop of Cashel, i. e. Richard O'Hedigan, for it was by him the owner of this book was educated, namely, Edmond, son of Richard, son of James, son of James, (the first earl of Ormond). This is the Sunday before Christmas, and let all those who shall read this give a blessing on the souls of both." The archbishop here alluded to is the same mentioned above, p. 319. MacRichard Butler died in 1664.

† This James, who increased enormously the wealth and power of his family, obtained the earldom by the expulsion of his nephew, Thomas, the sixth earl, who incurred the displeasure of his friends and retainers by a romantic marriage. It appears that earl Thomas being benighted while hunting in the neighbourhood of Abbeyfeale, obtained a lodging in the house of William MacCormic, the owner of that place and a member of the ancient family of MacCarthy. MacCormic had a daughter, Catherine, with whose beauty the young earl was so captivated that he married her in spite of the remonstrance of his friends; but this union was treated as derogatory to the honor of the Geraldines; he was abandoned even by his retainers, and having been thrice expelled

following year, was a great favorite of king Edward's. Several of the Irish chieftains, and such Anglo-Irish lords as the Burkes, who seldom had any intercourse with the English authorities, came to Dublin to meet him, and entered into friendly relations with him. In 1466 he commanded an army of the English of Meath and Leinster against Con O'Conor Faly; but his army was routed, and he himself, with several of his leading men, were taken prisoners. Among these were Christopher Plunket, William Oge Nugent, Barnwell, and the prior of the monastery of our Lady of Trim. Teige O'Conor, who was the earl's brother-in-law, conveyed the captives to Carberry Castle, in Kildare, where they were subsequently rescued by the English of Dublin. Plundering parties from Offaly were now in the habit of scouring the country as far as Tara to the north and Naas to the south; and the men of Breffny and Oriel devastated all Meath, without any attempt on the part of the English to oppose or pursue them. In the south, Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, crossed the Shannon and plundered the territory of Desmond. He made himself master of the county of Limerick, obtained a tribute of sixty marks from the citizens of Limerick for sparing their city, and compelled the Burkes of Clanwilliam* to acknowledge his authority.

A college, which was afterwards munificently endowed by his successors, was founded at Youghal, in 1464, by the earl of Desmond, who next set on foot a project for establishing an university at Drogheda. But, while thus intent on the social improvement of the country, and acquiring deserved popularity for himself; the career of this nobleman was cut short by a foul act of legalised murder. It is stated that he incurred the enmity of the queen, Elizabeth Woodville, for having advised Edward IV. to divorce her, on account of the lowness of her birth, and that it was by secret instructions from her that he was put to death.† The story is very probable; but it is at all events certain that

by his uncle, he formally surrendered the earldom to him, in 1418, and retired to France, where he died at Rouen, in 1420. Such is the story given by Lodge and traditionally preserved; but O'Daly (p. 36 of the Rev. Mr. Meehan's translation.) assigns rebellion as the cause of earl Thomas's expulsion. James then procured the confirmation of the earldom to himself and his heirs by act of parliament. He purchased from Robert FitzGeoffry Cogan a grant of all his lands, comprising about half the kingdom of Cork, as that part of ancient Desmond was then called; and in 1444 he obtained a patent for the government or custody of the counties of Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Kerry, with a license exempting him for life from attending parliament in person and from entering walled towns.—*Four Masters*; *Cox*; *Archdall's Lodge*, &c.

* The baronies of Clanwilliam in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary are contiguous, and take their name from a branch of the Burke family.

† See the Rev. C. P. Meehan's Translation of O'Daly's *Geraldines*, in Duffy's *Library of Ireland*, where the story is circumstantially related, pp. 39, 40. Also Cox and Holinshed. Mr. Moore,

in 1467 he was superseded in office by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and that in the February of the following year he was seized and beheaded at Drogheda, on the flimsy charge of alliance, fostering, etc., with the Irish.* This monstrous crime, committed in the name of authority, astounded the country, and the earl's sons took up arms against the government. Tiptoft returned to England soon after, as if he had ulfilled a specific mission; and the earl of Kildare, who had been included with the earl of Desmond in the act of attainder, made his scape to England, and pleaded his cause before the king, who pardoned im, and appointed him lord deputy. Tiptoft soon after suffered by the same kind of death which he had inflicted on Desmond.

Daring the remainder of the reign of Edward IV. and those of his nominal successor, Edward V., and of the usurper, Richard III., our annals still abound in materials, although the numerous events recorded n them at this time form no connecting links of importance in the chain of our history. The English power in the Pale was reduced to its lowest point of weakness. Sundry plans for defence were suggested in the wretched condition into which the colonists had fallen. A military society or confraternity, under the name of the Brothers of St. George, was got up; but the whole of the standing army of the English in Ireland, even with their assistance, amounted only to about 200 men. At another time they were reduced to so low an ebb that a force of eighty archers on horseback and forty mounted spearsmen constituted the whole of their military establishment; and as it was doubtful whether the revenue of the Pale could furnish the sum of £600, necessary for the maintenance of this little band, it was provided that England should contribute the balance. Yet the native Irish never thought of using such an opportunity for a national purpose. They made several inroads on the English settlements, which were completely at their mercy; but the animosity with which the Irish septs fought against each other was fully equal to what they exhibited against the Clann Saxon, who were, in fact, treated as a portion of the original population of the country The Irish had no leader, no rallying point, no national principle. They were still in a state of political chaos; but things were at this time not much better in England, where, two kings alternately exchanged places

however, holds, "that by no other crimes than those of being too Irish and too popular did Desmond draw upon himself persecution."—*Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 189.

* Ware and several others give Feb. 15th, 1467, as the date of the earl's execution; but it was only in October that year that Tiptoft came to Ireland. (See Harris's Table). The Four Masters, and the Addenda to Grace's Annals, have the date 1478.

on the throne and in the dungeon, parliaments were making contradictory enactments with servile pliability, the heads of princes and nobles were daily falling under the executioner's axe, and where in the space of thirty years, in the family-quarrel of the houses of York and Lancaster, more than 100,000 Englishmen were slain.

By a law passed in the tenth year of Henry VI., it was made a felony for any subject of the king to sell merchandize in a fair or market among the "Irish enemies," in time either of peace or war; it was also enacted that any of the "Irish enemies," that is, Irish living beyond the bounds of the Pale, who, in time of peace or truce, came and conversed among the "English lieges" might be treated as the king's enemies. By a law of the fifth of Edward IV. (A.D. 1465), any Irishman found without a "faithfull man of good name in his company, in English apparel," and whom an Englishman should choose to suspect of being a thief, or an "intended" thief, might be lawfully killed and his head cut off. And a parliament held in 1475 enacted a law by which any Englishman who suffered injury from a native Irishman belonging to an independent sept, might reprize himself on the whole sept or nation. These infamous laws were directed against the native Irish; but there were others of which the Anglo-Irish might bitterly complain. Thus, in 1438 a law was made in England obliging all persons born in Ireland to quit the former country within a certain time, except graduates of universities,* &c.; while another statute was made in Ireland to prevent persons from emigrating into England. Thus did the legislature ingeniously labor to perpetuate hostility between the two races, while even the old English settlers were made to feel that they were under an alien sway.

* "From various licences for absence, to avoid the penalties against absentees, granted to beneficed clergymen in the reigns of Richard II., and the subsequent kings, it appears that the English universities, and more particularly Oxford, were much resorted to by Irish scholars. (In 1375 two Franciscans of Ennis were sent by the chapter to study at Strasbourg.—Rot. Pat. 49. Ed. III., 273)." Grace's annals, p. 97 note. Some magnificent monasteries founded about this period by Irish princes, attest the wealth as well as the piety of the native population. Thus, the Franciscan monastery of Monaghan was founded by the MacMahons of Oriel, in 1462; that of Lis laichtain, or Ballylongford, on the lower Shannon, by O'Conor, Kerry, in 1470; that of Donegal, by Hugh Roe O'Donnell, in 1474; that of Meelick, by O'Madden, in 1479; that of Killerea in east Muskerry, by Cormac MacCarthy, in 1495; and that of Creevlea in Leitrim, by Owen O'Rourke and his wife, in 1508.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REIGN OF HENRY VII.

Forbearance of Henry VII. towards the Yorkists in Ireland.—The Earl of Kildare continues Lord Deputy.—Arrival of Lambert Simnel.—His Cause Espoused by the Lords of the Pale.—Coronation of Simnel in Christ's Church.—His Expedition to England.—Defeat of Simnel's Army at Stoke.—Pardon of his Adherents.—Loyalty of Waterford.—First use of Fire-arms in Ireland—Murder of the Earl of Desmond.—Arrival of Sir Richard Edgecomb.—Another Mock Prince.—Disgrace of the Earl of Kildare.—His Quarrel with Sir James Ormond.—Perkin Warbeck at Cork.—Sir Edward Poynings Arrives in Ireland as Governor.—The Parliament of Drogheda; Poynings' Act.—The Earl of Kildare Attainted and sent Prisoner to England.—His Vindication before Henry VII.—Returns as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Further Adventures of Warbeck.—His last Visit to Ireland.—His Execution.—Transactions of the Native Princes during this period.—The battle of Knocktow.—Death of Hugh Roe O'Neill.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Pius III., Julius II.—Kings of France: Charles VIII., Louis XII.—Sovereigns of Spain: Ferdinand and Isabella.—Kings of Scotland: James III., James IV.—Discovery of America by Columbus, 1492.

(FROM 1485 TO 1509.)

ON the accession of Henry VII., Gerald, earl of Kildare, was continued in the office of lord deputy, as his brother, Thomas Fitzgerald was in that of chancellor, and his father-in-law, Roland FitzEustace, baron of Portlester, in that of lord treasurer, although these noblemen, like the great majority of the population of the Pale, were avowed partizans of the House of York.* Throughout his reign we find Henry pursuing this temporizing policy towards the enemies of his house in Ireland—a policy so different from that which he adopted in England, and which his cold, calculating, and politic character forbids us to attribute to motives of a generous nature. The result proved that his usual sagacity failed him in this

* The king's uncle, the duke of Bedford, was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in the room

instance, as his Anglo-Irish subjects were not the less disaffected, and were the willing dupes of every plot contrived against him. At first he introduced none of the Lancastrian party into his Irish councils ; but, in November, 1485, the head of this party in Ireland, Thomas Butler, seventh earl of Ormond, who had been attainted under Edward IV. was restored to his honors and lands, and subsequently rendered important services to Henry as a diplomatist and general.*

A.D. 1486.—A contemporary Irish chronicler,† recording the accession of this first of the Tudors, says: "The son of a Welshman, by whom the battle (of Bosworth field) was fought, was made king; and there lived not of the royal blood at that time but one youth, who came the next year (1486) in exile to Ireland." So thought the native Irish writers, who were but imperfectly informed on the affairs of the Pale, and who believed the youth here referred to, namely, Lambert Simnel, the mock earl of Warwick, to have been a genuine prince. Young Simnel, the son of a tradesman of Oxford, arrived in Dublin this year, in charge of a priest, named Richard Symons, who acted as his tutor. He is described as a boy of prepossessing appearance and princely manners; and according to some accounts he was only eleven years of age, although the prince he was chosen to personate, and who was then a prisoner in the Tower, was in his fifteenth year.

Henry had before this some suspicion that the lord deputy was plotting against him; and early this year he invited him to England, on the pretence of consulting him on Irish affairs; but Kildare mistrusted the king's object, and as an apology for not complying with the royal summons, called a parliament and obtained from the chief lords letters which he transmitted to the king, importing that his presence was indispensable at that juncture in Ireland. The next moment we find the earl receiving young Simnel as a true prince, and embarking

of the earl of Lincoln; but in such a case the lord deputy, who resided in the country, was the actual governor of Ireland.

* Thomas Butler, the seventh earl, was the youngest brother of James, the fifth earl, who was a distinguished commander of the Lancastrians, and was beheaded by the Yorkists after the battle of Towton field, in 1461. The second brother, John, was sixth earl, and although true to the principles of his party, was in favor with the Yorkist king, Edward IV., who used to say that "he was the goodliest knight he ever beheld, and the finest gentleman in Christendom." He spoke all the languages of Europe; was sent as ambassador to several courts, and died unmarried, on a pilgrimage in the Holy Land in 1478. The third, or youngest brother Thomas, mentioned above, was ambassador to the courts of France and Burgundy, and died in 1515, the most wealthy subject of the crown of England. He left no sons, and his second daughter, Margaret, was the mother of Sir Thomas Boleyn, father of the famous Anna Boleyn.

† Cathal Mac Manus Maguire, canon of Armagh and dean of Clogher, the original compiler of the Annals of Ulster, who died in 1498.

in his cause. His example was almost universally followed by the inhabitants of the Pale, who still cherished the memory of the popular favorite, Richard duke of York. In vain did Henry exhibit the real earl of Warwick to the gaze of the citizens of London. These were convinced; but the Anglo-Irish were not yet undeceived, and insisted that the person whom Henry had put forward was the counterfeit, and their's the genuine prince. Octavianus de Palatio,* archbishop of Armagh, saw through the Simnel imposture, and endeavoured, but in vain, to expose it. The bishop of Clogher, the families of Butler and St. Laurence, and the citizens of Waterford, also remained faithful to the king. Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV., was supposed to be the chief contriver of the scheme; and lords Lovell and Lincoln, the latter a nephew of the late king, arrived from her court in Ireland, in 1487, with an army of 2,000 Germans, enlisted in Simnel's cause, under the command of a veteran soldier, named Martin Schwartz. Simnel was then solemnly crowned in Christ's Church on Whitsunday, with the title of Edward VI., in the presence of the lord deputy, the chancellor, the treasurer, the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovell, and many of the chief men of the kingdom, as well ecclesiastical as secular. The diadem used in the ceremony is said to have been taken from a statue of the Blessed Virgin, in the church of Sainte Marie del Dam;† and the mock king was then carried in triumph from Christ's Church to Dublin Castle on the shoulders of a gigantic Anglo-Irishman, popularly called Great Darcy of Platten.

Simnel was next conveyed to England, where he landed on the coast of Lancashire with an army composed of some Anglo-Irish and of the Germans already mentioned. Here they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton with a small force, but in their march through Yorkshire the aid which they expected did not appear; and in a desperate battle at Stoke, in Nottinghamshire, they were utterly routed by the vanguard of king Henry's army. Simnel's army consisted of only 8,000 men, of whom 4,000 were slain with all the leaders, including the earl of Lincoln, lords Thomas and Maurice FitzGerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Schwartz. Simnel himself and Richard Symons were made prisoners and dealt with rather mercifully; for while the latter was consigned to perpetual imprisonment, the youthful tool of the conspirators was only condemned to act as turnspit in the king's kitchen, and was subsequently

* He is also called Octavianus Italicus, and was a native of Florence.

† For the identification of the name of this church, situated near Dame's-gate, see Gilbert's History of Dublin, vol. ii., pp. 1 and 256.

promoted to the rank of falconer. The earl of Kildare and other Anglo-Irish lords involved in the mad scheme, but who did not accompany Simnel to England, sent messengers to crave the king's pardon, and Henry seems to have contented himself for that time with sending them a sharp reprimand. He was unwilling to dispense with the earl's services, or drive him into determined hostility, so he retained him in his office of lord deputy. To the citizens of Waterford Henry wrote commending their loyalty, and giving them liberty to seize for the use of their city the ships and merchandize of the rebel citizens of Dublin;* and when the latter applied in abject terms for forgiveness, and endeavoured to exculpate themselves by throwing the blame of their ridiculous revolt on the earl of Kildare, Henry does not appear to have noticed their communication.

The first mention of fire-arms in the Irish annals occurs in the year 1487, when one Brian O'Rourke was slain by Hugh O'Donnell, surnamed Gallda or the Anglicised, "with a ball from a gun;" and the following year cannon make their appearance, the earl of Kildare having, in an incursion into Mageoghegan's territory, demolished the castle of Balrath (Bile-ratha), in the present barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath, with ordnance. James, the ninth earl of Desmond, was murdered in his castle, at Rathkeale, in 1487, by his own attendants, at the instigation, as the Irish annals say, of his brother John, who, as well as the others implicated in the murder, was banished by his brother Maurice, who succeeded to the earldom. The new earl was nicknamed "baccagh," or the lame, but his martial career soon caused this epithet to be changed into that of "warlike," as he was engaged in constant wars with his Irish neighbours, although it was necessary to carry him to the battle-field in a litter.

A.D. 1488.—Sir Richard Edgecomb now came on a special commission from king Henry, to exact new oaths of allegiance from the lords and others, and to fix the conditions on which the king's pardon was to be granted to them. He was attended by a guard of 500 men, conveyed in four ships, and landed at Kinsale on the 27th of June, where he received the homage of lords Barry and Courcey, and administered the oath of fidelity to the inhabitants. At Waterford, where he next

* It was on this occasion that the title of *Urbs intacta* was conferred by Henry on Waterford. A cotemporary metrical version, or rather amplification of the letter addressed by the mayor of Waterford, in the name of the citizens, in reply to the summons received from the earl of Kildare, to recognise the mock king, Simnel, is published from a MS. in the State-paper Office, in Croker's "Popular Songs of Ireland."

arrived, Sir Richard was received with great honor by the citizens, who urgently entreated that if the earl of Kildare were again to be invested with authority, their city, to which for its loyalty he was always hostile, might be exempted from his jurisdiction, and from that "of all other Irish lords who should ever bear any rule in that land; and might hold immediately of the king, or of such English lords as shall fortune hereafter to have rule in Ireland." The commissioner next proceeded to Dublin, and took up his lodgings in the convent of the Friars Preachers. He was informed that the earl of Kildare was absent on a pilgrimage, and his first interview with that nobleman did not take place until seven days after, in St. Thomas's Abbey, Thomas-court, when the commissioner read the king's letters to him and introduced the object of his mission. This parley did not end satisfactorily, and the earl retired to his house at Maynooth, where Sir Richard was subsequently induced to visit him, and was splendidly entertained. But the politeness and hospitality shown to him did not prevent the commissioner from remonstrating against the delays which took place, and the obstacles thrown in the way of an arrangement. He used strong and threatening words, but the lords of the Pale, on their side, told him, at one of their interviews, that sooner than submit to the terms he proposed they would join the Irish. At length there was an amicable settlement. The earl did homage before the commissioner in the great chamber of St. Thomas's Abbey. He was then absolved from the excommunication which he had incurred by his rebellion; and during the celebration of mass in a private chapel of the abbey, he took the oath of allegiance on the Most Holy Sacrament. The bishops and nobles who were implicated with him in the late revolt took the same oath. Sir Richard then suspended round the earl's neck a gold chain which the king had sent him; and all proceeded from the private chapel to the church of the abbey, where a Te Deum was chanted by the choir.* With great difficulty the commissioner was subsequently induced to grant the royal pardon to Thomas Plunket, chief justice of the Common Pleas, who had been one of the most active of Simnel's partizans; but no solicitation could induce him to extend the amnesty to Keating, the refractory prior of the knights of St. John of Kilmainham, who had committed innumerable frauds and outrages, had expelled and imprisoned Marmaduke Lomley, the lawful prior, and continued to usurp that

* See the *Diary of Sir Richard Edgecomb's Voyage into Ireland*, published in Harris's *Hibernica*. Sir Richard sailed from Dalkey on the 30th of July.

dignity, as well as the office of constable, or governor of Dublin Castle. The following year Kildare and several other Anglo-Irish lords waited on the king at Greenwich, in obedience to a royal summons ; and at a banquet to which Henry invited them they were attended at table by their late idol, Lambert Simnel, who was taken for that occasion from his duties in the kitchen.

A.D. 1492.—After what had so recently passed, it is hard to imagine how sane men could have allowed themselves to be duped by another plot of a mock prince ; yet the intriguing duchess of Burgundy tried the experiment once more, and with some success. On this occasion she selected a boy named Peter Osbeck, but commonly called Perkin Warbeck, a native of Tournay, in Flanders, and had him trained to represent Richard, duke of York, one of the two young princes, sons of Edward IV., who were murdered by Richard III. in the tower. He was sent into Portugal in 1490 to await a favorable opportunity for introduction to the public, and this occasion seemed to present itself in 1492. The king, urged by some suspicions which appear to have been groundless, had deprived Kildare of the office of deputy, and serious disturbances had followed in the Pale. Sir James Butler, or Ormond, as he is called in the annals, natural son of John, earl of Ormond, who died in Jerusalem on a pilgrimage in 1478, came to Ireland about this time, after a long absence, and by the aid of the O'Briens, the MacWilliams of Clanricard, and others, endeavoured to get himself acknowledged head of the Butlers, while his uncle, Thomas, earl of Ormond, was on diplomatic service for the king in France. This illegal conduct did not prevent king Henry from appointing Sir James lord treasurer of Ireland, in the room of FitzEustace, while Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, was appointed lord deputy. The earl of Kildare did not submit peaceably to the indignity to which, through the medium of Sir James Ormond, he was subjected ; and, in some tumults which ensued, he burned Sheep-street, now called Ship-street, which adjoined the Castle of Dublin, but was then outside the city walls. He also withdrew his protection from the English of Meath, who had refused to take part in his quarrel, and the spoliation of their territory in every direction by the Irish, was the consequence.

At this juncture, when England was besides involved in a war with France, young Warbeck made his appearance at Cork, where he arrived in a merchant vessel from Lisbon, and announced himself as Richard, duke of York. He was well received by the citizens, and John Water, or Walters, a respectable merchant who had been mayor of the city,

warmly espoused his cause, which soon after excited great enthusiasm on an invitation being received by Warbeck from the king of France to visit his court. At the French court Warbeck was received with royal honors, but this demonstration was speedily followed by the result which it was intended to produce, namely, a peace with Henry; and the impostor retired to Flanders, where the duchess of Burgundy welcomed him as her nephew, and called him "the White Rose of England."

A.D 1493.—Towards the close of this year Sir Robert Preston, first viscount Gormanstown, was made lord deputy in the absence of the archbishop of Dublin, who was sent for by the king to give him an account of the state of Ireland. Sir James Ormend also repaired to England, and the earl of Kildare, fearing the machinations of such enemies, hastened thither, but did not on that occasion succeed in vindicating himself from the charges made against him.

A.D. 1494.—Alarmed at the state of things in Ireland, Henry now sent over Sir Edward Poynings, a knight of the garter and privy councillor, to undertake the government. Sir Edward was accompanied by some eminent English lawyers to act as his council, and brought with him a force of 1,000 men. Determined in the first instance to extirpate the abettors of Warbeck, the leaders of whom it was understood had fled to Ulster, he marched with a large army to the north; the earl of Kildare, notwithstanding his equivocal position towards government, being invited to accompany him. Not long before this, in an inroad by Hugh Oge MacMahon and John O'Reilly, sixty English gentlemen had been killed and many taken prisoners: but on the deputy's approach the Irish chiefs retired to their fastnesses, and finding no enemy to fight with he laid waste their lands. A report was then spread that the earl of Kildare was conspiring with O'Hanlon to cut off the English lord deputy, and news arrived that the earl's brother had risen in rebellion and captured the castle of Carlow. Under these circumstances Sir Edward made peace on any terms with O'Hanlon and Magennis, into whose territory he had entered, and returning to the south, recovered the possession of Carlow castle after a siege of ten days.

In the month of November this year was held at Drogheda the memorable parliament, at which the statute, called after the lord deputy, Poyning's Law, was passed. By this parliament it was enacted that all the statutes lately made in England affecting the public weal should be good and effectual in Ireland; the odious statutes of Kilkenny were confirmed, with the exception of that which prohibited the use of the Irish language, which had at that time become the prevailing language

even of the Pale; laws were framed for the defence of the marches; it was made a felony to permit "enemies or rebels" to pass through those border lands; the general use of bows and arrows was enjoined, and the war cries which some of the great English families had adopted in imitation of the Irish were strictly forbidden.* The old law called the statute of Henry FitzEmpress (Henry II.), which enabled the council to elect a lord deputy on the office becoming suddenly vacant by death, was repealed, and it was enacted that the government should in such a case be entrusted to the lord treasurer, until a successor could be appointed by the king. But the particular statute known as Poyning's act was one which provided that henceforth no parliament should be held in Ireland until the chief governor and council had first certified to the king, under the great seal, "as well the causes and considerations, as the acts they designed to pass, and till the same should be approved by the king and council." This act virtually made the Irish parliament a nullity; and when, in after times, it came to affect, not merely the English Pale, for which it was originally framed, but the whole of Ireland when brought under English law, it was felt to be one of the most intolerable grievances under which this country suffered.

A.D. 1496.—Sir Edward Poyning's parliament passed an act of attainder against the earl of Kildare, his brother James, and other members of his family. The charges against the earl appear to have been grounded on mere suspicion, but he was sent to England, and detained there a prisoner; and his countess, it is said, was so deeply affected by the event that she died of grief. At length an opportunity was afforded him to plead his cause before the king, and the frankness and simplicity of his manner at once convinced that astute observer of character that he could not have been the political intriguer which his accusers pretended. One of the charges against him was, that he had sacrilegiously burned the church of Cashel; but to this the earl bluntly replied, that he never would have done so "had he not been told that the archbishop was in it." This novel defence amused the king; and by-and-by, when the counsel against Kildare wound up his charge by

* See the Irish and Anglo-Irish War cries, explained in Harris's Ware, ii. 163; and O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. 327. They were chiefly composed of the exclamation of defiance, *abu!* or *aho!* and the name, or crest of the family, or place of residence, as, *Lamh-dearg-abu!* the O'Neill's war cry, from their crest of the Red-hand; *Lamh-laider-abu!* that of the O'Briens, MacCarthys, and FitzMaurices, from the crest of the Right-arm, (*Lamh-laider*, the "strong hand," issuing from a cloud; the war cry of the Geraldines of Kildare, *Cromaidh-abu!* from Croom castle in Limerick, and that of the Desmond Geraldines, *Seanaid-abu!* from their stronghold castle of Shanid, in the same county, &c.

vehemently protesting that "not all Ireland could govern this man," Henry observed, "then he is the fittest man to govern all Ireland." Thus the earl triumphed; and the chieftain, O'Hanlon, having come forward to clear him upon oath of the charge of conspiring with him against the English lord deputy, Kildare was not only fully pardoned and restored to his honors and estates, but by letters patent was made lord lieutenant of Ireland, and returned home with greater powers than he had ever before possessed; his eldest son, Gerald, being, however, retained as a hostage.

A.D. 1497.—To return to the impostor Warbeck, he was obliged in 1495 to leave Flanders on the conclusion of a treaty between that country and England. He then returned to his former friends in Cork, but not seeing an encouraging prospect there,* he went to Scotland, where he was introduced at the court of James IV. on the recommendation of the duchess of Burgundy, with all the honors due to his assumed rank. He even obtained in marriage the hand of Catherine Gordon, a lady remarkable for her beauty, and related to the royal family, being the daughter of the earl of Huntley, and grandaughter of James I. Again, however, he was driven from his asylum, James and Henry having agreed to a treaty; but the Scottish king generously furnished him with a ship to take himself and his wife away, and also a small party of armed men; and once more the adventurer was landed at Cork. Here he found no further support, and availing himself of an invitation from Cornwall, he proceeded thither with his wife, four Waterford ships sailing in pursuit of the fugitives. Further than this it is unnecessary for us to trace the impostor's fortunes, except to state that he closed his career at Tyburn, in 1499, the infatuated John Water, mayor of Cork, sharing his fate on the scaffold.†

We have pursued the course of events in the Pale without turning aside to those in which the native Irish were exclusively engaged. These latter carried on their mutual wars as usual without seeming to regard the English as a common enemy. A great war broke out in 1491 between Con O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell. In 1493 Tyrone was

* The accounts of these movements are obscure, but it would appear that Warbeck in 1495 visited Ireland with eleven ships supplied by the Archduke; that by the aid of the earl of Desmond an undisciplined army was raised for him in Ireland; that he then laid siege to Waterford, and that the citizens, on the approach of the lord deputy to their assistance, sallied forth and compelled Warbeck to raise the siege, three of his ships being captured by the townspeople, and he himself forced to return to Cork. "Former historians," says Mr. Wright, "have erroneously placed this siege under the year 1497." *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 266.

† It is worthy of remark that the Four Masters make no mention whatever of either Simnel or Warbeck, or of any proceedings relating to them.

laid waste by a contest for the succession among the O'Neills themselves; and in a sanguinary battle at Glasdrummond Con O'Neill triumphed over his opponent, Donnell O'Neill. Hugh Roe O'Donnell then mustered a large army in Tirconnell and Connaught, marched into Tyrone, and after a furious battle with Henry Oge O'Neill, at Beanna Boirche, in the Mourne mountains, returned home victorious. In 1435, O'Donnell went on a visit to the king of Scotland, and was received with great honors. In the Scottish accounts he is called the Great O'Donnell;* but nothing certain is known of the object of his visit. On his return he defeated the O'Conors at Sligo, but raised the siege of that town on the approach of MacWilliam (Burke) of Clanrickard. In 1437, provoked by the dissensions between his sons, Hugh Roe resigned the lordship of Tirconnell, which was then assumed by his son Con; but his second son, Hugh Oge, would not consent to this arrangement, and got some of the Burkes to assist him with a fleet. Con was defeated in battle, but two days after he succeeded in capturing his brother, Hugh, and sent him to be confined in the castle of Conmaicne Cuile, in Connaught. Con now invaded Moylurg, but was defeated with terrible slaughter by MacDermot, in the Pass of Ballaghboy, in the Curlieu mountains; the famous Cathach, which the O'Donnells always carried before them into battle, being among the spoils which he lost on the occasion.† Con's misfortunes did not terminate here. Henry Oge O'Neill judged the opportunity a favorable one to avenge the defeat he recently received from Hugh Roe, and led an army into Tirconnell. He first laid waste the land of Fanad, and in a battle which he then fought with Con O'Donnell, the latter turbulent and ambitious young chieftain was slain and his forces routed. Upon this Hugh Roe resumed the lordship; and Hugh Oge, who was now liberated, having declined the chieftaincy which his father offered him, father and son appear to have ruled their principality with joint sway.

Ever since the pardon accorded to him by Henry in 1491, Garrett, earl of Kildare, was constantly engaged in war with some of the Irish septs; but on most of these occasions he acted rather as an Irish chieftain than as the deputy of the English king. His sister, Eleonora, was married to Con O'Neill, and this alliance involved him in the numerous

* Tytler, Hist. Scot., vol. iv. c. 3.

† The *Cathach* (Prelator), the metallic reliquary or box, in which a portion of the Psalms of David, transcribed by St. Columbkille, was preserved. It has recently been deposited by its owner, Sir Richard O'Donnell, in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The Cathach was recovered from the MacDermotts in 1499, by Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who entered Moylurg [illegible] for the purpose.

feuds of which Tyrone was the theatre. At the instance of his nephew, Turlough O'Neill, and of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, an ally of Turlough's, he marched to the north in 1498, and took the castle of Dungannon by the aid of ordnance. The following year Hugh Roe came to the Pale to visit the earl, who gave him his son, Henry, in fosterage, notwithstanding the stringent laws against this kind of alliance with the Irish. This year (1499) the earl marched into Connaught, but only to take part in the quarrels of some of the Irish chieftains, for the castles which he took from one rival chief he delivered to another, and MacWilliam Burke soon after restored them to their former possessors. In 1500 Hugh Roe O'Donnell and the lord justice marched in concert into Tyrone to co-operate against John Boy O'Neill, from whom they took the castle of Kinard, or Caledon, which was then delivered up to the earl's nephew, Turlough O'Neill.

A.D. 1504.—For some time an inveterate warfare had been carried on between MacWilliam (Burke) of Clanrickard, styled Ulick III., and Melaghlin O'Kelly, the Irish chief of Hy-Many. Burke was the aggressor, and the more powerful. This year he captured and demolished O'Kelly's castles of Garbh-dhoire, now Garbally; Muine-an-mheadha, or Moniva, and Gallach, now called Castleblakeny, in the county of Galway; and the Irish chief, then on the brink of ruin, had recourse to the earl of Kildare for protection. The latter, more desirous of curbing the growing power of Clanrickard, with whom he had a personal feud, than of restoring peace in Connaught, mustered a powerful army, and crossed the Shannon. He was joined by Hugh Roe O'Donnell and his son, and the other chiefs of Kinel-Connell; by O'Conor Roe of Northern Connaught; MacDermot of Moylurg; the warlike chiefs Magennis, MacMahon, and O'Hanlon; O'Reilly; the bishop of Ardagh, who was then the chief of the O'Farrells of Annaly; O'Conor Faly; the O'Kellys; the lower MacWilliams, or Burkes of Mayo; and, in fact, by the forces of nearly all Leath-Chuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, with the exception of O'Neill. Besides these he was attended by viscount Gormanstown, the barons of Slane, Delvin, Howth, Kileen, Trimleston, and Dunsaney, and by John Blake, mayor of Dublin, at the head of an armed force. Clanrickard, on his side, also assembled a very numerous army, his allies being Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, the MacNamaras and other north Munster chiefs; Mac-I-Brien of Ara; O'Kennedy of Ormond; and O'Carroll of Ely. One of Clanrickard's chief strongholds at this time was the castle of Claregalway, or Baile-an-chlair, and about two miles to the north-east of this

place, on some elevated rocky land called Knoc-tuagh (Knocktow), or the Hill of Axes, his army was drawn up to await the enemy. The battle which ensued was one of the most sanguinary and decisive that had taken place in Ireland since the invasion; but there cannot be a greater perversion of the truth than to represent it, as English historians have done, as a battle between the English and Irish, or between the forces of the English government and the "Irish rebels." For some hours the issue seemed doubtful, but ultimately Clanrickard and his allies suffered a total overthrow. Their loss in the battle and flight, according to Ware, was 2,000 men; Cox makes it amount to 4,000; and that fabulous Anglo-Irish compilation, the book of Howth, raises the loss to 9,000! The white book of the Exchequer asserted, according to Ware, as a kind of miracle, that not one Englishman was even hurt in the battle, a thing which is quite possible, as there were probably no Englishmen actually engaged on either side; but although nothing can be more silly than to boast of the victory as if won by Englishmen, it was in its results a most important one for English interests, by establishing the power of the Pale, and inflicting a blow on the Irish chieftains, from which they never recovered.* The book of Howth attributes an atrocious expression to viscount Gormanstown after the battle. "We have slaughtered our enemies," said he to the earl of Kildare, according to this veracious authority; "but to complete the good deed we must do the like with all the Irish of our own party." As a contrast to which insolence of success, Leland candidly observes, that "in the remains of the old Irish annalists we do not find any considerable rancour expressed against the English; but they even speak of the actions and fortunes of great English lords with affection and sympathy."† Kildare, with his usual impetuosity, wished to push on to Galway, eight miles distant, the evening of the battle, but the veteran O'Donnell recommended him to encamp that night on the field, until the troops, scattered in pursuit of the enemy, should be collected. The battle was fought on the 19th of August, 1504, and the next day Galway and Athenry surrendered to

* Sir John Davis admits that this battle arose out of a private quarrel of the earl of Kildare. Ware does not discredit the report that it owed its origin to "a private grudge between Kildare and Ulick;" Cox alludes to such an opinion in similar terms: and the Four Masters, who were not accessible to these writers, record the circumstances as we have related them, and in a way which leaves no doubt upon the matter. Dr. O'Donovan, who had every existing record of this transaction before him, says the conflict at Knocktow was, in fact, a battle between Leath-Chuinn and Leath-Mhogha, the northern and southern halves of Ireland, like the battles of Moy Lena, Moy Mucruimbe and Moy Alvy, where the southerns were as usual defeated. The name of the place is at present written either Knocktow or Knockaw.

† Hist. of Ireland, book iii., c. 5.

the earl without resistance. Kildare distributed thirty tuns of wine among his army, but whether he paid the merchants of Galway for it we are not told. He himself, as a reward for the victory, was made a knight of the garter. As to Ulick Burke, he escaped, but his two sons and some say his two daughters also, were made prisoners.

The only event of interest recorded in the remainder of this reign is the death of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, which took place in 1505, in the 78th year of his age and the 44th of his reign over Tirconnell. He was the son of the celebrated Niall Garv O'Donnell, and was one of a long line of heroes. "In his time," say the annalists, "there was no need of defence for the houses in Tirconnell, except to close the doors against the wind" He was succeeded by his son, Hugh Oge. During the reign of Henry VII. the country was frequently visited by pestilence, and the fearful visitation called the sweating sickness raged for several years.



CHAPTER XXX.

REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

Accession of Henry VIII.—Gerald, Earl of Kildare, still Lord Deputy.—His last Transactions and Death.—Hugh O'Donnell visits Scotland and prevents an Invasion of Ireland.—Wars of the Kinel-Connell and Kinel-Owen.—Proceedings of the new Earl of Kildare.—The Earl of Surrey Lord Lieutenant.—His Opinion of Irish Warfare.—His Advice to the King about Ireland.—His Return.—The Earl of Ormond succeeds and is made Earl of Ossory.—Wars in Ulster.—Battle of Knockavoe.—Triumph of Kildare.—Vain attempts to reconcile O'Neill and O'Donnell.—Treasonable Correspondence of Desmond.—Kildare again in Difficulties.—Effect of his Irish Popularity.—Sir William Skeffington Lord Deputy.—Discord between him and Kildare.—New Irish Alliances of Kildare.—His Fall.—Reports of the Council to the King.—The Schism in England.—Rebellion of Silken Thomas.—Murder of Archbishop Allen.—Siege of Maynooth.—Surrender of Silken Thomas and Arrest of his Uncles.—Their Cruel Fate.—Lord Leonard Gray in Ireland.—Destruction of O'Brien's Bridge.—Interesting Events in Offaly.—Desolating War against the Irish.—Confederation of Irish Chiefs.—Fidelity of the Irish to their Faith.—Rescue of young Gerald Fitzgerald.—Extension of the Geraldine League.—Desecration of Sacred Things.—Battle of Belahoe.—Submission of Southern Chiefs.—Escape of Young Gerald to France.—Effects of the "Reformation" on Ireland.—Servility of Parliament.—Henry's Insidious Policy in Ireland.—George Brown, first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin.—His Character.—Failure of the New Creed in Ireland.—Terrible spoliation of the Irish by the Lord Justice.—Submission of Irish Princes.—Their Acceptance of English Titles and Surrender of Irish ones.—Henry VIII. made King of Ireland.—Submission of Desmond.—First Native Irish Lords in Parliament.—Execution of Lord Leonard Gray.—O'Neill Surrenders his Territory and is made Earl of Tyrone.—Murrough O'Brien made Earl of Thomond.—Confiscation of Convent Lands.—Effect of the Policy of Concession and Corruption.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Julius II., Leo X., Adrian VI., Clement VII., Paul III.—Kings of France: Louis XII., Francis I.—Emperors of Germany: Maximilian I., Charles V.—Sovereigns of Scotland: James IV., James V.. Queen Mary.—The "Reformation" preached in Germany, 1517.—Foundation of the Society of Jesus, 1534.—Opening of the Council of Trent, 1545.—Death of Luther, 1546.

(A.D. 1509 TO A.D. 1547).

NO change was made in the Irish government on the accession of Henry VIII. Gerald, the veteran earl of Kildare, was confirmed in his office as lord deputy, and still carried on his forays against various Irish septs. In 1510 he proceeded with a numerous army into south Munster against the MacCarthys, and was joined by James, son of the earl of Desmond. In Ealla, now Duhallow, he took the castle of Kanturk, and in Kerry the castle of Pailis, near Laune Bridge, and Castlemaine. Returning to the county of Limerick he was joined by Hugh, lord of Tirconnell, the son of his old ally, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, with a small but efficient body of troops. He crossed the Shannon and destroyed a wooden bridge which stood over that river at Porterusha, probably somewhere near Castleconnell, but here his progress was checked. Turlough O'Brien had collected a large army composed of

the septs of north Munster and Clanrickard, and at this point approached so close that the men's voices could be heard from the opposite camps during the night; but the morning after this bold advance of O'Brien found Kildare preparing to retreat. The Leinster and Meath troops, with O'Donnell's small contingent, were placed in the rear, and James of Desmond, with the Munster forces, led the van.* While retiring in this order he was attacked by O'Brien, who took large spoils and slew several of the English, among others Barnwell, of Crickstown, in Meath, and a baron Kent; but the earl succeeded, with the main body of his army, in reaching Limerick through Monabraher, on the north side of the Shannon, and soon after he left Munster.

A.D. 1512.—The earl once more crossed the Shannon into Connaught, and took the castle of Roscommon and that of Cavetown, in Moylurg. O'Donnell, who had spent the year 1511 on a pilgrimage to Rome, and was engaged since his return in making reprisals on O'Neill for depredations committed by the latter in Tirconnell during his absence, came to the Curlieu mountains to meet Kildare, and renewed the friendly relations which must have been disturbed by O'Donnell's hostilities in Ulster. Apparently as one of the consequences of this conference the earl soon after marched to the north, entered Clannaboy, and took the castle of Belfast, and other strongholds. In the course of the following year O'Donnell appears to have rendered an important service to the English interest. He visited Scotland on the invitation of James IV., who treated him with great honor, during three months which he stayed there, and as we are told that "he changed the king's resolution of coming to Ireland as he intended," we may conclude that James meditated an invasion, from which he was deterred by O'Donnell's advice, and by the recollection, probably, of the fate of Edward Bruce.

The earl of Kildare made his last campaign in Ely O'Carroll, where he laid siege to the castle of O'Banan's-leap; but failing to take this stronghold, he retired to Athy, where he died; his death, as some say, being caused by a wound which he had received long before in O'More's country. The Irish annalists style him the Great Earl, and describe him as "valorous, princely, and religious." He was interred in Christ Church, and his son, Garrett Oge, or Gerald the younger, was chosen by the privy council to succeed him as lord justice, and soon after was created lord deputy by letters patent. The new earl rivalled his father's zeal against the border Irish, and inaugurated his administration by defeat-

* Ware says that James of Desmond was with O'Brien on this occasion, but the context shews the Four Masters, whom we have followed, to be correct.

ing the O'Mores, and slaying in battle fourteen of the chief men of the O'Reillys, including the head of the sept.

A.D. 1514.—When Art, son of Con, who had succeeded Art, son of Hugh O'Neill, and Hugh O'Donnell, met this year at Ardsratha, or Ardstraw-bridge, in Tyrone, at the head of hostile armies, and separated in peace, the annalists attribute the fortunate issue to the interposition of heaven. Few, indeed, and brief were the intervals in the mutual warfare of the Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Owen; but if we judge from the changes which had by this time taken place in their respective territorial boundaries, we may conclude that the former of these great septs were generally the aggressors. The chiefs of Tirconnell had succeeded in wresting very large territories from the O'Neills; and by the treaty made on this occasion the charters by which O'Donnell claimed sovereignty over Inishowen, Fermanagh, and other tracts of country formerly belonging to the Kinel-Owen, were confirmed. The place where the armies met was also considerably within the frontier of Tyrone. As to the peace, it was of short duration, for two years after we find the same parties again at war.*

A.D. 1516.—A feud broke out between James, son of Maurice, earl of Desmond, and his uncle, John. The former was supported by MacCarthy More (Cormac Ladhrach or the "hasty"), Donnell MacCarthy of Carberry, and other chieftains of that sept, and also by the white knight, the knight of Glinn, the knight of Kerry, FitzMaurice, and O'Conor-Kerry; while John was aided by the Dalcassians, with whose chiefs he was allied by his marriage with More, daughter of Donough, son of Brian Duv O'Brien, lord of Carrigogonnell and Pobblebrien. James laid siege to the castle of Lough Gur, but on the approach of John with the army of Thomond, reinforced by that of the Butler's, he retreated without fighting. This feud was followed by one between Pierce Butler, claiming to be earl of Ormond, and other members of his family.

In the meantime the young earl of Kildare succeeded in taking the castle of O'Banan's-leap, which his father had besieged in vain; and the following year (1517) he led an army to Tyrone at the instance of his kinsmen, the O'Neills, who were as usual in arms against other branches of their sept. Having retaken Dundrum castle, in Lecale,

* On this latter occasion O'Donnell also carried his arms into Connaught, and took the castle of Sligo by the aid of some cannon which had been sent to him by a French knight who made a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's purgatory in Lough Derg, and had been hospitably entertained by the chief of Tirconnell. Several other castles in northern Connaught were surrendered to O'Donnell immediately after his capture of Sligo.

from which the English had been expelled, and vanquished the Magenises, he proceeded to desolate Tyrone, and captured and burned the fort of Dungannon. On the invitation of O'Melaghlin he led his army to Delvin, where Mulrony O'Carroll had committed great depredations, and had taken the castle of Ceann-Cora. But while he was thus occupied, enemies were busily engaged in undermining his position with the king; the prime movers of the mischief against him being his hereditary foes, the Butlers. At first he was able to vindicate himself without much difficulty. He repaired to England for that purpose in 1515, and was successful; but cardinal Wolsey, who had now risen to great power, was inspired with an implacable enmity towards him, and caused him to be again summoned to England, in 1519; the earl appointing his kinsman, Sir Thomas FitzGerald of Laccagh, as his deputy during his absence.

A.D. 1520.—Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, a man equally eminent as a warrior and a statesman, was now sent as lord lieutenant to Ireland, where he landed with a force of 1,000 men and 100 of the king's guard Kildare was still kept in England, where he remained in ignorance of the machinations going forward in Ireland to collect evidence against him One of the principal charges was, that he had written to O'Carroll of Ely, advising him to keep peace with the Pale until an English deputy should be sent over, but "when any English deputy shall come thither," he added, "then do your best to make war on the English." There was little doubt that the earl had written to this effect, O'Carroll's brothers having confessed that such a letter had been received, but the evidence was not conclusive; and Kildare, whose former wife had died, having married Elizabeth Gray, daughter of the marquis of Dorset, acquired influence at court, through the powerful English friends whom this alliance procured him, and escaped for the present. Though treated with honor he was not, however, restored to favor, and spies were employed to collect evidence against him in Ireland at the very time that he formed one of king Henry's retinue in France, at the famous meeting of the "field of the cloth of gold."

A.D. 1521.—Whether Kildare urged the Irish chieftains to rebel, as he was accused of doing, or not,* it was evident that a general a...

* O'Donnell waited on the earl of Surrey at this time in Dublin, and told him that he had been invited to take up arms against the English government by Con O'Neill, who said he did so at the suggestion of the earl of Kildare; Surrey, who mentions the circumstance in a letter to the king, (state papers, p. 37), says:—"I fynde him (O'Donnell) a right wise man, and as well determyned to doo to your grace all things that may be to your contentacion and pleasure as I can wysh him to bee."

formidable rising was contemplated, although the energy and rapid movements of Surrey crushed the attempt. The Viceroy first marched against O'More, demolished his castles, laid waste his country, burned the ripening crops, and finally compelled him to submit; but in this expedition he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Irish. O'Carroll also submitted, and Con O'Neill having threatened Meath with invasion, Surrey, by a timely march to the north, averted the blow. However, he soon became wearied with the Irish warfare. It seemed hopeless and interminable. He had a well appointed army furnished with artillery, but amidst bogs and forests, and against an enemy who, while they yielded in front, perpetually harassed him in the flank and rear, he could effect nothing. He assured the king, as the result of his experience in Ireland, that by conquest alone could that country be reduced to peace and order, while he admitted that there were serious obstacles in the way of such a conquest. It would require much time and money, and if an attempt were made to reduce the Irish by force, they would combine for defence; which union his knowledge of their warlike habits, and of the military resources of the country, made him apprehend as a formidable danger.* His representations had, perhaps,

* State Papers, xx.—The names and position of the principal independent Irish septs at this period, with many other particulars of interest on the condition of the country, are set forth in an official document of the year 1515, preserved in the English State Paper Office, and printed in the first vol. of the state papers relating to Ireland. In this document it is stated that the English rule only extended over one half of the five counties of Uriel (Louth) Meath, Dublin, Kildare and Wexford, and that even within these narrow limits, the great mass of the population consisted of native Irish; the English having deserted the country on account of the oppressive exactions to which they were exposed. The greater part of Ireland was still in the hands of the "Irish enemies," and was divided into more than sixty separate states or "regions," "some as big as a shire, some more, some less;" and these regions were ruled by as many "chief captains, whereof some called themselves kings, some king's peers in their language, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes, that live only by the sword, and obey no other temporal person but only him that is strong." These independent "captains" or heads of septs were as follows:—in Ulster: O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Donnell of Tirconnell, O'Neill of Clannaboy, O'Cahan of Kenaght, in Derry, O'Dogherty of Inishowen, Maguire of Fermanagh, Magennis of Upper Iveagh, in Down, O'Hanlon of Armagh, and MacMahon of Irish Uriel (Monaghan). In Leinster:—MacMorrough of Hy-Drone, in Carlow, O'Murrough (or Murphy) in Wexford, O'Byrne and O'Thole (O'Toole) in Wicklow, O'Nolan in Carlow, MacGillapatrick in Upper Ossory, O'More of Leix, O'Dempsy of Glenmaliry, O'Conor of Offaly, and O'Doyne (or Duan) of Oregan, in the Queen's County. In Munster:—MacCarthy More of Kerry, Cormac MacTeige MacCarthy of Cork, O'Donoghue of Killarney, O'Sullivan of Beare, O'Conor of Kerry, MacCarthy Reagh of Carberry, in Cork, O'Driscol of Corca-Laighe in Cork, two O'Mahonys of Carberry, in Cork, O'Brien of Thomond, O'Kennedy of Lower Ormond, O'Carroll of Ely, O'Meagher of Ikerin, in Tipperary, MacMahon of Corcavasky in Clare, O'Conor of Corcomroe, in Clare, O'Loughlin of Burrin, in Clare, O'Grady of Burratty, in Clare, Mac-I-Brien of Ara, in Tipperary, O'Mulrian (or Ryan) of Ormond, O'Dwyer of Tipperary, and O'Brien of Connagh, in Limerick. In Connaught:—O'Conor Roe and MacHenry in Roscommon, O'Kelly, O'Madden, and O'Flaherty in Galway, O'Farrell of Annaly (Longford), O'Reilly and O'Rourke of Breffny, O'Malley of Mayo, MacDonough of Tiragrill, O'Gara of Coolavin

some effect in bringing about the policy of conciliation which Henry subsequently carried to such an extent in his government of Ireland, and employed so successfully for the corruption of the native chieftains. Surrey was empowered by the king to confer knighthood on such of the Irish chiefs as he deemed fit, and Henry sent a collar of gold to be presented, together with the honor of knighthood, to O'Neill. A reconciliation was effected by the deputy between James, who, in 1520, had succeeded his father, Maurice, as earl of Desmond, and the earl of Ormond; and a peace was also arranged by him between the former and the MacCarthys, who, aided by Thomas of Desmond, had in September, this year, overthrown the aforesaid earl James with great slaughter at Mourne-Abbey, in Muskerry, slaying 2,000 of his men, and taking several of his leaders prisoners. This defeat of Desmond afforded real satisfaction to Surrey, who, on proceeding to Munster, found the proud earl thoroughly humbled; and he informed Wolsey in a letter written about this time, that the successful Irish chiefs Cormac Oge MacCarthy and MacCarthy Reagh were "two wise men," whom he found "more conformable to order than some Englishmen here."* So much did the politic English viceroy dread a good understanding of the Irish among themselves, that he preferred allowing O'Donnell to employ some Scottish auxiliaries rather than that there should be peace between him and O'Neill; for, as he wrote to the king "it would be dangerful to have them both agreed and joined together," and "the longer they continue in war the better it should be for your grace's poor subjects here." In the summer of 1521 he was obliged to take the field against O'Conor of Offaly, whose castle of Monasteroris he captured; but while he was thus engaged O'Conor was plundering Westmeath, and subsequently routed a portion of the earl's army. At

O'Hara of Leney, O'Dowda of Tireragh, MacDonough of Corran, and MacManus O'Conor of Carbury, in Sligo. In MEATH:—O'Melaghlin, Mageoghegan, and O'Molloy.

The heads of the "Degenerate English," or "great captains of the English noble folks," that followed "the Irish rule," according to the same report, were, in MUNSTER:—the earl of Desmond, the knight of Kerry, Fitzmaurice, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Sir John of Desmond, and Sir Gerald of Desmond, the white knight, the knight of Glynn, and other Geraldines; lord Barry, lord Roche, lord Courcy, lord Cogan, lord Larrett, the Powers of Waterford, Sir William Burke in the county of Limerick, Sir Pierse Butler, (claiming to be earl of Ormond), "and all the captains of the Butlers of the county of Kilkenny, and of the county of Fethard." In CONNAUGHT:—lord Burke of Mayo, lord Burke of Clanrickard, lord Bermingham of Athenry, the Stauntons of Clonmorris, in Mayo, the MacJordans, or decendants of Jordan D'Exeter in Mayo, MacCostello in Mayo, and the Barretts of Tirawley. In ULSTER:—the Savages of Lecale in Down, the Fitz-Howlins of Tuscard, and the Bissetts of the Glinns of Antrim. In MEATH:—the Dillons, Daltons, Tyrrells, and Delamares.

* State Papers, xiii.

length Surrey importuned the king on the ground of ill health to relieve him from his arduous and hopeless charge in Ireland, and being permitted to withdraw, he returned to England at the close of 1521, taking with him the troops which he had brought into Ireland; his intimate friend and adviser, Pierse Butler, being appointed lord deputy.*

A.D 1522.—The Pale was at this time in a wretched state, and the Irish privy council applied to Wolsey, to have six ships of war sent to cruise between Scotland and Ireland, to awe the northern Irish and prevent an invasion from the former country, as the Scots were at that time immigrating in large numbers into Ulster and acquiring territories there.

The dissensions between O'Neill and O'Donnell now broke out into a sanguinary war. MacWilliam of Clanrickard, with the English and Irish of Connaught, the O'Briens, O'Kennedys, and O'Carrolls joined the standard of O'Neill, under which rallied, besides, the Magennises, the men of Oriel and Fermanagh, the O'Reillys, and other northern septs, together with a Scottish legion under Alexander MacDonnell of the Isles. Several of the English of Meath and Leinster were also induced by their attachment to the earl of Kildare, the kinsman of O'Neill, to take part with the latter. Under O'Donnell's banners were ranged the O'Boyles, O'Dohertys, MacSweeneys, O'Gallaghers, &c.; and what was wanted in point of numbers was made up by mutual fidelity and bravery in their small phalanx. O'Donnell marched to Port-na-dtri-namhad, on the eastern side of the river Foyle, opposite Lifford, to await the enemy, that being the usual pass between Tyrone and Tirconnell; but O'Neill entered the latter territory by another route, and laid waste the country as far as Ballyshannon. O'Donnell upon this sent his son Manus into Tyrone, while he himself followed O'Neill into Tirhugh, but O'Neill retired within his own territory and encamped at Cnoc-Buidhbh, or

* On the death of Thomas, the seventh earl of Ormond, without male issue, in 1515, his English estates, amounting to £30,000 a year, and his vast personal property in plate, jewels, and money, were bequeathed to his two daughters, of whom Margaret, the elder, was married to Sir James St. Leger, and Anne, the younger, to Sir William Boleyn or Bullen, by whom she had Sir Thomas, the father of Anne Boleyn. The earl's Irish inheritance was warmly disputed between his next male heirs, Sir Pierse Butler of Carrick, whose grandfather was cousin german to earl Thomas; and Sir James Ormond, the natural son of John, the sixth earl, who died in Palestine; but by the death of Sir James, who was killed by his opponent between Dromore and Kilkenny, Pierse was left in quiet possession of the title of earl of Ormond, which, however, he did not long enjoy, as he was induced to relinquish his claim in favor of Anna Boleyn's father; Pierse was then (1527) created earl of Ossory, but Sir Thomas Boleyn having died without an heir, the earldom of Ormond was restored to Butler, and the title of Ossory laid aside. See Abbe Mageoghegan Hist. of Ireland, pp. 381, 382, (Duffy's Edition), also Archdall's *Lodge*, vol. iv. pp. 16, 17.

Knockavoe, near Strabane, where he was attacked at night by O'Donnell's army, which had approached so silently as to be able to enter the Tyrone camp pell-mell with the sentinels, and a total route of O'Neill's people followed, with a loss of 900 men. The annalists say this was one of the most bloody engagements that had ever been fought between the Kinel-Connell and the Kinel-Owen. O'Donnell then marched with extraordinary rapidity across the country to Sligo, to which town the Connaught allies of O'Neill were laying siege; but the news of his victory had just reached before him, and struck such terror into the western army that they sent in all haste to sue for peace, and at the same time fled so precipitately that their own messengers were not able to come up with them till they had re-crossed the Curlieu mountains, where they broke up, each party returning home. This last bloodless victory added greatly to the renown of O'Donnell, but his war with O'Neill continued for years.*

A.D. 1523.—The earl of Kildare, who had returned from England at the close of the preceding year, obtained permission to lead an army against O'Conor Faly, Connell O'More, and other border chieftains. He was accompanied by Con O'Neill, who made peace between the parties; but Ware says the earl fell into an ambuscade on the occasion, and having lost several of his men, was glad to come to terms and retire.

A.D. 1524.—The old feuds between Kildare and Ormond broke out with fresh animosity, which was not a whit diminished by the circumstance that the latter magnate had recently married the earl of Kildare's sister. Ormond transmitted new complaints to England; one of them being that his friend, Robert Talbot of Belgard has been treacherously slain by James Fitzgerald, near Ballymore. Thereupon commissioners were sent over, but the inquiry which followed resulted in the vindication of Kildare, who was reinstated as lord deputy in the room of his enemy; and at his inauguration, his kinsman, Con O'Neill, carried the sword of state before him to St. Thomas's Abbey, where he entertained the commissioners and others at a sumptuous banquet. After this he accompanied O'Neill on an expedition against O'Donnell, who had been committing fearful depredations in Tyrone; but he made peace between these chieftains without a battle. Two years after (1526) O'Neill and O'Donnell were invited by the earl to attend a meeting of nobles in

* The earl of Ormond (the lord Deputy) who was called by the Irish, Red Pierse, was engaged at this time in war with septs bordering on his own territory, and a well-known anecdote is related of the ambassador whom MacGillapatrick sent to England to complain of his aggressions. Meeting King Henry at the chapel door, says Leland, quoting the Lambeth MS., the Irish envoy addressed him in the following words: "Sta pedibus domine rex! Dominus meus Gillapatricius me misit ad te, et jussit dicere quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum, ipse faciet bellum contra te."

Dublin for the purpose, if possible, of arranging the old causes of contention between them. Hugh O'Donnell was represented in the conference by his son Manus; but all the arguments for peace were of no avail, and the northern chiefs returned home to muster fresh armies against each other.*

James, earl of Desmond, was a man of lofty and ambitious views, and held a secret correspondence with Francis I. of France, as he did at a subsequent period with the emperor Charles V., for the purpose of bringing about an invasion of Ireland. His treasonable projects came to the ears of Wolsey and Henry. He was summoned to London and refused to obey. Orders were then sent to the earl of Kildare, as lord Deputy, to arrest him, and the latter led an army into Munster for that purpose; but whether there was any collusion between the two illustrious Geraldines on the occasion, as alleged, or not, Kildare did not succeed in carrying out the royal mandate. These events, which took place in 1524, were the prelude to Kildare's ruin. In 1526 he was summoned to England to answer an impeachment charging him with (1) failing to apprehend the earl of Desmond; (2) forming alliances with several of the king's Irish enemies; (3) causing certain loyal subjects to be hanged because they were dependents of the Butlers; and (4) confederating with O'Neill, O'Conor, and other Irish lords to invade the territories of the earl of Ormond. The enmity of Wolsey is said to have been at the bottom of these persecutions, but Kildare's good fortune had not yet finally deserted him, and after an imprisonment for some time in the Tower, he was liberated on the bail of the earl of Surrey, then duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Dorset, and other persons of distinction.

A.D. 1528.—Kildare had appointed his brother James FitzGerald, of Leixlip, vice-deputy on his departure for England, on this occasion; but this nobleman was soon replaced by Nugent, baron of Delvin, and while the latter was in office the chief of Offaly made a descent upon the Pale, and carried off a prey of cattle. The deputy was too weak to punish O'Conor for this aggression, except by withholding the annual tribute which the English settlers were accustomed to pay to him as to other border chieftains. O'Conor remonstrated, and a parley between him and the deputy was arranged to take place at Sir William Darcy's castle, near Ruthen; but the baron of Delvin was taken in an ambuscade

* We are told that Manus O'Donnell succeeded, in spite of O'Neill's opposition, in erecting a strong frontier castle at the pass already mentioned of Port-na-dtri-namhaid (the port of the three enemies) on the east side of the Foyle near Strabane; and in this castle, a few years later (1532), he wrote the Irish life of St. Columbkille, of which Colgan has published an abridged Latin translation.

while proceeding to the conference, and carried off by O'Conor as his prisoner. Threats and arguments to obtain his liberation were alike in vain, and the Pale was filled with alarm at the occurrence. The earl of Ossory (as Pierse, earl of Ormond, was then styled) was appointed lord justice by the council, and with some difficulty obtained an interview with Delvin, O'Conor himself being present, and Irish the only language allowed to be used on the occasion; or, as some accounts have it, it was Pierse Butler's son, James, his father being absent in the South, who had the interview with the captive baron and O'Conor. Ossory and the privy council were obliged to sanction the payment of the tribute to O'Conor, but soon after an act of parliament was passed prohibiting altogether the payment of black rent to the Irish chiefs. An envoy was sent this year by the emperor Charles V. to the earl of Desmond to negotiate a plan for the invasion of Ireland, but the earl died the following year, and the project fell to the ground. The aspirations of the Irish chieftains for the liberation of their country from the English yoke, were, however, becoming more defined; and the chief of Offaly openly expressed his determination to make Ireland independent.

A.D. 1530.—All this time the earl of Kildare remained in England, yet the aggressions of O'Conor were laid to his charge. He was accused of fomenting a general rising of the Irish; and it is said that he sent his daughter, Alice, wife of the baron of Slane, who was then at Newington, to Ireland, to influence his brothers and the O'Neills, O'Conors, and others, to oppose the deputy. This lady's mission, it is added, was so successful, that the lands of the Butlers were unmercifully pillaged by the Geraldine party. Nevertheless the earl's vast influence and popularity saved him from destruction. He was not deprived of the title of lord deputy during his imprisonment, and was sent this year to Ireland, as coadjutor to Sir William Skeffington, who was appointed deputy to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, the king's illegitimate son, on whom the dignity of lord lieutenant was conferred. The earl was received in Dublin with the warmest demonstrations of joy.

A.D. 1531.—Kildare continued for a while to co-operate with the English deputy. At the instance of O'Donnell and Niall Oge O'Neill, they invaded Tyrone, which they laid waste with fire and sword, and the whole population of Monaghan fled before them, leaving the country a desert. While the deputy with the Anglo-Irish advanced from one side, their Irish confederates approached from another; and they demolished the castle of Kinard, now Caledon, but at this point a strong muster of the men of Tyrone checked their further progress.

A.D. 1532.—While Kildare and Skeffington appeared thus to act in concert, a deadly enmity had grown up between them. They forwarded mutual complaints to England. The earl proceeded there to defend himself, and was again successful. Skeffington was superseded and Kildare appointed deputy. The earl unfortunately made an imprudent use of his triumph by treating his enemies, and more especially Skeffington, with harshness and contempt. He deprived John Allen, archbishop of Dublin, of the chancellorship, and conferred it on George Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, who was attached to his party. He entered into more intimate relations with the Irish; gave one of his daughters in marriage to O'Conor of Offaly, and another to Fergananim O'Carroll, tanist of Ossory; and, aided by these two Irish princes, he invaded the territories of the earl of Ossory, from which he carried off large spoils. At the siege of Birr castle, in one of these wars, the earl received a ball in the left side, which was extracted from the opposite side the following year, and he never fully recovered from the wound. About the same time Con O'Neill, at his persuasion, and assisted by John FitzGerald, the earl's brother, plundered the English villages of the county of Louth. It is probable that Kildare anticipated the fatal consequences of these violent proceedings, and meditated some desperate resistance, as he furnished his castles, especially those of Maynooth and Ley, with cannon, pikes, and amunition, from the stores in Dublin castle, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the council.

A.D. 1534.—Under such circumstances we need not wonder that fresh accusations were sent forward against Kildare, and that he was once more summoned to the king's presence. John Allen, who had come over as secretary to archbishop Allen, and was now secretary to the council, (and who subsequently became master of the rolls, and for a short time also lord chancellor,) was sent by the council to England, in the latter part of 1533, to report to the king on the state of his territories. He had also secret instructions to make certain charges against the earl of Kildare. The report of the council stated, that the English laws, manners, and language, were confined within the narrow compass of twenty miles, and that unless the laws were duly enforced, the "little place," as the Pale was termed, would be reduced to the same condition as the remainder of the kingdom. This state of things was attributed partly to the illegal exactions and oppressions by which the English tenantry had been driven from their settlements; to the tribute and black-rent paid to the Irish chiefs; to the enormous jurisdictions granted to the lords of English race, and especially to the three earls of Desmond,

Ossory, and Kildare; to the substitution by these lords of "a rabble of disaffected Irish," for the well-conditioned yeomanry, whom they had formerly under their roofs; in fine, to the alienation of crown lands, the frequent change of government, the neglect of the records of the Exchequer, and other causes. At the same time a report was transmitted to Cromwell, who had succeeded Wolsey as chancellor of England, complaining that the O'Briens had been enabled by a bridge lately built by them across the Shannon, to make such inroads that they had "in a manner subdued all the English thereto adjoining, and especially the country of Limerick;" and that one Edmond Oge O'Byrne had made a forcible entry by night into Dublin castle, and carried away from thence prisoners and plunder, to the great alarm of the citizens, who long after continued to keep nightly watch against a similar incursion. And in a third report, referring to the enormous power of the earls of Desmond, Kildare, and Ossory, the council stated that the earl of Desmond alone, and his kinsmen, possessed the counties of Kerry, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, from none of which did the king derive "a single groat of yearly profit or revenue," and that in any one of them the king's laws were not observed or executed. As to the earl of Ossory, the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary were under his dominion, and their wretched population was harassed by coyn and livery. From these and other facts the report concluded, that although popular opinion attributed "to the wild Irish lords and captains the destruction of the land of Ireland, (the Pale), it was not they only, but the treason, rebellion, extortion, and wilful war of the aforesaid earls and other English lords," that were answerable for so much ruin.*

Every reader of history is aware of the events which had been occurring about this time in England, and for which, although they deeply affect Irish history also, we have not thought it necessary to interrupt the chain of our narrative. The tyrant who occupied the English throne had been disturbing Christendom by his efforts to break the marriage bonds in which he had lived for twenty years with his lawful queen, in order to take another wife, who soon after was to suffer on a scaffold, charged with infamous crimes, that she might make way for the next in succession of this monster's six wives. To overcome the obstacles to his passions he had flung off the authority of the Pope, assumed to himself a spiritual supremacy, and plunged England into a schism which flowed naturally into the wider gulph of heresy, in which the nation was soon

* State papers, lxiii., lxiv., lxix.

merged. Wolsey, who was responsible for much of the evil at its commencement, had fallen from his high estate, and sunk into a miserable grave; the English church was already in ruins; parliament had been transformed into a mere instrument of the tyrant's will; religious persecution had commenced, and, in a word, the country was committed to all the horrors, and all the crimes, which constitute the dismal epoch of the "reformation."

Such was the state of England when Kildare was summoned to answer the grave charges made against him. He seized various pretences for delay, and in November, 1533, sent his countess to England, hoping, through the influence of her family, to avert the blow; but excuses were in vain; and, in obedience to fresh and peremptory orders, he set out himself in the following February, embarking at Drogheda, where he had summoned the council to meet him, and where, in their presence, he appointed his son, Thomas, not yet twenty-one years of age, to act as deputy in his absence. On the earl's arrival in London he was immediately arrested, by the king's order, and committed to the Tower.

The enemies of the Geraldines now resorted to most unprincipled means to bring about the destruction of that family. Reports and letters were circulated to the effect that the earl of Kildare was beheaded in the Tower, and that the same fate was intended for all his family in Ireland. To urge lord Thomas into some illegal act was the object in view, and this was easily accomplished, as the young lord was rash and impetuous in the extreme. Believing the false rumours, and acting on the indiscreet counsel of James Delahide and others, whom his father had commended to him as advisers, the hot-headed youth flew to arms. On the 11th of June he proceeded through Dublin, at the head of a guard of 140 horsemen, to St. Mary's Abbey, where he had appointed to meet the council; and there, surrounded by his armed followers, who entered the council chamber with him, he surrendered the sword and robes of state to Cromer, the chancellor, and renounced his allegiance to the king. Archbishop Cromer implored him with tears to revoke his purpose, but entreaties were in vain. The young Geraldine rushed forth on his wild career, which speedily led to the destruction of himself and his family.

Copious details of the rebellion of this rash young lord, who, from the rich trappings of his followers, was popularly styled "Silken Thomas," are given by Anglo-Irish historians, but they rest, for the most part, on no better authority than that of Stanihurst and the Book of Howth. It appears, however, that after despoiling the lands of several leading

persons who were opposed to his enterprise, he laid siege to Dublin. The city was at that time weakened by pestilence, and the citizens having just suffered a serious loss in an attempt to intercept a party of the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, who were carrying off spoils from Fingal to Wicklow, were not in a state to resist, so that after some negociation they admitted his soldiers within the walls to besiege the Castle, in which archbishop Allen, Patrick Finglass, chief baron of the exchequer, and other leading persons had taken refuge. The archbishop, feeling himself to be the most obnoxious to the Geraldines, endeavoured to effect his escape to England, and for that purpose embarked at night in a ship which lay in the river off Dame's gate; but whether by accident or design, the vessel was run ashore at Clontarf, and the archbishop sought refuge in the neighbouring village of Artane. News of this circumstance was quickly conveyed to lord Thomas, who, with two of his uncles, John and Oliver, repaired to the spot at the dawn of day, and had the unhappy Allen taken from his bed, and dragged half naked as he was before them. Falling on his knees the prelate begged hard for his life; but finding his entreaties fruitless, he addressed his prayers to Heaven, and was then murdered in a brutal manner, in the Geraldine's presence. It is said that lord Thomas merely directed his attendants in Irish to "take the clown away," and that they understood him to mean that they should kill the archbishop.* This atrocity, which was committed on the 28th of July, cast a blight upon the insurrection, and drew down a sentence of excommunication, accompanied by fearful maledictions, upon all who had participated in the crime. The ecclesiastical sentence was transmitted to the Tower, that it might be seen by the unhappy earl of Kildare, whose heart was already rent with affliction by the news of his son's rash rebellion. He lingered until September, when he died, and was buried in the tower chapel.

Lord Thomas endeavoured in vain to induce his cousin, James Butler, son of the earl of Ossory, to join him. He then invaded Butler's territory, whence he carried off some spoils; but he was loosing ground in Dublin, where his men, who had been admitted within the walls, were cut off or captured by the citizens, and he himself repulsed in two or three assaults upon the city. A truce for six weeks was then agreed

* This prelate, who was an Englishman, was raised to the see of Dublin by Wolsey, whose chaplain he had been, and whom he had served as an agent in the suppression of forty English monasteries to found his colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, years before Henry VIII. had taken up the work of spoliation. (Mageogehgan's *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 405, Duffy's Edition). Allen was the author of the *Black Book* of Christ's Church, and of the *Repertorium Viride*, both well known to antiquaries. (Ware's *Bishops and Annals*).

on; and Sir William Skeffington, who had been reappointed lord deputy when the news of the insurrection reached England, arrived on the coast, but in such infirm health that for several months he was unable to take the field. Lord Thomas burned Dunboyne, and threatened the destruction of Trim, and other towns. He sent Delahide and others to solicit aid from the emperor, Charles V., and despatched envoys to Rome; but his hopes from these quarters were not realised; and at home few of the native Irish, save O'Carroll, O'More, and O'Conor of Offaly ranged themselves under his banner. All the northern chieftains except O'Neill and Manus, son of the chief of Tirconnell, were on friendly terms with the government, and even the warlike septs of Wicklow took the royal side.

A.D. 1535.—The protracted inactivity of Skeffington emboldened the rebels; but about the middle of March the feeble deputy proceeded to lay siege to Maynooth castle, which, from the magnificence of its furniture, was deemed one of the richest houses under the crown of England, and which was so strongly fortified that lord Thomas entrusted its defence to the garrison, while he himself endeavoured to rally his friends in other parts of the country. Besides Maynooth, he had the strongholds of Rathangan, Carlow, Portlester, Athy, and Ley, and had removed to the last-mentioned castle the principal part of his ammunition, hoping to be able to hold out until succour arrived from Spain or Scotland. Stanihurst tells a story of the betrayal of Maynooth into the hands of Skeffington by its constable, Christopher Parese; but it appears from the deputy's despatches that the castle was taken by assault, the remnant of the garrison, when reduced from over a hundred to thirty-seven effective men, surrendering at discretion, and twenty-five of these being executed as traitors the following day before the castle.

Lord Thomas, who had collected a small army by the help of the chief of Offaly, was approaching to relieve Maynooth when he received the news of its fall. His followers, struck with dismay, then deserted him, and with a company of only sixteen friends he took refuge in Thomond, whose chief was prepared long before to come to his aid, had he not been kept at home by the rebellion of his son, Donough O'Brien, who had been stirred up and assisted against him by the earl of Ossory. In the same way, the other adherents of the Geraldine had been paralysed by domestic dissensions.

Skeffington being laid up by illness at Maynooth, while the Pale was threatened with invasion by O'Brien, O'Conor Faly, and O'Kelly, Allen, master of the rolls, and chief justice Aylmer were despatched to

England to represent the critical state of affairs, and lord Leonard Gray, son of the marquis of Dorset, was thereupon sent over to take the command of the army, as marshal of Ireland. He landed on the 28th of July, and adopting vigorous means to complete the suppression of the revolt, found the task an easy one. Lord Thomas lost his allies one by one. O'More abandoned him, and O'Connor was compelled to submit, and about the end of August he sought a parley, confessed his offence, casting the blame on his advisers, and praying that his life might be spared, he surrendered himself to lord Grey. The Irish annalists expressly state that he received a promise that his life would not be forfeited, and the state papers furnish undeniable proof that such was the case. Lord Leonard himself conducted him to England, where he was seized on his way to Windsor, and committed to the Tower by order of the king, who was enraged that any terms should have been made with him.

About a year before this time a commission was sent to Ireland to prepare the way for the introduction there of Henry's spiritual supremacy. George Browne, an Augustinian friar of London, and the confidential agent of Cranmer, was one of its principal members, and was soon after made archbishop of Dublin, in succession to the ill-fated John Allen. The commission was a total failure, but among its few fruits may be counted the accession to the English schism, of Peter, or Pierse Butler, earl of Ossory, and his son James, who was then created viscount Thurles. These noblemen were, in May, 1534, charged with the government of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, and on receiving this appointment pledged themselves "to resist the usurpation of the bishop of Rome;" this being, as Cox observes, the first engagement of that kind to be met with in our history. The document signed by them on the occasion contains a falsehood as absurd as it is flagitious, attributing all the evils under which Ireland suffered to the manner in which the pope had exercised his authority in filling up the Irish benefices!

A.D. 1536.—Exasperated at the expense which the rebellion in Ireland had caused, Henry affected to regard its suppression as a conquest of the country, and proposed it as a question for discussion by his council whether he had not thereby acquired a right to seize on all the estates of that kingdom, both spiritual and temporal. He ordered lord Gray, who, on the death of Skeffington at the close of the preceding year, was appointed lord deputy, to arrest the five uncles of Silken Thomas; and as it was rumoured in Ireland that an amnesty would be granted, three of the uncles, besides, having openly discountenanced the rebellion at the commencement, the five noblemen made no great difficulty of surren-

dering themselves to the deputy. They were accordingly attainted by the Irish parliament and conveyed to London, where, with their ill-fated nephew, they were executed at Tyburn on the 3d of February, 1537.*

This sweeping act of vengeance scattered and dismayed the Geraldine party; but there still remained two scions of the noble house of Kildare —namely, the sons of the late earl Gerald by his second wife, lady Elizabeth Gray. Of these, Edward, the younger, who was still an infant, was conveyed by some means to his mother in England, and the elder, Gerald, then about twelve or thirteen years old, found an asylum for a time in Thomond, whence he was conveyed to Kilbritain, in Carbery, to his aunt, lady Eleanor, widow of MacCarthy Reagh. His subsequent fortunes we shall hereafter relate.

O'Brien's bridge, which opened a highway from Thomond into the English territories, was a constant source of alarm to the inhabitants of the latter, and its destruction was an object of so much importance to the government of the Pale as to enter into all their plans at this period. To demolish it, therefore, lord Gray led an army to the south in July this year and several of the native septs of Leinster sent him their contingents. The earl of Ossory joined him in Kilkenny at the head of a considerable force; and as he approached the Shannon Donough O'Brien, the same whom we have seen rising in rebellion against his father, the chief of Thomond, at the desire of the earl of Ossory, presented himself and offered to conduct the army to the bridge by a secret and undefended path. This traitor, who was married to the earl of Ossory's daughter, complained that he had not been sufficiently rewarded for his former services, and stipulated that for his new act of treachery he should be put in possession of Carrigogonnell castle, which, he said, the English had not held for two hundred years. Having arrived before the bridge, the deputy found it strongly built of stone, and defended at either end by a tower standing in the river. The nearer tower was taken by assault, the garrison escaping in the rear; and the bridge being then demolished, lord Gray proceeded to Limerick. He next took the castle of Carrigogonnell, which was bravely defended by some men of the earl of Desmond and O'Brien, and having put the garrison to the sword, delivered that famous stronghold to Donough. In his despatch announcing the destruction of O'Brien's bridge, the lord deputy complains bitterly of the

* From a letter written by the unhappy lord Thomas we learn that during his imprisonment he was not allowed the commonest necessaries of life. He was left during the winter "barefoot and barelegged, depending on the charity of his fellow-prisoners for a few tattered garments to defend him against the cold."

insubordination of his English soldiers, who frequently mutinied in the field to obtain money or plunder. "I am in more dread of my life amongst them that be soldiers," he wrote, "than I am of them that be the king's Irish enemies."

A.D. 1537—Cahir O'Conor Faly having given the Pale much trouble, as his sept had always done, it was proposed to create him baron of Offaly, and to allow him to hold his lands by English tenure, on the ground, say the council, that "Irishmen would so hate him afterwards that he would have but little comfort of them, and so must look to the king's subjects for protection against them." But this mean and insidious policy defeated itself; for scarcely had the proposed arrangement been effected, when Cahir's brother, Brian, whom the lord deputy boasted that he had reduced to the condition of a beggar, expelled the protegé of the English and took possession of his territory. This drew from secretary Cromwell an order to the lord deputy to "hang the traitor" as an example to others, and "never to trust to a traitor after, but to use them without treating after their demerits." Nevertheless we find, that in a parley, which was conducted with extraordinary precautions on both sides, Brian soon after obtained favorable terms from the lord deputy, so that it was Cahir O'Conor's turn then to revolt, and again, after some fighting, to submit.

Instead of attempting to heal the disorders of the country on any principle of even-handed justice, it was now seriously proposed by the Irish government to exterminate the native population in all those districts bordering on the Pale, which, from the nature of the country, afforded the people means of self-defence; and this was to be effected by starvation. The corn was to be destroyed when ripe, the cattle killed or carried away, or, by an ingenious system of harassing, gradually wasted from the land.*

* The words in which this diabolical scheme was propounded to secretary Cromwell by his Irish agents deserve to be transcribed: "The very living of the Irishry," it is said "doth clearly consist in two things; and take away the same from them and they are past for ever to recover, or yet to annoy any subject in Ireland. Take first from them their corn, and as much as cannot be husbanded and had into the hands of such as shall dwell and inhabit in their lands, to burn and destroy the same, so as the Irishry shall not live thereupon; and then to have their cattle and beasts which shall be most hardest to come by, and yet with guides and policy they be oft had and taken. And, by reason that the several armies, as I devised in my other paper, should proceed at once, it is not possible for the said Irishry to put or flee their cattle from one country into another, but that one of the armies shall come thereby; and admitting the impossibility so that their cattle were saved, yet in the continuance of one year, the same cattle shall be dead, destroyed, stolen, strayed, or eaten, by reason of the continual removing of them, going from one wood to another, their lying out all the winter, their narrow pastures. . . . . And then they (the Irishry) shall be without corn, victuals, or cattle, and thereof shall ensue the putting in effect all these wars against them." *S. P.*

Young Gerald, heir to the earldom of Kildare, still escaped the numerous attempts made to capture him, although no pains were spared for that purpose on the part of the government. Threats and bribes were held out to the Irish chieftains who were suspected of sheltering him; and in many instances their territories were laid waste by lord Leonard Gray. Manus O'Donnell, who, on the death of his father in 1537, had succeeded to the chieftaincy of Tirconnell,* made proposals of marriage to the boy's aunt, the lady Eleanor MacCarthy, who consented the more willingly in order to secure the protection of so powerful a chief for her nephew; and she was able to pass in safety with her young charge from the south to the north of Ireland, so steadfast was the sympathy of the people for the house of Kildare. The northern chieftains confederated for the restoration of the young Geraldine to his paternal estates; and when the lord deputy sought to treat with them for his surrender they refused to meet him. Another hostile inroad by lord Gray into Tyrone was the consequence. The castle of Dungannon was taken, and the surrounding country abandoned for six days to pillage and devastation. But as time progressed the aim of the confederates became more lofty and sacred; and they now aspired to nothing less than the liberation of their country from the English yoke; religion lending an additional and powerful impulse to their old cause of enmity against England.

Fortunately it is not our duty to trace the history of the religious changes which at this time were taking place in the neighbouring country. We are only concerned at present with the fact that these changes were wholly repugnant to the feelings of the Irish people, who remained firmly attached to their ancient faith and traditions. While England exhibited such pliancy and ingratitude, in turning against an indulgent mother, Ireland—cast by her position into the shade, calumniated, despised, and abandoned for centuries to a hopeless struggle with a powerful and merciless foe—still, in the hour of trial, remained faithful. And when her fidelity was appreciated, and she began to be

* Hugh Duv O'Donnell, the veteran chief of Tirconnell (son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garv), died in the Franciscan monastery of Donegal, 1537. The Four Masters state that he was "a man who did not suffer the power of the English to come into his country, for he formed a league of peace and friendship with the king of England when he saw that the Irish would not yield superiority to any one among themselves, but that friends and blood-relations contended against each other." He was a successful warrior and a politic ruler; but suffered a good deal from dissensions in his own family. Two of his sons, Niall Garv and Owen, slew each other in a domestic feud, in 1524; and the enmity between his two remaining sons, Hugh Boy and Manus, was such that in 1531 he was obliged to call in the aid of Maguire to crush their strife. On that occasion Manus, the younger brother, was compelled to fly, and entered into alliance with Con O'Neill, showing himself to be decidedly hostile to the English. The popularity of Manus, therefore, became very great, and on the death of his father he was unanimously chosen his successor.

recognised as a champion of the Catholic faith, and words of encouragement reached her from that Rome against which the enemies of both would have inspired her with jealousy, she responded with devotion and enthusiasm. Henceforth Ireland presents to us a spectacle, deplorable indeed when we consider her unexampled sufferings, but worthy of the admiration of Christendom when we contemplate her enduring and unsubdued heroism in the cause of religion.

Archbishop Browne found all his efforts to propagate the new doctrines fruitless even in the Pale. In a letter to Cromwell he complained bitterly that even the common people were more zealous in what he termed their blindness "than the saints and martyrs in truth in the beginning of the gospel;" that the hostility against himself was such that his life was in danger; and that he received the most strenuous opposition from Cromer, archbishop of Armagh. Primate Cromer was an Englishman, but from the first he protested against the impious attempt to enforce the king's supremacy in spirituals; he pronounced an anathema against those who would acknowledge it; convoked the suffragans and clergy of his province to address them on the subject; and sent two priests to Rome to represent the danger of the church, and to entreat the interposition of the Sovereign Pontiff. This conscientious and manly discharge of his duty was called treason, and he was cast into prison. Browne feared that the Pope would order O'Neill to take up arms in the name of Catholicity; and knowing how easy it was to get any law the king might choose passed by parliament, in the servile and degraded state to which it was then reduced, he urged Cromwell to have one convened in Dublin without delay. This was accordingly done, and a parliament which met in Dublin on the 1st of May, 1536, followed with obsequious readiness in the footsteps of the English parliament—making laws, and annulling them, to suit the caprice of the tyrant. The marriage of the king with Catherine of Arragon was declared null and void, and the succession to the crown limited to his children by Anne Boleyn; but this act was scarcely passed when news arrived that the lady Anne was beheaded, and that Henry had married the lady Jane Seymour; so that it was necessary immediately to rescind the former act, and to pass another attainting Anne Boleyn and her alleged paramours!

There was, however, more difficulty in getting the Irish parliament to pass the acts relating to religion, chiefly owing to the strenuous opposition given to them by the proctors, of whom there were three from each diocese, who, from time immemorial, had exercised the right of voting These were not so timid or pliant as the men of property, who feared

attainders and confiscations, and it was therefore resolved that they should be got rid of. By an act of despotic oppression the proctors were accordingly excluded from parliament, which then became a ready tool in the hands of the officials. Several prorogations took place before all this could be effected, and at length, in 1537, it was enacted that the king was the supreme head on earth of the church of Ireland; that no appeal lay to Rome in spiritual matters; and that first fruits were to be paid to the king, not only from all bishopries and other secular offices in the church, but from all abbeys, priories, colleges, and hospitals. The authority of the Pope was solemnly renounced, and all who maintained it in Ireland were made liable to premunire. Officers of every kind and degree were required to take the oath of supremacy, and all who refused it were declared guilty of high treason. Several of the religious houses were suppressed, and their demesnes confiscated to the crown; and other laws similar to those already passed in England were enacted to gratify the resentment, avarice, or capricious passions of Henry.

A.D. 1538.—The Geraldine league at this time comprised O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Brien, the earl of Desmond, O'Neill of Clannaboy, O'Rourke, MacDermot, and several minor chieftains; but there was no active co-operation among them, and their projects were never carried into actual effect. Lord Gray invaded Lecale this year, and took the strong castle of Dundrum from Magennis, destroying seven other castles in Ulster in the same expedition. He is accused of having burnt, on this occasion, the cathedral of Down, and demolished the monuments of SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille which it contained; but it is certain, nevertheless, that he at no time ceased to profess the Catholic faith. On this very expedition he gave great offence to Browne's party by hearing several masses one day before the statue of the Blessed Virgin, at Trim; and his dislike of the Lutherans was, we may be sure, the true cause of the enmity against him; although we are told he made enemies of the Butlers and their clique by his severe and overbearing disposition. Browne at this time gave full scope to his sectarian zeal, and caused several objects of Catholic veneration to be destroyed. The famous statue of the Blessed Virgin, just mentioned, which he insultingly called "the idol of Trim," was publicly burned; and the holy Crucifix of the abbey of Ballybogan, with the crozier of St. Patrick, called the staff of Jesus, underwent the same fate.*

* These venerable relics were of great antiquity; and several miracles are recorded in the Irish annals as having been performed through the means of the Crucifix and Statue here referred to. See Four Masters, A.D. 1381, 1397, 1411, 1412, 1441, 1461, 1482.

A.D. 1539.—Early in May this year lord Gray led an expedition against Con O'Neill, and remained two days at Armagh burning and pillaging the surrounding country without resistance. The following August, O'Neill and O'Donnell combined to invade the English borders, and proceeded as far as Navan and Ardee. They were returning home, encumbered with enormous spoils, when they were overtaken by lord Gray, with a strong force, at Belahoe, on the borders of Farney in Oriel, and routed with great slaughter. The Irish lost 400 men, together with all the spoils. Fitzsimon, mayor of Dublin, Courcy, mayor of Drogheda, Gerald Aylmer, chief justice of the king's bench, and Thomas Talbot, of Malahide, were dubbed knights for the important services they rendered in the encounter.

The deputy next proceeded to Munster, in order to break up the league which existed between O'Brien and Desmond. Pierse Butler, to whom by this time had been restored his title of earl of Ormond, cordially co-operated with him for this object; and a violent feud which had long prevailed between Butler and Gray was now arranged. In his march through O'Carroll's county, and thence to Cork, the deputy received the submission of several chiefs of Irish and English descent: as O'Brien of Ara, O'Regan of Owney, O'Dwyer of Kilnamona, MacCarthy Reagh, the White Knight, lord Barry, Red Barry, &c. James FitzMaurice FitzGerald, a claimant to the earldom of Desmond, accompanied the deputy's army, and was put in possession of several castles in the county of Cork; but James FitzJohn, the actual earl, treated this proceeding with scorn, and approaching the deputy's camp when near the Blackwater, stood on the opposite bank of that river and announced his determination to adhere still to O'Brien; adding, that all "the Irishry of Ireland would do so;" at which words the lord deputy "was sore moved," and withdrew to Cork.*

A commission was appointed this year to carry into effect the act

* There is great confusion in the history of the earls of Desmond, owing to the frequent disturbance of the succession by usurpation. At the period referred to in the text there were two claimants to the earldom; James, son of Maurice, son of Thomas, the twelfth earl; whose father (Maurice) died during the lifetime of the said earl Thomas, and who was himself absent in England, where he was page of honor to Henry VIII., when his grandfather died in 1534. His granduncle, John, (son of Thomas, the eighth earl, who was beheaded at Drogheda in 1467), usurped the earldom in his absence, but being advanced in age died in 1536, leaving five sons; of whom James, the second son, called James FitzJohn, continued the usurpation. James FitzMaurice was regarded by the English as the legitimate heir, and was also strenuously supported by his father-in-law, Cormac Oge MacCarthy; but he never recovered the possession of the ancestral estates, and was at length killed in 1540 by Maurice, son of his grand-uncle John, whereupon his opponent, James FitzJohn, was left in quiet occupation of title and estates.

passed in the parliament of 1537 for the suppression of religious houses, and the formality of an official inquiry was adopted for the purpose, as in England; but this country was fortunate enough to escape the sanguinary persecution which was carried on, in the name of religion, at the other side of the channel during this reign. Dr. John Travers, who had written a book in defence of the papal supremacy, and who is said to have been implicated in the rebellion of Silken Thomas, was hanged this year at Tyburn; but it would not appear from the Anglo-Irish historians that any other Irish clergyman suffered death in the reign of Henry VIII.; although several, who were subsequently liberated by lord Gray, were arrested at the instigation of archbishop Browne. The Four Masters, however, inform us, under the date of 1540, that the guardian and some of the friars of the Franciscan monastery of Monaghan were put to death, and that "the English, throughout every part of Ireland where their power extended, were persecuting and banishing the (religious) orders." *

A.D. 1540.—Early in the spring of this year lord Leonard Gray was recalled to England, and Sir William Brereton appointed, for the time, lord justice. Lord Gray was graciously received by the king; but his enemies, the earl of Ormond, John Allen, (who, on the death of Barnwell, baron of Trimbleston, in 1538, had been made chancellor,) and Sir William Brabazon, the vice-treasurer, followed him, and made such charges against him that he was committed to the Tower for high treason. Among other things alleged against him was his open partiality for the Geraldines; his suffering young Gerald of Kildare, his nephew, to

* The number of monasteries and other religious houses destroyed during this reign in Ireland has never been ascertained; but it appears from various inquisitions that many, especially in places inaccessible to the English, were concealed for a long time after, and the friars continued to live in the neighbourhood of several up to a recent period. Four Masters, vol. v., p. 1446, note *e*. "Some of the social advantages of the religious houses in Ireland are alluded to incidentally, in a letter of the lord deputy Gray and council, to Cromwell, March 21st, 1539, requesting that six houses should be exempted from the general suppression—St. Mary's Abbey and Christ Church, Dublin; the Nunnery of Grace Dieu, Fingall, Co. Dublin; Connell Abbey, Co. Kildare; and Kells and Jerpoint, Co. Kilkenny;—'For in these houses commonly and other such like, in default of common inns which are not in this land, the king's deputy, and all other his grace's council and officers, and Irishmen coming to the deputy, have been commonly lodged at the cost of said houses.' Also in them 'yonge men and childer, both gentlemen childer and other, both of man kynd and woman kynd, be brought up in virtue, learning, and the English tongue:' the ladies all in the nunnery of Grace Dieu; the young men in the other houses. St. Mary's Abbey was the hotel of all people of quality coming from England, and Christ Church was at once the parliament house, the council house, and 'the common resort in Term tyme for definitions of all matters by the judges.' State papers, Henry VIII., vol. iii., part iii., p. 130. The abbot of St. Mary's, petitioning some time after against the suppression, pleads, 'verily we be but stewards and purveyors to other men's uses for the king's honour: keeping hospitality, and many poor men, scholars, and orphans.'" Camb. Ever., vol. ii., p. 545, note.

escape from Ireland;* his forbearance towards certain Irish chieftains, and the confidence which he reposed in them—which was such that he traversed the territory of Thomond, the preceding year, with no other escort than a single gallowglass of O'Brien's. Ultimately his enemies prevailed, and he was executed as a traitor on Tower-hill, in June, 1541.

During the interval which elapsed before the appointment of a successor to lord Gray, the Pale was threatened on all sides by Irish foes. Incursions were made by O'Toole, MacMurrough, and O'Conor; an intimate correspondence was carried on between the principal Ulster chieftains and James V. of Scotland; and the eyes of the Irish were directed with hope towards the foes of England on the continent. It was reported that a general muster of the forces of O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Brien, and other Irish lords, was about to take place at Foure, in Westmeath; the inhabitants of the Pale were seized with alarm; and men of every class and station flew to arms. Bishops, temporal peers, priests, judges, lawyers, and men of every profession mingled in the armed throng; and Brereton was soon at the head of a hastily collected force of ten thousand men, with which he marched to Foure, where he found no trace of the rumoured Irish congress. In fact the Irish annalists make no allusion whatever to any such intended meeting, and the rumour was doubtless without foundation; but the lord justice and his militia were resolved that they should not be called out in vain "We concluded to do some exploit," he writes; and he then proceeds to tell us how the army entered the neighbouring territory of Offaly, and "encamping in sundry places, destroyed O'Conor's habitations, corn, and fortilices, so long as their victuals endured," that is, for a period of twenty days!

The long and harassing wars waged by the English government against the Irish, and the fatal dissensions of the latter among themselves, produced their inevitable results. The chiefs and great lords, both of English and Irish descent, were reduced to a state of deplorable misery and exhaustion. Everything destructable had been wasted and burned until the country became a howling wilderness. It was high time, therefore, on the one side to think of submission, and prudent on

* The friends of young Gerald deeming it unsafe for him to remain any longer in Ireland, he sailed in March, 1540, from Donegal, accompanied by his tutor, Leverous, afterwards bishop of Kildare, and a Father Walsh, and landed at St. Malo's. After many intermediate journeyings he at length reached Rome in safety, and was affectionately received by his kinsman, Cardinal Pole, who had him carefully educated. Subsequently he was taken to the court of Cosmo de Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, and in the reign of Edward VI. was restored to his estates. Finally he was re-established in all the honors of his family by Queen Mary.

the other to propose concession. Things had reached a turning point, and Henry was just then fortunate in selecting a governor for Ireland who knew how to take advantage of the favorable circumstances. This prudent statesman was Sir Anthony Sentleger, who came over as deputy in August, 1540, a moment when the Irish chieftains manifested most peaceable dispositions. O'Donnell wrote to the king expressing his repentance in humble terms, and acknowledging the royal supremacy. A letter was also addressed by O'Neill to Henry, accompanied by gifts; it was written in Latin and bore the chieftain's mark, for few in those turbulent times had either leisure or taste to acquire the first rudiments of learning; but as it was couched in independent terms, and complained of the aggressions of English viceroys, Henry's reply to it was less condescending than that to O'Donnell's epistle.

MacMurrough submitted after his territory, which was then limited to Idrone in the west of Carlow, had been devastated for ten days by the earl of Ormond. He adopted the name of Kavenagh, and renounced the title of MacMurrough, which he engaged on the part of his sept that no one should henceforth assume. The submission of the O'Mores, O'Dempseys, and other Leinster septs followed. Henry directed that no favor should be shown to O'Conor of Offaly, who, if possible, should be expelled from his country; yet when that chief, seeing himself almost alone, proffered his submission, it was gladly received; and his adherents, O'Molloy, O'Melaghlin, and Mageoghegan, followed his example. Even Turlough O'Toole, the head of the warlike sept which still maintained its independence amidst the wildest glens and mountain passes of Wicklow, now requested a parley with the lord deputy, and asked permission to visit the king, that he might petition him for certain lands to which he laid claim. Sentleger acceded to his request, and supplied him with £20 from his own purse for the expenses of his journey, together with a letter of introduction to the Duke of Norfolk.*

A.D. 1541.—The earl of Desmond at length consented to submit, but when proceeding to Cahir to meet the lord deputy for that purpose, the archbishop of Dublin, the master of the ordnance, and the deputy's brother, were given as hostages for his safety. The earl agreed to renounce his privilege of not attending parliament or entering walled towns. A difference between him and the earl of Ormond, who set up

* The Wicklow chieftain above referred to, had some time before, in a chivalrous spirit, lent his aid to the deputy when he saw that all the leading Irish chiefs were leagued against him; observing, "that as soon as the others made peace then would he alone make war with him!" This was really the spirit by which the Irish chieftains were most frequently actuated in their wars with the English government.

a claim to the earldom of Desmond in right of his wife, the only daughter and heir general of the eleventh earl, was arranged by an undertaking that an intermarriage should take place between the children of the two earls; and Sentleger and the lord chancellor accompanied Desmond to his town of Kilmallock, where they were most hospitably entertained. Sentleger, in a letter to the king, describes Desmond as "undoubtedly a very wise and discreet gentleman."*

After Desmond's submission, a conference was held at Limerick with O'Brien, "the greatest Irishman of the west of this land;" but it led to no immediate result; the chief of Thomond saying that "although the captain of his nation he was still but one man," and should take time to consult his kinsmen and followers. The chieftain's excuse throws a curious light on the internal government of the independent Irish septs.

On the 12th of June, a parliament was held in Dublin, at which the novel sight was witnessed of Irish chieftains sitting, for the first time, with English lords. O'Brien appeared there by his procurators or attorneys; and Kavenagh, O'More, O'Reilly, MacWilliam, and others took their seats in person, the speeches of the speaker and the lord chancellor being interpreted to them in Irish by the earl of Ormond. An act was unanimously passed by this parliament conferring on Henry VIII., and his successors, the title of king of Ireland, instead of that of lord of Ireland, which the English kings since the days of John had hitherto borne. This act, which seemed to give a better security of peace, was hailed with great rejoicings in Dublin; and on the following Sunday the lords and gentlemen of parliament went in procession to St. Patrick's cathedral, where solemn mass was sung by archbishop Browne, after which the law was proclaimed, and a *Te Deum* chaunted. A general pardon was issued, and, as Sentleger writes to Henry VIII., "there

*No better illustration of the impoverished state to which the great lords and chieftains, as well of the English as of the native race, were at this time reduced, could be required than that afforded by Sentleger's letters to the king relative to their submission. The deputy tells us that Desmond, "the noblest man in all the realm," required to be provided by the king not only with robes to wear in parliament, but even with apparel for his daily use, "whereof he had great lack." Sentleger himself had already given him a gown, jacket, doublet, hose, and other articles of dress, "for which he was thankful;" the earl accounting for his want of means to provide these necessaries, by the wasting wars in which he had been engaged. MacGillapatrick (who was soon after created baron of Upper Ossory, and changed his name into Fitzpatrick) and O'Reilly were in like manner provided with parliamentary robes at the king's expense; while O'Rourke petitioned for a suit of ordinary clothes, "as he was a man somewhat gross, and not trained to repair unto his majesty." The wealth of these chiefs did not consist of money, of which they had scarcely any, but in the number of men whose services they could command in their hostings, and whose support was levied on the country.

were made in the city great bonfires, wine was set in the streets, and there were great feastings in the houses."

A.D. 1542.—It was now about two years since Con O'Neill and Manus O'Donnell had written submissive letters to the king, yet, in the rage for court favor which prevailed in the interval, these two great northern chiefs still held aloof. At length O'Donnell, who had of late years exhibited a marked leaning towards the English, took the initiative, and O'Neill followed; but not until his territory had been subjected to spoliation for twenty-two days by the deputy. The chief of Tyrone repaired to England, accompanied by O'Kervellan, bishop of Clogher, and was graciously received by the king at Greenwich. He renounced the title of prince and the name of O'Neill, and surrendered his territories into the king's hands, receiving them back under letters patent, together with the title of earl of Tyrone. He had asked the king to make him earl of Ulster, but Henry explained that this request was somewhat presumptuous, the earldom of Ulster being one of the greatest in Christendom, and being besides attached to the royal family. Mathew, or Ferdoragh, the natural son of Con O'Neill, was created baron of Dungannon; two of the Magennises were dubbed knights; and the bishop of Clogher was confirmed in his diocese by the king's patent. As to O'Donnell, he desired to be made earl either of Sligo or Tirconnell; the latter title was granted, but was not conferred until the year 1603.*

Murrough O'Brien, who succeeded his brother Conor, as chief of north Munster in 1539, was created earl of Thomond, with the title of baron of Inchiquin for his heirs male; while his nephew, Donough, whose friendship to the English and treason to his own nation have been already noticed, was rewarded with the title of baron of Ibrickan, and the reversion of the earldom of Thomond on his uncle's death. Finally, DeBurgo, or MacWilliam, who, from the number of persons whom he decapitated in his wars, is usually known as Ulick-na-gceann, or "of the heads," was created earl of Clanrickard, and baron of Dunkellin. The ceremony of conferring these titles took place with great pomp at Greenwich, on the 1st of July, 1543; and to each of the newly-created lords the king

* As a contrast to the other chieftains in point of dress, Sattleger, describing that worn by O'Donnell, says it consisted of a coat of crimson velvet, with twenty or thirty pairs of golden aiglets; over that a great double cloak of crimson satin, bordered with black velvet; and in his bonnet a feather, set full of aiglets of gold; so that he was more richly dressed than any other Irishman; but to him also a suit of parliamentary robes was given. We should perhaps understand the deficiency of these chieftains in apparel as confined to the matter of English fashions; for the profusion of materials used in the native Irish costumes of the period was such, that a law was made in this reign to restrain it within more reasonable bounds.

granted a house and small piece of land near Dublin, for the accommodation of their retinues when they came to attend parliament or council

A.D. 1543.—However mortifying the fact, it must, nevertheless, be remembered that the acceptance of these royal favors was generally, if not invariably, accompanied by an admission of the royal supremacy—a circumstance that adds to the humiliating nature of these submissions. Some of the Irish lords—as Murrough O'Brien—showed themselves even zealous in the cause of the English schism, and hankered for a share in the sacrilegious spoils of the convent lands; but as yet it was only schism (and not heresy) which was introduced into Ireland, and even that was confined to the few who accepted office or honors from Henry, or who hoped to share in the plunder of the confiscated church lands,* while it obtained no footing whatever among the humble classes.

In 1544 an Irish corps of 1,000 men proceeded, under two nephews of the earl of Ormond, to join the English army in France, where they distinguished themselves by their valour and the rapidity of their movements at the siege of Boulogne; and the following year the services of an Irish contingent were required in Scotland. In 1546 the earl of Ormond and seventeen of his friends were poisoned at a banquet in Ely house, London, whither he had gone to settle a quarrel with lord deputy Sentleger.† This earl (James, son of Pierse Roe) had been a great enemy to the Catholic cause in Ireland. Some young men of the Geraldine party took up arms this year in Kildare, but their insurrection was easily put down by Sentleger; and only resulted in the spoliation of a large tract of country. O'Conor and O'More were proclaimed traitors, and were the principal sufferers.

A new coin was struck at this time in Ireland, but of so base a description, that a law was made prohibiting its introduction into England, under severe penalties. "At this time," say the *Four Masters*, "the power of the English was great and immense in Ireland, so that the bondage in which the people of Leath Mogha (the southern half) were, had scarcely been ever equalled before that time."

* Robert Cowley, master of the rolls, reported in 1540 that he could find no account whatever, in the king's exchequer, of the produce of the confiscated estates, either of the Geraldines or of the suppressed monasteries. There was no memorandum of the revenues or of the way in which they had been employed.

† The intriguing chancellor, Allen, was at the bottom of the strife between Ormond and Sentleger, and was, on this occasion, committed a prisoner to the fleet.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY.

Accession of Edward VI.—Somerset's government.—War of Extermination in Leix and Offaly.—Fate of O'More and O'Conor.—Rising of O'Carroll.—Successes of the lord deputy Bellingham.—The adventurers Bryan and Fay.—Rebellion of Calvagh O'Donnell against his father.—Power of the Northern Chiefs curtailed.—Instance of Bellingham's firmness.—Intrigues and changes in the Irish government.—Exploits of the Scots in Ulster.—War between Ferdoragh and Shane O'Neill.—French emissaries in Ulster.—Failure of the efforts to establish the new religion in Ireland.—Zeal and firmness of Archbishop Dowdall.—Conference at St. Mary's Abbey.—Plunder of Clonmacnoise.—Accession of Queen Mary—Her efforts to restore religion—Her difficulties in England—Injustice to her character.—The work of restoration easy in Ireland.—Her kind disposition to Ireland frustrated—Affecting incident.—Strife in Thomond.—Continued War with the Scots in Ulster.—Shane ONeill defeated by Calvagh O'Donnell.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Paul III., Julius III., Marcellus V., Paul IV.—Emperor of Germany, Charles V.—King of France. Henry II.—King of Spain, Philip II.—Queen of Scotland, Mary.—Death of St. Francis Xavier, 1552—Death of St. Ignatius of Loyola, 1556.

[FROM 1547 TO 1558.]

EDWARD VI., the son of Henry VIII. and of his third wife, Jane Seymour, was proclaimed king, on his father's death, while yet only nine years of age. His maternal uncle, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and afterwards duke of Somerset, usurped the sole guardianship of the young king, and the government of the kingdom, with the title of lord protector; setting aside the council of regency appointed by the late king's will. Somerset was a zealous partisan of the new creed, and, aided by Cranmer, caused it to be established as the religion of the state. In Ireland Sentleger continued to hold office as lord deputy; James, earl of Desmond, was appointed lord treasurer; and, owing to the increased disturbances in Leinster, Sir Edward Bellingham was sent over in the course of the year (1547) as captain

general, with a reinforcement of 600 horse and 400 foot, to aid the deputy. Before his arrival Sentleger had gained a battle at the Three Castles, near Blessington, over the O'Byrnes, taking two of the Fitz-Geralds, who had joined the Wicklow insurgents, prisoners. These were executed in Dublin, and the Four Masters, who call them "plunderers and rebels," tell us that Brian, son of Turlough O'Toole, was on the lord deputy's side.

A.D. 1548.—The territories of Leix and Offaly had been by this time utterly wasted by inroads from the Pale; and the unhappy chieftains, Gillapatrick O'More and Brian O'Connor, having been brought so low that none of the Irish dared to give them food or shelter, had surrendered themselves to Francis Bryan, an Englishman who just then began to occupy a prominent place in this country. This happened in 1547, and in 1548 the two chiefs were taken to England by Sentleger, who was recalled. Their lives were spared, a pension of £100 each being allowed for their maintenance; but they were detained as prisoners, and their patrimonies given to Bryan and others, who set about expelling the old inhabitants, and disposing of the lands as their own. O'More died in his Saxon exile before the end of the year.

Sir Edward Bellingham, the successor to Sentleger, was a man of energy and decision, and gained sundry successes over the Irish.* A number of the men of Offaly were sent to England under the command of a son of their old chieftain, to join an army preparing against Scotland; but the chief object aimed at was their expatriation. Cahir Roe O'Conor, one of the same warlike sept, was brought to Dublin and executed; and some troubles created in Kildare by the sons of viscount Baltinglass were speedily crushed by the vigorous arm of the new deputy. O'Carroll of Ely had risen, and burned the town of Nenagh and the English monastery of Abingdon, in Limerick, threatening to expel all the English from his territory; but at a council held the following year in Limerick, he made favorable terms with the deputy for himself and his confederates, MacMurrough, O'Kelly, O'Melaghlin, and others, and a formidable movement was thus tranquillised. An English adventurer named Edmund Fay was invited into Delvin by O'Melaghlin

* An incident is related which sufficiently illustrates the energetic character of Bellingham. At the close of 1549 the earl of Desmond refused to attend a council to which he was summoned in Dublin, on the plea that he was celebrating Christmas. The lord deputy upon receiving this answer set out with a small party of horse, and by forced marches reached the castle where the earl was enjoying himself; and entering without previous notice seized Desmond while seated by the fire, and carried him to Dublin. Subsequently he obtained pardon for the earl.

to aid him in a quarrel with MacCoghlan; but the annalists tell us that O'Melaghlin had got "a rod to strike himself;" for Fay took possession of the territory on his own account, and was supported in his usurpation by Francis Bryan.*

A.D. 1549.—Tirconnell had been for some time disturbed by the unnatural rebellion of Calvagh O'Donnell against his father, Manus. In 1548 a battle was fought between them at Strath-bo-Fiach, now Ballybofey on the river Finn, when Calvagh and his ally, O'Kane, were defeated; but the dissensions still continued. Some of the Ulster chieftains about this time appealed for the settlement of their disputes to the government of the Pale, and the latter took advantage of their position as arbitrators to strike a fatal blow at the power of the superior dynasts, by making the inferior chiefs independent of them. Magennis was freed from all subjection to O'Neill, and the power of O'Donnell was restricted by similar means.

A.D. 1550—One government after another was sacrificed to political cabals in Dublin. Bellingham was recalled in December, 1549; and Bryan, who was appointed to succeed him, having died at Clonmel in less than two months after, Sentleger returned to Ireland as viceroy for the fourth time. Archbishop Browne, however, hated this statesman, and made charges against him amounting to treason, so that he was once more recalled, and Sir James Crofts appointed in his stead. John Allen, who for many years had been mixed up in every political intrigue, and had been deprived of the chancellorship at the close of Henry's reign and restored to it in 1548, was now once more removed from his post, and Thomas Cusack, master of the rolls, substituted.

A.D. 1551.—Lord deputy Crofts led an army into Ulster against the island Scots, whose increasing power in Ireland had long been a source of anxiety to the English government, and who were now leagued with some of the northern Irish. He sent four ships to Rathlin, where the young MacDonnells of the Hebrides had a much larger force than he anticipated, and only one man of his four crews is said to have escaped. A second hosting of the English to the north this year was also unsuccessful, the deputy having been defeated in battle with the loss of 200 men.

* This Bryan had married the dowager countess of Ormond, and was made marshal of Ireland, and governor of Tipperary. On the 27th of December, 1549, he was chosen lord justice on an emergency, but died in the following February at Clonmel, where he had gone to repel an invasion of O'Carrolls. The name Fay, mentioned in the text, has been sometimes written Fahy, by mistake (see Coxe's *Hib. Angl.*); but Dr. O'Donovan remarks that the O'Fahys are Irish, and were seated in the county of Galway, while the Fays are Anglo-Normans and were seated in Westmeath.—*Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1595, note t.

Con O'Neill, surnamed Bacagh, or "the lame," having grown old and infirm, regretted his unjust partiality to his illegitimate son, Ferdoragh, or Mathew, for whom he had procured from the late king the title of baron of Dungannon and the entail of the earldom of Tyrone; and wished to make his eldest legitimate son, John, or Shane, as he is familiarly called in history, heir to all his honours.* Ferdoragh took the alarm, and made such charges against his father that the old man was seized and imprisoned by the lord deputy, and Shane, who on coming to man's estate displayed a warlike and indomitable spirit worthy of his illustrious race, flew to arms, and plunged Ulster once more in war.

At this time the king of France looked to Ireland as a point through which England could easily be wounded; and shortly before this had sent two envoys to make overtures to the northern chieftains. They landed first at Green Castle, on Lough Foyle, and were subsequently detained for some time by stress of weather at the castle called Culmore Fort, which was in charge of O'Doherty. Here they received a visit from Robert Waucop, archbishop of Armagh,† and they next proceeded to Donegal. The Irish chiefs agreed on this occasion to place their country under the protection of France; but the peace which ensued between that country and England rendered these negociations abortive.

A.D. 1552.—The deputy proceeded with an army to Tyrone to aid Ferdoragh against Shane, who on his side was assisted by the island Scots, and the country was ravaged between them. While endeavouring to form a junction with the English, Ferdoragh's army was routed in a night attack by Shane, and the deputy having retired for that occasion without

* Mathew, as he is called by English writers, although he is almost invariably styled Ferdoragh by the Irish, was the son of Alison, the wife of a blacksmith of Dundalk, named O'Kelly; and although affiliated to the chief of Tyrone by Irish law, and adopted by him, John and the other members of Con's family insisted that the affiliation was deceptive and unjust, and that Ferdoragh was really the blacksmith's son, which, in fact, he was considered to be until he was fifteen years old, when his reputed father, O'Kelly, died. It has been said, but we are not aware whether there be any old authority for the statement, that Alison's only claim on the first baron of Dungannon was that of fosterage.

† This remarkable man, who is also called Venantius, was a Scot. He was blind from his youth, but became one of the most learned men of his age, and was doctor of the university of Paris. When George Dowdall succeeded Cromer as archbishop of Armagh, pursuant to letters patent of Henry VIII., in 1543, England being then in a state of schism, pope Paul III. nominated Waucop to that dignity; but it soon became obvious that Dowdall was a staunch catholic, and Waucop, who retired to the continent, does not appear to have interfered in any way with his duties as a prelate. The Society of Jesus was first introduced into Ireland by Waucop in 1541, with the sanction of Paul III.; the first member of the society who came to Ireland being F. John Codur, who was followed by F. F. Salmeron, Brouet, and Zapata. Dr. Waucop assisted at the council of Trent from the first session, in 1545, to the eleventh, in 1547. He was sent as legate *à latere* to Germany, and died in the Jesuit's Convent in Paris, in 1551. See *Harris Ware's Bishops*, p 93; and *O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath.* p. 89 (Dublin, 1850).

gaining any advantage, returned again to Antrim in autumn, when he only succeeded in destroying the standing corn

All the efforts made during this reign to establish the new religion in Ireland were unsuccessful. It was adopted by some officials and by a few of the English within the Pale ; but while the government which changed with the whim of the day, was Protestant, the people adhered immoveably to the faith of their forefathers. Even the ruling powers had not yet been able to make a well-defined distinction between Protestant and Catholic ; for we find that when Arthur Magennis was nominated bishop of Dromore by the Pope in 1550, his appointment was confirmed by king Edward, while George Dowdall who was advanced to the see of Armagh by Henry VIII., at the request of Sir Anthony Sentleger, was a zealous defender of the doctrines and rights of the Catholic Church.* The new liturgy was publicly read in Christ's Church in 1551 ; and the same year, at the solicitation of lord deputy Crofts, Archbishop Dowdall consented to hold a conference with the Protestant authorities at St. Mary's Abbey, when Staples, bishop of Meath, acted as the protestant champion. The discussion, as might be expected, led to no modification of views on either side; but Browne was so enraged at the opposition given by the Archbishop of Armagh to the introduction of the new liturgy that he obtained a royal charter transferring to himself the primacy of all Ireland; and Dowdall, feeling that his liberty, and perhaps his life, were insecure, fled to the continent, one Hugh Goodacre, a Protestant being intruded in his stead. The Irish annalists tell us that the venerable churches of Clonmacnoise were plundered in 1552 by the English garrison of Athlone, and that " there was not left a bell small or large, an image, an altar, a book, a gem, or even glass in the window which was not carried off ;" and they add, " lamentable was this deed, the plundering of the city of Kieran !"

A.D. 1553.—Such was the state of things on the accession of Mary, whose short reign was a continued effort to restore what had been unsettled in the religious and moral state of England during the two preceding reigns. The new creed had made considerable way among both clergy and laity in that country, many of the former having committed themselves irretrievably by entering into the married state. A vast number of Lutherans had arrived from the continent, and were zealous in

* See note in preceding page. At this period we begin to hear of " titular bishops," that name being applied to the Catholic prelates, who were appointed by the pope to sees in which married men or professors of the Lutheran creed were placed by the secular authority. The latter enjoyed the revenues and emoluments.

the propagation of their doctrines ; and those into whose hands the confiscated church property had come, resisted any change which might oblige them to disgorge the sacrilegious spoils. In a state of society so disorganized, and with precedents of government such as then existed, it is not marvellous that Mary's ministers should have resorted to severity. The anabaptists were burned during her brother's reign, and even the lord protector Somerset, and the husband of the queen dowager, both of them the king's uncles, were brought to the block. We shudder now-a-days at such barbarities ; but it is only miserable prejudice which would affix to Mary a stigma that belongs with infinitely more justice to her sister Elizabeth, or to the infamous monster her father.

In Ireland, where the "Reformation" had in truth gained no ground among the people, the restoration of the old order of things was effected without difficulty, and was hailed with popular joy. Here, as in England, those of the laity who had obtained possession of church property were, by the sanction of the pope, left in the enjoyment of it ; and the Irish parliament, following that of England, expressed their repentance for the schism of which they had been guilty. Archbishop Dowdall being recalled and restored to the primacy, held a provincial Synod at Drogheda, and was placed at the head of a commission to deprive married bishops and priests ; but the only prelates whom it was necessary to remove, were Browne of Dublin, Staples of Meath, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin. Goodacre had died a few months after his intrusion into the see of Armagh ; Bale of Ossory—a fiery bigot and a coarse, unscrupulous writer—had fled, of his own accord, beyond the seas, on Mary's accession ; and Casey of Limerick, another of Edward's bishops, had also made a voluntary exit. All of these, except Casey, were Englishmen, and all except Staples were professing Protestants at the time of their consecration.* It is well known that there was no persecution on account of religion in Ireland during the reign of Mary, and that some Protestant families came to this country from England about that time in order to follow their religious persuasion undisturbed.†

* Besides the prelates mentioned above, a few others had given evidence of their servility by the recognition of Henry VIII.'s schismatical claim. These were Hugh O'Kervallan, bishop of Clogher, who accompanied O'Neill to England in 1542; Mathew Saunders, bishop of Leighlin; Florence Gerawan or Kirwan, bishop of Clonmacnoise; Eugene Magennis, bishop of Down and Connor: and Rowland Burke, bishop of Clonfert. (Liber Mun. Pub. Hib. v. ii. p. 17, &c.) The two last mentioned, together with Staples of Meath, (for it is unnecessary to include Browne) were the only members of the episcopal body in Ireland as it stood at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., who could be induced to abandon the Catholic faith even in those days of deplorable degeneracy. (Vide the Rev. M. G. Brenan's Eccl. Hist. of Ireland vol. ii. pp. 92, 102.)

† The Protestants who came to Ireland on this occasion were John Harvey, Abel Ellis, John

Mary was inclined to deal mercifully with the Irish, but her ministers and her Irish council would not depart from the traditional principles upon which this country had been governed, and which recognised neither mercy nor justice in their relations with the native population. Hence the same cruel wars were waged against the latter in her reign as previously; and the work of extermination having made sufficient progress in Leix and Offaly during the reign of Edward, it remained for Mary's deputy to form into counties these ancient territories which had already been annexed to the Pale. This was the only new shire land marked out since the reign of John. Leix was designated the Queen's County, and its old fort of Campa became the modern Maryborough, while Offaly was transformed into the Kings's County and its fortress of Daingean into Philipstown, in compliment to the queen and her husband, Philip of Spain.*

Mary's kindness, as contrasted with the harshness of her Irish government, was illustrated by an affecting incident in the first year of her reign. Margaret, the daughter of O'Conor Faly, inspired with hope on hearing that a queen occupied the throne, hastened to England, where her father was a prisoner, and at Mary's feet begged his liberation. Her prayer was granted, and she returned with her father to Ireland; but the lord's justices, presuming to manage Irish affairs in their own way, seized the chieftain and cast him once more into prison.† This year also (1553) Garret, or Gerald, and his brother Edward, the sons of the earl of Kildare, returned to Ireland after their long exile, and were restored to all the honors and possessions of their family. There were great rejoicings, say the annalists, "because it was thought that not one of the

Edmonds, and Henry Haugh, with their families. They were from Cheshire, and were accompanied by a Welsh Protestant clergyman named Thomas Jones, whom the earl of Sussex subsequently took into his household. See *Ware's Annals, An.* 1554. These men were the founders of respectable mercantile families in Dublin.

* In addition to the territory of Leix, the present Queen's County comprises a portion of ancient Ossory, constituting the barony of Upper Ossory, besides the baronies of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch which were part of Offaly and belonged to O'Dunne and O'Dempsey. Offaly, before the English invasion, comprised the territories which constitute the baronies of East and West Offaly in Kildare; those of upper and lower Philipstown, Geashill, Warrenstown, and Coolestown in the King's County; and those already mentioned in the Queen's County. It is not therefore correct to say, as is usually done, that Leix and Offaly were respectively transformed into the Queen's and King's Counties. See notes to O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, vol. iii. pp. 44, 105, &c.) The same year (1556) in which Leix and Offaly were converted into shires, the pope sanctioned the assumption by Mary of the title of queen of Ireland, having previously disapproved of it when only authorised by the act 33rd Henry VIII., passed (A.D. 1541) after the commencement of the schism. The massacre of Mullaghmast, erroneously connected by some modern writers with the annexation of Leix and Offaly, did not occur until the 19th year of queen Elizabeth, and will be mentioned in its proper place.

† Compare *Four Masters*, A.D. 1553, and the *Abbé Mageoghegan*, p. 443 (Duffy's edition).

descendants of the earls of Kildare or of the O'Conors Faly would ever return to Ireland."

Murrough O'Brien died in 1551, and his nephew Donough, the son of Murrough's elder brother, Conor, and the rightful heir in the eyes of the English law, assumed the title of earl of Thomond. He surrendered his patent, which was only for his own life, and obtained a new one from Edward VI., securing to his heirs male the title of earl, and all the lands and honors belonging to his uncle. His brothers, Donnell and Turlough, objected to this mode of fixing the inheritance, which was at direct variance with their own law of tanistry; and on Donough's death, in 1553, Donnell claimed the right of succession to the chieftaincy, and dispossessed Donough's son, Conor. This created violent strife ; Donnell, despising the foreign title of earl, assumed that of the O'Brien, amid the acclamations of the people, and Conor depended on the English arms to support his claim. He was besieged by Donnell in 1554, in the castle of Doon-mulvihil, and was only saved by the timely arrival of the earl of Ormond. Ultimately, Donnell was banished by the earl of Sussex, lord lieutenant, in 1558, and Conor was left in possession of the earldom.

Sentleger, who was appointed lord deputy for the fifth time in 1553, was again recalled, through the intrigues of the extreme anti-Irish party, in 1555. His popularity with the Irish was the only ground of hostility against him; and he was succeeded by Thomas Radcliffe, viscount Fitzwilliam and afterwards earl of Sussex, who led an army into Ulster against the Scots, then very powerful in the districts of the Route and Clannaboy. He was aided by Con O'Neill, but returned after a campaign of three months without bringing the war to a conclusion. Con O'Neill was again unfortunate in an expedition against the same dangerous intruders in Clannaboy, and was defeated by them, with the loss of 300 men.* In 1555 Calvagh O'Donnell employed some Scottish auxiliaries against his father, Manus, whom he made prisoner and detained in captivity until his death. In 1557 the Scots penetrated to Armagh, which was plundered twice in one month by the earl of Sussex. The same year Shane O'Neill, observing the weak condition to which Calvagh's rebellion had reduced Tirconnell, thought the opportunity a favorable one to recover the power of which his ancestors had been de-

* A large body of these Scottish adventurers penetrated into Connaught in 1558, and were hired by the northern MacWilliam, who was called Richard-of-the-iron. But the earl of Clanrickard, Richard, son of Ulick-na-gceann (the first earl), son of Richard, son of Ulick of Knackdoe, hearing of the arrival of this foreign host, marched against them and cut them to pieces on the banks of the Moy

prived by the O'Donnells. He accordingly mustered a numerous army, and pitched his camp at Carrigliath, between the rivers Finn and Mourne, where he was joined by Hugh, the brother of Calvagh O'Donnell, and several of the men of Tirconnell who were disaffected towards their chief for his rebellion. Calvagh in this emergency consulted his father, and by his advice resolved to avoid a pitched battle, and to have recourse to stratagem. He caused his cattle to be driven to a distance, and when O'Neill entered his territory, and marched as far as the place now called Balleeghan, near Raphoe, he sent two spies into the Kinel-Owen camp, while he himself hovered not far off with his small force. The spies mixed with O'Neill's soldiers, received rations, which they carried back as evidence of their success, and undertook to guide O'Donnell's army that night to O'Neill's tent, which is described as being distinguished by a great watchfire, a huge torch burning outside, sixty grim gallowglasses on one side of the entrance, with sharp, keen axes, ready for action, and as many stern and terrific Scots on the other, with their broadswords in hand. Overweening confidence had rendered O'Neill careless. He boasted that no one should be king in Ulster but himself, and despised the power of his crafty foe; but O'Donnell penetrated under cover of the darkness into the heart of O'Neill's camp, and proceeded to slaughter the men of Tyrone without resistance, so that the whole were routed or cut to pieces, while Shane himself escaping through the back of his tent, fled unattended except by two of Hugh O'Donnell's men, and by swimming across three rivers made his way to his own territory covered with confusion. The following year he procured the murder of Ferdoragh, baron of Dungannon, and his father Con dying in captivity in Dublin, he assumed the chieftaincy without opposition.

Meantime the war of extermination was carried on against the remnant of the old race in the territories which we may still call Leix and Offaly. The heart sickens at the narrative of merciless aggression on the one side, and of indomitable resistance on the other. The O'Conors, O'Mores, O'Molloys, O'Carrolls, and the rest of them, were unrelentingly hunted down, and the whole country was made a scene of desolation from the Shannon to the Wicklow mountains. But dark as this period is, we have arrived at one infinitely more gloomy in our history—the sanguinary reign of Elizabeth, which commenced on the day of Mary's death, November 17th, 1558.

CHAPTER XXXII.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

Religious pliancy of Statesmen and fidelity of the people.—Shane O'Neill.—Acts of the Parliament of 1559.—Laws against the Catholic religion.—Miserable condition of the Irish Church.—Discord in Thomond.—Machinations of Government against Shane O'Neill.—Capture of Calvagh O'Donnell by the latter.—War with Shane—Defeat of the English.—Plan to assassinate the Tyrone Chief.—Submission of Shane, and his visit to the Court of Elizabeth—His return, further misunderstanding, and renewed peace with the Government.—O'Neill defeats the Scots of Clannaboy.—Feud between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond—The latter wounded and captured at Affane.—The Earl of Sussex succeeded by Sir Henry Sidney.—Renewed war in Ulster.—O'Neill invades the English Pale—Defeated at Derry—Burning of Derry and withdrawal of the English garrison.—Death of Calvagh O'Donnell.—O'Neill defeated by Calvagh's successor, Hugh—His disastrous flight, appeal to the Scots, and murder—His character.—Visitation of Munster and Connaught, by Sidney.—Sidney's description of the state of the country—His character of the great nobles—Base policy of the Government confessed by him—His energy and severity.—Arrest of Desmond.—Commencement of serious troubles in the South.—Position of the Catholics.—Sir James FitzMaurice.—Parliament of 1569—Fraudulent elections.—Attainder of O'Neill.—Claims of Sir Peter Carew.—Rebellion of Sir Edmund Butler.—Sidney's military expedition to Munster.—Sir John Perrott lord president of Munster, and Sir Edward Fitton president of Connaught.—Renewed war in the South.—Rebellion of the Earl of Thomond.—Rebellion of the sons of the Earl of Clanrickard.—Battle of Shrule.—The Castle of Aughnanure taken.—Siege and capture of Castlemaine.—Submission of Sir James FitzMaurice.—Attempted English settlements in Ulster.—Horrible massacre of the Irish in Clannaboy.—Failure and death of the Earl of Essex.—Sir Henry Sidney makes another visitation of the South and West.—Sir William Drury President of Munster, and Sir Nicholas Malby in Connaught.—Illegal tax, difficulties in the Pale.—Career and death of Rory Oge O'More.—The massacre of Mullaghmast.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS AND EVENTS.

Popes: Paul IV., Pius IV., Pius V., Gregory XIII.—Kings of France: Francis II., Charles IX., Henry III.—King of Spain, Philip II.—King of Portugal, Sebastian.—Sovereigns of Scotland: Mary, James VI.—Battle of Lepanto, 1571.—Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572.

[A.D. 1558 TO 1578.]

PLIANCY of conscience characterised in a remarkable degree the statesmen of the age of which it is now our duty to treat. There appears to have been no fixed principles of religion or politics among them, and the men who undertook to restore the ancient religion to its original state under the Catholic queen Mary, were found as ready and suitable instruments for its destruction at the beck of her Protestant sister and successor, Elizabeth. Thus, Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Sussex, who had been lord lieutenant of Ireland under the former sovereign, continued in office under the latter, reversing, under the altered rule, his own previous acts; and Sir Henry Sidney, the treasurer, who acted as deputy in the absence of Sussex, before the close of Mary's reign, was also appointed to the same charge, although to perform contrary duties, when Sussex

went to England after Elizabeth ascended the throne. But if those who lived within the sphere of court influence exhibited this lubricity in their religious principles, it was not so with the general population of Ireland, who viewed such fickleness with horror, and who were soon roused to a sense of their own danger by the measures taken, on the accession of the new queen, to subvert their religion and to enforce the new creed and form of worship. Thus was a fresh element of strife introduced into this unhappy country. The native population had hitherto seen in their English rulers the plunderers of their ancestral lands and the exterminators of their race; but to this character was now superadded that of the revilers and persecutors of their religion; while in regarding the English government in this latter point of view, a vast majority of the people of English descent in Ireland were now identified in sentiment with the native Irish. On the other hand, the fidelity of the Irish to the religion of their fathers became branded with the stigma of rebellion; their memories were blackened and their actions distorted by their successful enemies, and calumny was unsparingly added to spoliation and persecution.

Of this ungenerous conduct we have a marked instance in the case of Shane O'Neill, the prince of Tyrone, whose character has been depicted in revolting colors by English historians. They describe him as a barbarian and as one addicted to every vice; but if he had faults, some of which we do not excuse, we know at least that he was chivalrous, confiding, and generous; that with the exhausted resources of his small territory he was able to keep the power of England at bay; that he defeated her experienced generals in the field; and foiled her statesmen in negotiation; and that he combined with no ordinary qualities of mind an undaunted bravery, and an ardent love of his country. We have already seen how he assumed the chieftaincy on the death of his father, who closed his life in captivity, and how he thus set aside the claims of the sons of his elder but illegitimate brother, Mathew or Ferdoragh, the late baron of Dungannon, who was slain at his instigation; and this course being in open defiance of English authority, which had always made common cause with Mathew, Sir Henry Sidney, as lord deputy in the absence of Sussex, now led an army to Dundalk, and summoned Shane to account for his proceedings. The haughty chief of Tyrone replied to the summons by inviting the deputy to come to his court, and stand as sponsor for his child. Whatever motive may have actuated Sidney he accepted the invitation, and was so influenced by the arguments urged by O'Neill in support of his rights, and by his protestations of loyalty, that he withdrew his army, and promised to lay the matter before the

queen. Thus for the moment were friendly relations established between the Ulster chieftain and the Pale; but the government of the latter soon found sources of uneasiness in other quarters. Rumours of invasion from France and Spain became current; the earls of Kildare and Desmond held conferences of a suspicious nature, and disaffection was more general and apparent as the principles of Elizabeth's government became intelligible to the country.

A.D. 1560.—A parliament composed of seventy-six members was summoned to meet in Dublin on the 12th of January this year.* It comprised the representatives of ten counties,† the remainder being "citizens and burgesses," says Leland, "of these towns in which the royal authority was predominant; and with such a parliament," as the same protestant historian admits, "it is little wonder that, in despite of clamour and opposition, in a session of a few weeks, the whole ecclesiastical system of queen Mary was entirely reversed.‡ The proceedings are involved in mystery, and the principal measures are believed to have been carried by means fraudulent and clandestine; but at all events it was enacted that the queen was the head of the church of Ireland, the reformed worship was re-established as under Edward VI., and the book of common prayer, with further alterations, re-introduced. Every person was bound to attend the new service under pain of ecclesiastical censures and of a fine of twelve pence for each offence; the first fruits and twentieths of the church revenue were restored to the crown; and the right of collating to all vacant sees by royal letters patent was established instead of the form of a writ of *congé d'elire*, the prelates being ordered to consecrate the person thus appointed within the space of twenty days under the penalty of premunire. The laws made in Mary's reign restoring the civil establishment of the catholic religion were repealed; all officers and ministers, ecclesiastical or lay, were bound to take the oath of supremacy under pain of forfeiture and total incapacity; and any one who maintained the spiritual supremacy of the pope was to forfeit for the first offence all his estates real and personal, or be imprisoned for one year if not worth £20; for the second offence to be liable to premunire; and for the third to be guilty of high treason.‖

* As the legal year, at this time, commenced in March, the months of January and February of the natural year belonged to the preceding common or legal year; and hence this parliament of 2nd Elizabeth, which was held in January, 1560, is often called the parliament of 1559.

† The counties to which the writs were issued were Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Louth, Kildare, Catherlough, Kilkenny, Waterford, Tipperary, and Wexford.

‡ Leland, Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 224.

‖ As the statute of supremacy, 28th Henry VIII., chap. 5, (A.D. 1536) was passed by the illegal and arbitrary exclusion of the proctors from parliament, and by the preliminary dragooning of the

These laws against the religion of the people had little effect beyond the bounds of the Pale, while even within its precincts they were generally met by passive resistance, and became in many instances a dead letter. When the Catholic clergy were obliged to flee from their churches, their places were, in a majority of cases, left unsupplied, or ignorant and worthless men, who abandoned their religion for temporal advantages, were substituted. Even those who enjoyed the rank of bishops under the Reformation showed themselves in many instances so notoriously devoid of honesty, by making away with the temporalities of their sees, that it was soon necessary to enact a law breaking the fraudulent leases which they had made, and prohibiting for the future such alienations.* The sacred edifices fell into ruins, and the people were

nation by lord Leonard Gray, who, as Sir John Davis says, "to prepare the minds of the people to obey this statute, began first with a martial course, and by making a victorious circuit round the kingdom, whereby the principal septs of the Irish were all terrified and most of them broken;" (Hist. Rel.): so is there sufficient reason to believe that the statute of uniformity of the 2nd of Elizabeth was obtained forcibly or surreptitiously from the parliament of 1560. "In the very beginning of that parliament," says Ware, "most of the nobility and gentry were so divided in opinion about ecclesiastical government that the earl of Sussex dissolved them, and went over to England to consult her majesty on the affairs of this kingdom." From this and subsequent proceedings of the viceroy's it may be inferred that the act was not carried in a regular manner. It is even said that the earl of Sussex, to calm the protests which were made in parliament when it was found that the law had been passed by a few members assembled privately, pledged himself solemnly that it would not be generally enforced during the reign of Elizabeth. (See *Cambrensis Ever.* also *Analecta Sacra*, p 431.) Dr. Curry (*Civil Wars*, book ii. chap. iii.) has collected some curious facts in illustration of this point; but it is not true that the statute of uniformity was kept in abeyance until the beginning of the reign of James I., although not generally enforced until that time. On the 23rd May, 1561, commissioners were appointed to enforce the 2nd Eliz. against catholics in Westmeath; in December, 1562, a commission with similar jurisdiction was appointed for Armagh and Meath; and in 1564, commissioners were appointed for the whole kingdom, to inquire into all offences or misdemeanors contrary to the statutes of 2nd Elizabeth, and concerning all heretical opinions, &c., against said statutes. Other commissions were appointed in subsequent years, but the proceedings of none of these appear to be now ascertainable.

* See Harris's *Ware's Irish Bishops*, from which it would appear that the new Protestant bishops of Elizabeth's time very generally plundered the sees into which they were introduced by bartering away the revenues "through fear of another change." See more particularly the articles on Miler Magrath, archbishop of Cashel; Alexander Craik, bishop of Kildare; bishop Lyon, of Ross; bishop Field, of Leighlin; bishop Devereux, of Ferns, &c. Some of these men, "by most scandalous wastes and alienations," reduced their sees to such a state that their successors were scarcely left means to subsist, and a union of sees became necessary. The conduct of some of the first of these "reformed" bishops appears to have been in other respects also anything but exemplary. Thus William Knight, the coadjutor of Miler Magrath in Cashel, having excited "the scorn and derision of the people" by his public drunkenness, was obliged to fly to England (Ware, p. 484). Marmaduke Middleton, of Waterford, translated to St. David's, was degraded for the forgery of a will (Peter Heylin's *Examen. Hist.*). Richard Dixon, of Cloyne and Ross, was deprived "propter adulterium manifestum et confessum" (official paper quoted in *Gilbert's Hist. of Dub.*, vol. i., p. 114), &c. As to archbishop Browne, Henry VIII. charged him with "lightness in behaviour," and said that "all virtue and honesty were almost vanished from him" (*State P.* clxxiv.); while Bale in his own gross manner accused him of "drunkenness and gluttony," calling him an "epicurious archbishop," a "brockish swine," a "dissembling proselite," and a "pernicious papist" (*The Vocacyon of Johan Bayle*, reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi.) And Dowling, in one pithy sen-

obliged to worship God in secret and retired places; so that in half-a-dozen years from Elizabeth's accession, her deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, was able to describe the miserable condition of the Irish church, as "spoiled, as well by the ruin of the temples as the dissipation and embezzlement of the patrimony, and most of all for want of sufficient ministers;" adding, that "so deformed and overthrown a church there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed!"*

Meanwhile the Irish were, as usual, a prey to discord among themselves. In Thomond, great confusion prevailed, owing to the efforts of Teige and Donough, sons of Murrough O'Brien, to wrest the chieftaincy from Conor O'Brien, earl of Thomond. Garrett, who had succeeded his father, James, as earl of Desmond, sided with the former, while Conor called in the aid of his friend, the earl of Clanrickard. The three earls, with their respective armies, met at Bally-Ally, a few miles north of Ennis, and after an obstinate fight the combined forces of Conor O'Brien and the Burkes were defeated. The proceeding of the earl of Desmond on this occasion was regarded by the English government as an act of rebellion. As to Thomond, it continued to be for some years disturbed by the rival factions. Among the claimants to the chieftaincy, under the law of tanistry, were Donnell and Teige, uncles of Conor; but in 1560 a partial settlement of these disputes was effected by a grant of the district of Corcomroe, with certain church lands, to Sir Donnell, who, some years after, served the queen efficiently as sheriff of Thomond.

The English government evinced its distrust of Shane O'Neill by a course of action well calculated to excite that chieftain's hostility. Efforts were made to alienate the neighbouring chiefs from him, and for that purpose honors were conferred on some, and promises held out to others. O'Reilly was created earl of Brenny, or Breffny, and baron of Cavan; and a messenger was sent by a circuitous route to Calvagh O'Donnell,

tence, describes Travers, Edward VI.'s bishop of Leighlin, as "cruel, covetous, vexing his clergy" (*An. Hib.*, p. 38., ed. of 1849).

* Sir Henry Sidney's Despatches. In a letter to the queen, that deputy draws a melancholy picture of the ruinous state of the church. In Meath, which he refers to as "the best peopled diocese and the best governed country" of Ireland, he states that out of 224 parish churches 105 had fallen wholly into decay, without roofs, doors or windows, the very walls in many places being down; while the revenues were confiscated to the crown. Fifty-two others had incumbents, and as many more were private property. By a curious inconsistency, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, those ministers who had no knowledge of the English language were allowed to read the Liturgy in Latin; and Peter Lombard, the Catholic archbishop of Armagh, tells us, that in the first years of Elizabeth's reign many of the Irish, from ignorance, attended the new service, taking with them their rosaries and crucifixes, but that as soon as they became fully aware of the religious changes that had taken place, they shunned the churches with horror. (*Commentarius*, p. 282.)

bearing letters from the queen, offering to create him earl of Tirconnell, together with letters from the earl of Sussex to O'Donnell's wife—a Scottish lady, who is generally called the countess of Argyle—informing her that the queen was about to send her some costly presents. O'Neill, who well understood this indirect mode of shewing enmity against himself, soon made the recipients of English favors rue the friendship which was only intended to wean them from the interests of their country. He invaded the territory of the new earl of Brenny, and, after laying it waste, compelled O'Reilly to become his vassal. Against O'Donnell his enmity was not of recent date, and he seized an opportunity which now presented itself of gratifying all his vengeance. He learned that the principal part of O'Donnell's army was absent on a hostile excursion to Lough Veagh, in Donegal, while Calvagh himself was almost unattended at the monastery of Killodonnell, near the upper end of Lough Swilly; and making a sudden descent, he carried off Calvagh and his wife prisoners. The former he incarcerated in one of his strongholds, and the latter, whose subsequent shameless conduct has made some suspect that it was she who betrayed her husband into O'Neill's hands, he made his mistress.* He now declared himself chief of all Ulster.

O'Neill, in fine, no longer disguised his hatred of England, but openly declared his determination to contend against English power, not only in his own province of Ulster, but in Leinster and Munster. He led an army into Bregia, plundered the territory of the Pale, and only returned to the north at the approach of winter, when he had destroyed the corn, and left no food in the country to support his army. Elizabeth had caused an assembly of the Irish clergy to be held this year for the purpose of enforcing the Protestant worship throughout the kingdom, and had given a foretaste of the persecution which might be expected by casting William Walsh, then bishop of Meath, into prison, for his opposition to the newly-imported liturgy. These proceedings filled the country with disaffection, which was stimulated by hopes of aid from foreign princes—a course for which Elizabeth's governmen

* The circumstance mentioned above leaves a blemish on the character of Shane O'Neill which even the manners of the age and the life of violence which he was fated to pass cannot palliate The woman who thus became his mistress was the step-mother of his wife, the latter being the daughter of Calvagh O'Donnell by a former wife. The Four Masters, who record the seizure of Calvagh under the year 1559, state, under the date of 1561, that "Mary, the daughter of Calvagh and wife of O'Neill, died of horror, loathing, grief, and deep anguish, in consequence of the severity of the imprisonment inflicted on her father by O'Neill in her presence." About the latter year, O'Neill, in his letters to queen Elizabeth, frequently expressed a wish that "some English gentlewoman of noble blood," might be given to him as wife; the lady whose hand he desired thus to obtain being the sister of his most inveterate foe, the earl of Sussex.

afforded the amplest justification by the aid which it lent to the rebellious subjects of other countries. Shane O'Neill asked the king of France to send him five or six thousand men, and with such assistance at that moment he would have had little difficulty in liberating his country from the English yoke.

A.D. 1561.—It is said that Elizabeth had, at this time, designed to try the effect of a conciliatory policy with O'Neill, and that Sussex, when returning from England, in June this year, had received instructions to that effect; but, be that as it may, the contrary course was pursued. The lord lieutenant had brought reinforcements from England, and, with as powerful an army as he could collect, including the forces of the earl of Ormond, he marched to Armagh, where he threw up entrenchments round the cathedral with the view of establishing a strong garrison there. He sent a large body of troops into Tyrone, and these were returning laden with spoils when O'Neill set upon them, defeated them with slaughter, and retook the booty. This defeat produced intense alarm in the Pale, and created no slight uneasiness even in England, while it proportionately increased the confidence of the Irish. Sussex had recourse to negotiations, but O'Neill declared that he would listen to no terms until the English troops were withdrawn from Armagh. Fresh reinforcements were poured in from England, and the earls of Desmond, Ormond, Kildare, Thomond, and Clanrickard, are said to have all assembled in the lord lieutenant's camp, in obedience to his call. With a large and well-equipped army Sussex now advanced into Tyrone as far as Lough Foyle, and devastated the country; but O'Neill, adopting the tactics which had always frustrated the English when their greatest efforts were made in the way of preparation, withdrew beyond their reach to his forests and mountains. To rid himself of a brave enemy, whom he was thus unable to subdue, the viceroy now had recourse to the darkest treachery. He hired an assassin to murder Shane O'Neill, and this with the cognisance and sanction of queen Elizabeth; but, as the atrocious project did not succeed, we should probably be left in ignorance of the fact that it was ever contemplated, were it not for the evidence preserved in the State-paper Office. The name of the intended murderer was Nele Gray; but he either lacked courage or the obstacles in his way were too great, and the deed was not perpetrated.*

* The letter of Sussex to the queen, in which this atrocious plot is fully developed, concludes thus:—"In fine I brake with him to kill Shane, and bound myself by my oath to see him have a hundred marks of land, to him and his heirs, for reward. He seemed desirous to serve your highness, and to have the land, but fearful to do it, doubting his own escape after. I told him the ways

What the lord lieutenant did not succeed in effecting with his army was brought about through the mediation of the earl of Kildare, whose family connection with O'Neill gave him considerable influence with that chief. The persuasions of Kildare were backed by a pressing letter of invitation from Elizabeth to Shane to repair to her court; and that redoubtable chieftain was induced to make his submission and sign articles of peace. Calvagh O'Donnell had, a short time before this, been ransomed from captivity by the Kinel-Connell, and Sussex having now marched through Tirconnell to restore him to his principal castles and strongholds, brought the Ulster campaign to a satisfactory conclusion. O'Neill, on his part, repaired to Dublin, and desired to proceed to England, but Sussex threw various obstacles in the way; one cause of delay relating to the loan of a sum of three thousand pounds for the expenses of the journey. Sussex also wrote to Cecil, suggesting that the queen should give O'Neill a cool reception, or "show strangeness" to him; but in this the enmity of the lord lieutenant was not gratified, for Elizabeth received Shane very graciously, and in return he made strong protestations of friendship and loyalty to her. The decision on his claims was at first deferred by the queen, until Hugh, the young baron of Dungannon, should arrive and plead his own cause; but an unfounded report having reached that Hugh was killed in a feud, Elizabeth no longer hesitated to grant Shane a full pardon, and to recognise his right of succession to the chieftaincy.*

he might do it, and how to escape after with safety, which he offered and promised to do;" and from the next sentence it may be inferred either that the assassin would forfeit his own life if he failed to perform his task, or that other assassins could be found for the purpose, as the lord lieutenant adds:—"I assure your highness he may do it without danger, if he will, and if he will not do what he may in your service there will be done to him what others may." Throughout the letter, as Mr. Moore observes, there is not a single hint of doubt or scruple as to the moral justifiableness of the transaction—such was "the frightful familiarity with deeds of blood which then prevailed in the highest stations."

* The Four Masters say that O'Neill went to England about All-Hallowtide, in 1561, and that he returned to Ireland in May, the following year; but Ware, Cox, and others who have followed them, speak obscurely of two journeys of Shane O'Neill to England, one in 1561, and the other in 1563. Camden refers to that chieftain's visit under the date of 1562, at the beginning of which year O'Neill certainly was in London. The articles by which O'Neill bound himself to serve the queen are dated at Benburb, 18th November, 1563, as appears from the Patent Roll of that date; and they cite the articles indented between the queen and him, and dated at Windsor, 15th January, 1563. By these articles, in consideration of his becoming a faithful subject, he was constituted "captain or governor" of Tyrone "in the same manner as other captains (chiefs) of the said nation, called O'Neles, had rightfully executed that office in the time of King Henry 8"; and, moreover, he was "to enjoy and have the name and title of O'Nele, with the like authority, &c., as any other of his ancestors, with the service and homage of all the lords and captains called Urraughts, and other nobles of the said nation of O'Nele," upon condition "that he and his said nobles should truly and faithfully, from time to time, serve her majesty, and where necessary wage war against all her enemies, in such manner as the lord lieutenant for the time being should direct." The name or

A.D. 1562.—Well pleased with his visit, O'Neill returned to Dublin, where he arrived on the 26th of May, having obtained a further loan of £300 from the queen for his journey home; but learning that Turlough Luineach O'Neill was setting himself up as chieftain, he caused proclamation to be made in the streets of the recognition of his title by Elizabeth, and hastened to the north, where he was received in triumph by the men of Tyrone.

A.D. 1564.—Ulster continued, nevertheless, in an unsettled state; the neighbouring chieftains complained of aggressions on the part of Shane, and the English government pursued its insidious policy of division by setting up the former against him. Maguire of Fermanagh rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the chief of Tyrone, by his alliance with O'Donnell, and his subservience to the English, and O'Neill accordingly laid waste his territory by repeated incursions.* Manus O'Donnell died in 1563, and Calvagh repaired to Dublin to complain to the lord lieutenant against O'Neill. The government charged O'Neill with bad faith, but the latter flung back the imputation, and with good reason, for the English do not appear to have kept any of their promises to him. He refused to meet the viceroy at Dundalk, and was in fact once more at war with England; but after some fruitless attempts at mediation by the earls of Kildare and Ormond, Sir Thomas Cusack succeeded in restoring peace, and articles were signed by Shane, at his house at Benburb, in November, 1563.† For some time Shane O'Neill governed Tyrone with such order, that if a robbery was committed within his territory, he either caused the property to be restored, or reimbursed the loser out of his own treasury. He made war upon the Scots who had settled in Clannaboy, and defeated them in a succession of attacks,

title of O'Neill was to be contingent on the decision of parliament, which should enquire concerning the letters patent granted by Henry VIII. to his father, and if these were to be adjudged void, or revoked, "then he should forbear to use the title of O'Nele, and should be created and named earl of Tirone," and "all his followers, called Urraughts, who belonged to him or his predecessors, should be assigned to him by authority of said parliament, &c." Camden describes the rude pomp with which Shane O'Neill appeared in London, escorted by a body-guard of gallowglasses, with bare heads, long and dishevelled hair, crocus-dyed shirts, wide sleeves, short jackets, shaggy cloaks, and broad battle-axes; and he tells us that they were objects of great wonder to the English (*Annales*, p. 69, ed. 1639); while we learn from Campion (page 189, ed. 1809), that the hauteur of the Irish prince excited the merriment of the affected gallants of Elizabeth's court, who styled him "O'Neale the great, cousin to S. Patricke, friend to the Queene of England, enemy to all the world besides!"

* Some of Maguire's letters to the earl of Sussex are printed in the collection of State Papers. In one of these he requests the lord lieutenant to write to him in English, and not in Latin, as the latter language was well known, and but few of the Irish had any knowledge of the former, in which, therefore, the secrets of their correspondence could be best preserved.

† An outline of these articles has been given in a note in the preceding page.

slaying 700 of them in the last battle at Glenflesk, in 1566, and taking among other prisoners their leader, James MacDonnell, who died of his wounds, and his brother Sorley Boy. This victory, while it increased his power, only excited still more the jealousy and suspicions of the government, to whom Shane refused to surrender the charge of his prisoners; and, as the sequel will show, it proved ere long fatal to himself.

The importance of the events in the North has for some time withdrawn our attention from the feuds which prevailed in other parts of the country, and which for the most part were but of local interest. Such were the dissensions of which Thomond had been so long the theatre, and the partial settlement of which, by the grant of Corcomroe to Donnell O'Brien, in 1564, we have already mentioned; but a violent feud, which broke out between the earls of Ormond and Desmond, caused more anxiety to government. The former of these noblemen had embraced the new creed, and following the traditions of his family, was a faithful supporter of English interests;* while the Geraldine chief was firm in his attachment to Catholicity, and was stigmatised with the name of rebel. In 1562 both earls appeared at court in obedience to a summons from the queen; and while Ormond was sent back to take part in the proceedings against O'Neill, Desmond was pardoned on certain conditions, the principal of which was that he should abolish coyn and livery, and abrogate all Irish laws and customs within his territory. The old strife, however, soon broke out more fiercely than ever. In the beginning of 1565 the earl of Desmond proceeded with a small force to levy coyn and livery, and some other tax which he claimed from his kinsman Sir Maurice Fitzgerald of Decies, a nobleman who was also related to the Butlers. Sir Maurice applied to these latter for aid, and the earl of Ormond came with an army twice as numerous as that which Desmond had brought. A battle was fought at Affane, a little to the south of Cappoquin, in Waterford, when the earl of Desmond was wounded and made prisoner.†

A.D. 1566.—About the close of 1564 the earl of Sussex obtained his final recal from Ireland, where his unconciliating temper and personal animosities had rendered the duties of government exceedingly irksome; and Sir Henry Sidney arrived in Dublin in January, this year, with

* Queen Elizabeth, who was related to the Butlers by her mother, used to boast of the loyalty of the house of Ormond.

† It was on this occasion that Desmond, while being carried from the field, and tauntingly asked by his enemies, "Where now was the proud earl of Desmond?" haughtily replied, "Where he ought to be, upon the necks of the Butlers!" The earl appears to have been soon after liberated.

ample powers as the queen's representative. The new lord deputy was received with extravagant demonstrations of joy by the population of the Pale; and by the introduction of a new set of people into office he prepared for a more vigorous administration of affairs. On his arrival he found Shane O'Neill again in open hostility to England, and he at once collected a powerful army to take the field against him. He stirred up the minor chieftains of Ulster to resist O'Neill's claims of suzerainty, and we are told that the arrogance and violence of Shane rendered this task an easy one. Commissioners were, however, sent to O'Neill himself, to try what might still be effected by negotiation, but he treated their overtures with scorn, and said that as Ulster had belonged to his ancestors, so it now belonged to him, and having won it by the sword, by the sword he was resolved to keep it. He boasted that "he could bring into the field 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot, and that he was able to burn and spoil to Dublin gates, and come away unfought." If he had been as prudent as he was valiant, this defiance might have been of more avail. He led an army to the vicinity of Dundalk about the end of July, and Sidney marched with a large force to meet him; but with the exception of some skirmishing, no collision took place between them, and the deputy returned to Dublin. O'Neill now invaded the English Pale, and wasted the country, but he was successfully resisted by the garrison which had been left by Sidney in Dundalk, and received a still more serious repulse from an English garrison, placed, at the solicitation of Calvagh O'Donnell, in Derry, under a brave and experienced officer, Colonel Randolph, who is said to have been the only person killed on the English side in O'Neill's attack.* Sidney, at the head of a powerful army, marched through Tyrone and Tirconnell, and thence through Connaught to the Pale, but did not succeed in bringing O'Neill to an engagement.

A.D. 1567.—Hugh O'Donnell succeeded to the chieftaincy of Tirconnell on the sudden death of his brother Calvagh, and proved to be a more dangerous and energetic foe to Shane O'Neill than any of the others whom the policy of the deputy had raised up against him among the Ulster

* Shortly after the defeat of Shane O'Neill before Derry, that town was destroyed by fire, and the cathedral, which had been converted by the English into an arsenal, fell a prey to the flames. The powder magazine was blown up, the provisions destroyed, the sick soldiers killed in the hospital, and the English garrison compelled to abandon the place. The cause of this fire, which occurred in April, 1566, could not be explained; and the Irish attributed it to the desecration of St. Columbkille's sacred precincts by a heretical garrison; as they also did the death of Calvagh O'Donnell, who had brought the English there, and who fell dead from his horse, in the midst of his cavalry, on the 26th of October that year.—See O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.* p. 96, Dublin, 1850

chiefs; although in his brother's life-time he had been Shane's friend, and was in that chief's camp when he invaded Tirconnell in 1557. After the old Irish fashion Hugh inaugurated his rule by a "chieftain's first hosting" into Shane's territory, and this was followed by another in the following year (1567), which so exasperated the chief of Tyrone that he collected a numerous army, and invaded Tirconnell, crossing the estuary of the river Swilly, at low water, a short distance below Letterkenny, and attacking the small forces of Hugh, who was encamped at Ardnagarry, on the north side of the river. The position of Hugh was for a moment desperate, but skilful generalship and impetuosity made up for the smallness of his numbers, and the total rout of O'Neill's army was the result. During the battle the returning tide had covered the sands which a little before had afforded so ready a passage, and a great number of O'Neill's panic-stricken men plunging into the waves were drowned, their loss by flood and by the sword being variously stated at 1,300 or 3,000 men. O'Neill himself fled alone along the banks of the river, westward, to a ford near Scarriff hollis, about two miles higher up than Letterkenny, where he crossed under the guidance of a party of the O'Gallaghers, subjects of O'Donnell, to whom he was probably unknown, and thence he found his way back, quite crest-fallen, to Tyrone. The annalists say, "his reason and senses became deranged after this defeat." He hesitated a moment whether he should offer his submission to the lord deputy, or apply for aid to the Scots, but by the advice of his secretary he adopted the latter alternative. An army of the Clann Donnell had just arrived from the Hebrides, under some of the very leaders whom Shane had defeated not quite two years before at Glenfiesk, and who thirsted for revenge. They gladly accepted his invitation, and he proceeded to meet them at Cushendun (Bun-abhan-Duine), in Antrim, sending his prisoner, Sorley Boy MacDonnell, before him, the better to propitiate them should any of their old enmity remain. The Scots invited O'Neill to their camp, which he entered unsuspectingly, accompanied only by his mistress, the wife (now widow) of Calvagh O'Donnell, his secretary, and fifty horsemen. A banquet was prepared, but in the midst of the carousal a brawl was purposely got up, and several Scots rushing simultaneously upon O'Neill, despatched him with innumerable wounds. his followers being subsequently cut to pieces. His body, wrapt in the yellow shirt of a kerne, was cast into an open pit, whence it was soon after taken by Captain Pierse, an Englishman, who is suspected of having suggested the murder, or of being in some way concerned in the deed; and the head having been cut off was taken to the lord deputy,

who caused it to be placed on a spike on the highest tower of Dublin Castle, and rewarded Pierse with a thousand marks, the sum offered by proclamation for the head of the northern chieftain. Such was the tragic and unworthy end of Shane O'Neill, whom English arms had not been able to subdue, but who fell a victim to his own rashness, to the treachery of pretended friends, and the unprincipled policy of the English government.*

About the end of January, 1567, Sir Henry Sidney set out on a visitation of Munster and Connaught, and the account transmitted by him to Elizabeth of the state of these two provinces affords a frightful picture of the effects of misrule. The country was everywhere reduced to utter ruin. Thus, describing Munster, he writes:—"Like as I never was in a more pleasant country in all my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate land . . . . . Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead subjects who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any christian with dry eyes could behold." Even in the territory subject to the earl of Ormond he witnessed a "want of justice, judgement, and

* The character of Shane O'Neill has been blackened by English historians, but to accounts from sources so hostile little credit is due. Camden describes him as "homicidiis et adulteriis contaminatissimus, helluo maximus, ebrietate adeo insigni, ut ad corpus, vino et aquâ vitæ immodicè haustâ inflammatum, refrigerandum, sepius mento tenùs terrâ condereture." (*Annales*, &c., p. 130). Hooker speaks of his cellar at Dundrum, in which he is said to have kept a stock of 200 tuns of wine. He possessed singular strength of character. Sir Henry Sidney, in one of his letters, says he "is the only strong man in Ireland." Campion, who was his cotemporary, and who writes as his enemy, still gives him credit for great charity. "Sitting at meate, before he put one morsell into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the dayly almes, and send it namely to some begger at his gate, saying, it was meete to serve Christ first." (Campion, *History of Ireland*, p. 189, ed. 1809). But one of the most remarkable circumstances connected with this extraordinary man was the strong and favorable impression which he had made on the mind of queen Elizabeth; a feeling which, says Moore, "was shown by her retaining towards him the same friendly bearing through all the strife, confusion, and—what, in her eyes, was even still worse—lavish expenditure, of which he continued for several years to be the unceasing cause." She frequently discountenanced the hostile movements against him, and so well was her leniency towards him understood that, in 1566, Sir William Fitz-William complained in a letter to Cecil that "the council are not permitted to write the truth of O'Neill's evil doings." He was popular even in the Pale, for his generous and high spirit commanded the respect both of friends and foes. By the Irish he was usually styled *Shane-an-diomais*, i. e. "John of the ambition or pride;" and he is also called *Dongaileach*, or the Donnellian, as he was fostered by an O'Donnell. (*Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1569, note). Ware says, on the authority of official papers, that the wars of Shane O'Neill cost Elizabeth the sum of £147,407 'over and above the cesses laid on the country;" and that "3,500 of her majesty's soldiers were slain by him and his party, besides what they slew of the Scots and Irish." (*Annals*, A.D. 1568). The interval between his defeat by Hugh O'Donnell and his murder by the Scots was from the 8th of May to the middle of June. The circumstances of his death are minutely related by Campion, (pp. 189-192); and, also, with some slight discrepancy, by Camden (*ubi supra*).

stoutness to execute." Tipperary and Limerick were in a horrible state of desolation. The earl of Desmond was "a man both devoid of judgment to govern and will to be ruled." MacCarthy More, who two years before had surrendered his territories to the queen, receiving them back by letters patent, with the titles of earl of Clancare* and baron of Valentia, was "willing enough to be ruled, but wanted force and credit to rule." The earl of Thomond "had neither wit of himself to govern, nor grace or capacity to learn of others;" and the lord deputy confessed that he would most willingly have committed the said earl to prison if he could find any person in whom he could confide to put in his place. The earl of Clanrickard was well-intentioned, and otherwise met the deputy's approbation, but "he was so overruled by a putative wife as oft times when he best intendeth she forceth him to do the worst;" and his sons were so turbulent that they kept the whole country in disorder. He found Galway like a frontier town in an enemy's country, the inhabitants obliged to keep watch and ward to protect themselves against their dangerous neighbours; and Athenry was reduced so low that there were then in it but four respectable householders, who presented the deputy with the rusty keys of their town—"a pitiful and lamentable present"—requesting him to keep the keys, "inasmuch as they were so impoverished by the extortion of the lords about them as they were no longer able to keep that town."

Such was the state in which Sir Henry Sidney found the country—a state which might be traced to what he designates the "cowardly policy" that would rule the nation by sowing divisions among the people, or, as he himself expresses it, "by keeping them in continual dissension, for fear lest through their quiet might follow I wot not what." And he adds:—"so far hath that policy, or rather lack of policy, in keeping dissension among them, prevailed, as now, albeit all that are alive would become honest and live in quiet, yet are there not left alive, in these two provinces, the twentieth person necessary to inhabit the same!"

Sidney encountered the difficulties of his position with energy which was unrestrained by either prudence or humanity, and which alarmed even Elizabeth, who would have preferred dealing with them in an indirect manner. He sternly reproved the nobles for the mismanagement of their respective districts; but against Desmond he was particularly severe. The great power of that nobleman, and his high position

* This title has been variously written Clancare, Glencar (by Cox), and Clancarrha; the last form nearly expresses the sound of the Irish name, Clancarthig or Clancarthy, and was probably the correct Anglo-Irish orthography.

in the esteem of the Catholics, rendered him a special object of the deputy's hostility. He was accordingly summoned to attend the latter in his visitation of Munster, and after being unknowingly guarded for some days, was at length publicly seized in Kilmallock, and carried about as a prisoner by Sidney during the remainder of his progress. The sons of the earl of Clanrickard were also taken up in Connaught, and the lord deputy returned to Dublin with his captives on the 16th of April, having caused unnumbered offenders to be executed in the course of his visitation.* The queen was uneasy at the tumults which these strong measures produced, especially in Munster, and Sidney having sought permission to explain his conduct in person, proceeded to England for that purpose, in October, taking with him the earl of Desmond and his brother, John, who was sent for and then arrested; and being also accompanied by Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, the O'Conor Sligo, and other Irish chieftains; Dr. Robert Weston, lord chancellor, and Sir William FitzWilliam, treasurer, being left in charge of the government as lords justices.

A.D. 1568—Scarcely was Ulster temporarily pacified by the death of Shane O'Neill when the southern province became the scene of troubles of a most formidable character. During the imprisonment of Gerald, earl of Desmond, and his brother, Sir John, the leadership of the Geraldines was assumed, at the desire, it is said, of the captives, by their cousin, Sir James FitzGerald—son of Maurice of Desmond, brother of the late earl, James. Sir James Fitzmaurice, as he is usually called, was warlike and enterprising. He resisted successfully the pretensions to the earldom put forward by Thomas Rua, an elder but illegitimate brother of earl Gerald's, although this claimant was supported by the Butlers, and by FitzMaurice of Kerry, and others.† In the course of this quarrel, Sir James besieged FitzMaurice of Kerry in his castle of Lixnaw, but was defeated and compelled to raise the siege.

* In one of his despatches, Sidney thus alludes to the countless executions which graced his progress on this occasion. "I write not," he says, "the names of each particular varlet that hath died since I arrived, as well by the ordinary course of the law, and the martial law, as flat fighting with them, when they would take food without the good will of the giver, for I think it no stuff worthy the loading of my letters with; but I do assure you the number of them is great and some of the best, and the rest tremble; for most part they fight for their dinner, and many of them lose their heads before they be served with supper. Down they go in every corner, and down they shall go, God willing!" (Sidney's Despatches, preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Cot. Titus B. x.)

† Thomas Rua, or the red, was the son of the late earl, James, by his first wife, Johanna, daughter of Maurice Roche, viscount Fermoy; but as his mother's marriage was pronounced invalid, on the ground of consanguinity, Thomas was reckoned illegitimate. On failing in his attempt to gain the earldom he lived quietly in his castle of Conoha, County of Cork, where he died, Jan. 18th, 1595. (Lodge.) His son became famous as the so-called "Sugan earl," and will be mentioned in our pages hereafter

About the same time the newly-created earl of Clancare threw off the English yoke and asserted his hereditary rights to South Munster; while in the absence of the earl of Ormond in England, his brother, Sir Edmond Butler, involved himself in dissensions with the Geraldines. The attachment to their ancient faith evinced by the Irish had long since attracted the attention of the Catholic potentates of Europe, and promises of aid were held out to them both by France and Spain. The sovereign pontiff, on his side, felt it his duty to encourage and sustain, by every means in his power, those Catholics who were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for their religion against the innovators; so that to him also we find the Irish applying, not only for spiritual succour, but for men, arms, and money, during the wars of Elizabeth. The position of the Irish Catholics had become intolerable. If the yoke of the stranger had been hitherto hard enough to bear, it was infinitely more so now, when the oppressor added to his ancient, unrelenting, national animosity, the fierce spirit of religious persecution which the Reformation had everywhere enkindled in its partisans.* The people saw their churches desolate—their monasteries confiscated—their priests proscribed—and their religion trampled under foot. They were swayed to and fro by unsteady leaders—they were disorganised by their ancient strife—but now they rallied to more sacred watchwords, and while they fought with the chivalry of crusaders, they died with the heroism of martyrs. Such was the general character of the struggle which had now commenced in the southern province, and which was sustained for many years, and spread more or less throughout all Ireland.

A.D. 1569.—In September, 1568, Sir Henry Sidney returned to Ireland as lord deputy, and landed at Carrickfergus, where he received the submission of Turlough Luineach O'Neill, who on the death of Shane had been elected to the chieftaincy.† The deputy came prepared with

* We are unwilling to infringe in the slightest degree on the field of polemics, but the student of history cannot but observe in passing how men with whom private judgment in matters of faith was a fundamental principle, would monopolize that privilege for themselves, and, with such arguments as the sword and the halter, compel other men to surrender their private judgment to them. Yet such was the case in every country where the professors of the reformed creed gained the ascendancy, and where the rest of the population wished to persevere in the faith of their fathers—but nowhere was this spirit of persecution productive of more melancholy results than in Ireland.

† Sir Turlough, who assumed the title of the O'Neill after the death of Shane an Diomais, was the son of Niall Culanagh, who was the son of Art Oge, a younger brother of Con Bacagh O'Neill, the first earl of Tyrone. He was called Lynoch (Luineach) from having been fostered by O'Luinigh of Tyrone. He was the most powerful member of the O'Neill sept after the death of John, and was therefore elected to succeed him, although John had left sons. He had proved himself on sundry occasions a friend of the English, during John's wars; but this assumption of the title of O'Neill was deemed an act of rebellion, and hence the necessity of his submission to the deputy

fresh instructions to carry out the policy of his royal mistress, and summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin on the 17th of January, 1569. The history of this body is memorable for the unscrupulous and unconstitutional means resorted to in order to secure its subserviency to the crown. Members were returned for towns not incorporated; mayors and sheriffs in some cases returned themselves; and several Englishmen were elected as burgesses for towns which they had never seen. These monstrous irregularities gave rise to violent opposition. The judges were consulted, and declared that those who were returned for non-corporate towns, and those who had returned themselves, were disqualified from sitting as members, but the elections of the non-resident Englishmen were held to be valid; and this decision still left the court party in a majority. By these Stanihurst, recorder of Dublin, was chosen speaker, and Sir Christopher Barnwell led the opposition. The first proceedings were stormy in the extreme, and the popular excitement out of doors was so great that Hooker, an Englishman, who was returned for the dilapidated borough of Athenry, and who has left us a chronicle of the period, had to be protected by a guard in going to his residence.* In this parliament, in which the majority was a mere English faction, an act was passed attainting the late Shane O'Neill, suppressing the name of O'Neill, and entitling the queen and her heirs to the territory of Tyrone and other parts of Ulster. Laws were also enacted imposing a duty on wine; giving the lord deputy the nomination to church dignities in Munster and Connaught for ten years; and for erecting in the various dioceses charter schools, of which the teachers were to be English, and, of course, Protestants. A law was also passed abolishing captaincies or chieftaincies of septs, unless when allowed by special patent.†

A little before this Sir Peter Carew, a Devonshire knight, came to Ireland and set up a claim of hereditary right to vast territories in the south of this country. He revived, in fact, a claim which had been investigated and rejected in the reign of Edward III., but produced as fresh evidence a forged roll, which he alleged had been discovered; and the corrupt administration of the day admitted the title and ordered him to be put in possession; rather, as it would appear, to frighten the

* Leland (vol. ii., p. 241) describes the proceedings of this packed parliament.

† It was in the act of attainder against O'Neill, passed in this parliament, that queen Elizabeth's ministers affected to trace her title to the realm of Ireland to an origin anterior to that of the Milesian race of kings; setting forth a ludicrous tale of a king Gurmondus, "son to the noble king Belan of Great Britain, who was lord of Bayon in Spain, as many of his successors were to the time of Henry II., who possessed the island afore the comeing of Irishmen into the said lande!" (See *Plowden's Hist. Rev. Appen.* No. vii. *Irish Statutes, 11th. Eliz., sess.* 3, *cap.* 1. *O'Connell's Mem. of Ireland*, p. 110.)

MacCarthys, Fitzgeralds, Kavanaghs, and others, to whose lands he laid claim, than with any other view.* Some of these lands belonged to Sir Edmond Butler, a man of a restless spirit, and perpetually involved in strife, and who now joined the southern insurgents, more from private pique than for public motives, if we may judge from his subsequent conduct. Sir Peter Carew was ordered to take the field against him, and is said to have slain in one encounter 400 of the Irish, with no other loss on his side than one man wounded; a statement from which, if true, it would follow that the affair was not a battle, but the massacre of an unarmed multitude. Sir Edmond then induced his younger brothers, Pierce and Edward, to enter with him into an alliance with Sir James FitzMaurice; and the confederates dispatched the archbishop of Cashel, the bishop of Emly, and Sir James Sussex Fitzgerald, youngest brother of the earl of Desmond, as emissaries to the pope, imploring assistance. They laid siege to Kilkenny, which was successfully defended by Carew. They then proceeded to overrun the country in various directions. The Butlers sacked the town of Enniscorthy, and marched into Ossory and the Queen's county, where they are accused of committing every kind of outrage. Ultimately they returned to the south and rejoined the forces of FitzMaurice and the earl of Clancare, when the confederates sent messengers to Turlough Luineach, inviting him to join their standard, and to secure the assistance of some Scottish auxiliaries.

At this juncture Sidney set out on a military expedition into Munster, and the earl of Ormond was sent over by the queen to bring his refractory brothers to order. This he easily effected; inducing them to accompany him to Limerick and there submit to the lord deputy, who consented to their pardon, although Sir Edmond was detained for some time in prison to await the queen's pleasure, as he persisted in making personal charges against Sidney himself. The ranks of the insurgents being thus broken up, James FitzMaurice retired with a few followers to the mountains, and Sidney, having taken those castles which still held out, proceeded through Thomond to Connaught, and thence to Dublin; having on this occasion put into effective operation the new form of local government, by presidents and councils, which he himself had devised for the two provinces of Connaught and Munster. Sir Edward Fitton, a man

* Sir Peter Carew claimed the barony of Idrone in Carlow, and one-half of the "kingdom of Cork," or South Munster, in right of Robert FitzStephen, one of the first adventurers; but as the said FitzStephen was a bastard, and left no children, it was decided by the inquisition of the 5th Edward III. that the claim of the Carews to be his heirs could not be true. See *Four Masters* vol. v., pp. 1737, 1738, note, for some curious particulars on this subject.

well qualified to crush the people by his excessive rigor and overbearing insolence, was appointed first president of Connaught; and Sir John Perrot, who was said to be a natural son of Henry VIII., and was also distinguished for his extreme sternness and terrible activity, was placed early in the following year in the government of Munster.* In the north Turlough Luineach evinced some intention of joining the southern insurgents, but an injury which he received from the accidental explosion of a gun obliged him to remain inactive, and on his recovery he found himself deserted by many of his adherents, and deemed it prudent to submit and sue for pardon.

A.D. 1570.—Sir James FitzMaurice renewed the war early this year. On the second of March he attacked Kilmallock, in which an English garrison had been placed, and scaling the walls obtained possession of the town, which was then plundered and committed to the flames, so that nothing was left of it but the blackened walls. In Connaught, to which Thomond had recently been added as a county,† the rigor of Sir Edward Fitton had goaded the people into resistance; even the old and hitherto faithful friend of the English, Conor O'Brien, earl of Thomond, being obliged to resist the president's authority. Fitton appointed a court to meet this year in the abbey of Ennis, but the earl refused to attend, and the president was obliged to fly, committing himself to the safe keeping of Teige O'Brien, sheriff of Thomond, who conducted him to Galway. The earl of Ormond was, upon this, sent into Thomond to vindicate the authority of government, and the refractory Conor O'Brien surrendered to him all his castles except that of Ibrickan; but subsequently he regretted his too easy submission, and preferring any sacrifice rather than placing himself at the mercy of the president, he fled to Kerry and thence to France, where Norris, the English ambassador, negotiated his pardon with Elizabeth, enabling him to return to Ireland, where he afterwards remained a faithful subject.

In the summer of this year a sanguinary and memorable battle was fought at Shrule, a village on the borders of Mayo and Galway, between

* Sir Warham St. Leger was appointed president of Munster in 1567, but the system of provincial presidents does not appear to have been fully carried out until two years later, as stated above.

† A few years before this Connaught had been divided by the earl of Sussex into six counties, viz.:—Clare, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim. The territory comprised in the present county of Clare formed a part of Connaught in the time of queen Maeve, that is, about the Christian era, and so continued until it was conquered by Lughaidh Menn, fourth in descent from Cormac Cas, son of Oiliol Ollum, king of Munster, when it became Thomond or North Munster. It was restored for a short time to Connaught in the division of shire land under queen Elizabeth, but was again added to Munster. See note in *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 157. By Sussex, also, the ancient territory of Anally was formed into the county of Longford.

the northern MacWilliams (Burkes) on the one side, and the earl of Clanrickard and Sir Edward Fitton on the other. MacWilliam had collected a large army by the aid of his allies in lower Connaught, and of the O'Flaherties; and the lord president's infantry were routed with great slaughter, although his cavalry remained firm, and inflicted such damage on the Irish, in their turn, that both parties were able to claim the victory. In the south the earl of Ormond pursued his way from Thomond through Hy Connell Gavra, in Limerick, into Kerry, as far as Dunlo Castle, which he demolished, without meeting an enemy throughout his march; and among the Irish chieftains who made their submission about the same time, were Brian Kavanagh, of Ballyanne, in Wexford, Mac Vaddock, Mac Edmond Duff, and Mac David More, heads of other branches of the Mac Murroughs, in the same county; besides O'Farrell Bane, and O'Farrell Boy, of Longford.*

A.D. 1571.—Sir John Perrot entered this year on his first campaign against the insurgents of Munster with extraordinary vigor and activity. He was on the alert night and day. Boasting that he would "hunt the fox out of his hole," he scoured the woods in the wild and picturesque glen of Aherlow, where Sir James FitzMaurice had sheltered himself with a few followers, but notwithstanding all this energy the Geraldine chief remained unsubdued.

A.D. 1572.—Neither did the "strong measures" of Sir Edward Fitton produce the expected result. His ferocity and insolence fired, instead of subduing the spirit of Connaught. He called a court in Galway, to be held in March this year, and to serve for his whole jurisdiction, from Sligo to Limerick. The sons of the earl of Clanrickard, on arriving in the town, heard rumours of some sinister design on the part of the president, and took to flight; whereupon Fitton arrested the earl, their father, and carried him to Dublin, where he committed him to the charge of the lord deputy, returning himself to Athlone. Other popular chiefs of Connaught were also seized by him, and left in durance in Galway; and then, collecting a sufficient force, he marched through Galway to the castle of Aughnanure, on the shore of Lough Corrib, and after a siege, in which a great portion of the castle was destroyed, took it from the sons of Donnell O'Flaherty, and gave it up to Murrough O'Flaherty, surnamed Na-d-tuadh, or of the battle-axes, who had been taken into favor by the government, and acknowledged as chieftain of all Iar-Connaught. The earl's sons were again in arms; multitudes of the disaffected rallied to their standard, and among

* See the indentures of their submission published, for the first time, by Dr. O'Donovan, Four Masters, vol. v., pp. 1648, &c.

the rest FitzMaurice of Desmond; they destroyed nearly all the castles of Clanrickard to render them untenable by English garrisons; they crossed the Shannon into Westmeath, burned part of Athlone, demolished the walls and stone houses of Athenry, passed twice into Iar-Connaught in defiance of the garrison of Galway and of the forces of Murrough O'Flaherty, and had overrun a great part of the west of Ireland, when Sir William FitzWilliam, now lord deputy, thought it prudent to try conciliation, and liberating the earl of Clanrickard, sent him down to pacify his sons. This course had the desired effect, and the Connaught insurgents having dispersed to their homes, Sir James FitzMaurice, who had been waiting for an expected reinforcement of Scots, set out for Kerry, where he arrived after encountering innumerable perils, only in time to find that Castlemaine, the last of his strongholds, after a long and brave resistance, had been compelled, through famine, to capitulate to the lord president. In his present hopeless state, Sir James Maurice, with his party of Scots, repaired to the wilds of Aherlow, where, about the end of October, he was surprised and attacked at night by a garrison which Perrot had placed in Kilmallock, now partly rebuilt. Thirty of the Scots were slain, and the spirit of FitzMaurice was completely crushed by the blow; yet he remained in the woods until the following February, when he sent FitzGerald, seneschal of Imokilly, and Owen MacRichard Burke, with his own son, as a hostage, to proffer his submission to the lord president, then stopping with lord Roche, at Castletown Roche, in Cork.

A.D. 1573.—Humbled as he was, the Geraldine was still an object of fear, and the offer of his submission was received with welcome. The ruined church of Kilmallock, which had been the scene of his principal aggression, was appropriately selected for the ceremony of reconciliation; and there, on his knees, and according to the account preserved in the state paper office, in most abject terms he confessed his guilt, and craved the pardon of the lord president, who held his naked sword all the while with the point towards the fallen chieftain's breast. The latter kissed the weapon, and falling on his face exclaimed: "And now this earth of Kilmallock, which town I have most traitorously sacked and burnt, I kiss, and on the same lie prostrate, overfraught with sorrow upon this present view of my most mischievous part!" On this termination of the insurrection, the earl of Desmond and his brother, John, who had been detained captives in England for six years, were set free. The earl was even graciously treated by the queen; and his manners as a gentleman distinguished him at her court. A ship was furnished to convey the brothers to Ireland; but for some

reason, suggested by the tortuous policy of Elizabeth, the earl was again put under arrest on his arrival in Dublin, John being permitted to return to Munster. In Connaught Sir Edward Fitton was removed from office, owing to the remonstrances of the earl of Clanrickard against his overbearing harshness.

That the project of planting Ulster from England, though not fully carried out until the next reign, was present to the mind of Elizabeth even in the war of Shane O'Neill, is evident from the hints thrown out by her to the effect that the insurrection was all the better for the loyalists, as it would leave plenty of lands for them. In 1570 the district of Ards, in Down, was granted by her to her secretary, Sir Thomas Smith, and was described in the preamble to the grant as belonging to "divers parts and parcels of her highness's earldom of Ulster, that lay waste, or else were inhabited with a wicked, barbarous, and uncivil people; some Scottish, and some wild Irish, and such as lately had been rebellious to her." Smith sent over his natural son with a colony to this district, but the young man was soon after killed in a fray by the O'Neills of Clannaboy, the native owners of the soil, and the new settlement lingered feebly for some years. The Scots who had settled in Clannaboy under their chief, Sorley Boy MacDonnell, were for a while countenanced by the English government as useful allies in removing or crushing the native inhabitants, who, in order to be "humanised," were to be first despoiled of their ancestral lands: but that territory was now thrown open to a more favored class of adventurers. Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, received a grant of a moiety of the seigniories of Clannaboy, Farney, &c., provided he could expel the "rebels" who dwelt there, any rights on the part of the native septs being wholly overlooked. An army of 1,200 men was to be placed at the earl's disposal, one-half to be provided and maintained at the queen's expense and the other at that of the earl; every horseman who volunteered in the expedition for two years was to receive 400 acres of land at two pence per acre, and every footman 200 acres at a like rate; and the earl was to be commander-in-chief, or earl-marshal of Ireland for seven years. Several English gentlemen of distinction, among others lords Dacres and Rich, Sir Henry Knollys, and the three sons of Lord Norris, joined the adventurers; and Essex mortgaged his estates to the queen to raise funds for the enterprise. But it was, nevertheless, well known that the project was devised and promoted by his enemy, the earl of Leicester, in order to remove him from the court. Sir William Fitzwilliam, the lord-deputy, complained of the excessive power about to be conferred on Essex as incompatible with an

own authority, and it was accordingly arranged that the earl should receive his commission from the deputy, to make it appear that he acted under him. Essex at length arrived, in the summer of 1573, and notified, by proclamation, that he came to take possession of the forfeited lands of Clannaboy, the Glyns, the Route, &c., but, that he merely intended to expel the Scots, and not to act with hostility to the Irish. Soon, however, the nature of the expedition became known to these latter; and the native race of Clannaboy, under their chief, Brian, son of Felim Baccagh O'Neill, and supported by Hugh O'Neill of Dungannon, and by Turlough Luineach himself, rose in arms. Several conflicts ensued, and Essex soon found himself in a very embarrassing position. Many of his men were not fit for the hard service on which they had entered, and some of his leaders deserted and returned to England. He invited the aid of Con, son of Calvagh O'Donnell, but when that chief had joined, he seized him on some frivolous pretence and sent him a prisoner to Dublin, at the same time taking possession of O'Donnell's castle of Lifford.

A.D. 1574.—Camden tells us that Essex defeated Brian O'Neill in battle, and slew two hundred of his men; but the Irish chroniclers give a very different account of this transaction. They say that, peace having been agreed on between Brian and the earl, a feast was prepared by the former, to which Essex and the chiefs of his people were invited, but that after three days and nights spent in social conviviality, "as they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother, and his wife, were seized upon by the earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword, men, women, youths, and maidens, in Brian's own presence;" and that "Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters."* This horrible act of perfidy filled the Irish, as the annalists add, with hatred and disgust for their foes, and the whole boasted scheme of colonization soon after fell to the ground. Essex went to England in 1575, to induce the queen to lend additional support, but she disliked the project and refused. He then returned to Ireland, abandoned his settlement, and repaired to Dublin, where he died on the 22nd of September, 1576, the general opinion

* We can have no hesitation as to the authority on which we should rely relative to this nefarious transaction. Camden, who (*Annales ad an.* 1574), omits all allusion to treachery in the affair, frequently suffers himself to display his prejudice against the Irish; whereas the Four Masters, who give the other version, are remarkable, as even Leland confesses, for their freedom from all virulence against the English or their government. "Sometimes, on the contrary," continues that very anti-Irish historian, "they expressly condemn their countrymen for their rebellion against their prince." (Lel. Hist. of Ireland, B. iv., c. 2, note.)

being that his death was caused by poison, administered at the desire of the earl of Leicester, who soon after divorced his own wife and married the widow of Essex.*

A.D. 1575.—Sir Henry Sidney once more resumed the reins of government. He landed at Skerries on the 12th of September this year, and having been sworn in at Drogheda, as the plague at that time raged in Dublin,† he marched with six hundred horse and foot against Sorley Boy and the Scots who were just then besieging Carrickfergus; and having compelled them to submit, he received about the same time the submission of Turlough Luineach and other Ulster chieftains. Con O'Donnell, and Con, son of Niall Oge O'Neill, had, a little before, made their escape from Dublin, and the lord deputy sent a pardon to the former, shewing his disapproval of the unjust treatment he had received from Essex. He then set out on a progress through Leinster and Munster. At Dungarvan the earl of Desmond, who had made his escape in 1573 from his detention in Dublin, came in and offered the deputy his services. At Cork Sir Henry held a session, at which several persons were tried, and twenty-three offenders executed. Here he passed the Christmas, which was celebrated with unwonted gaiety and magnificence, several of the leading men, both of English and Irish descent, having come accompanied by their wives to attend the deputy's court. In Limerick he also held sessions, but as his stay there was brief he appointed commissioners to carry on the proceedings after his departure. He next proceeded to Galway, where the sons of the earl of Clanrickard came into church during divine service, and on their knees supplicated pardon; and finally he arrived in Dublin on the 13th of April. At this time Sir James FitzMaurice resided with his family at St. Malo's, in France, which he visited after passing through Spain, and Munster seemed for a moment to enjoy profound tranquillity.

* Camden informs us that the poisoner of Essex had been pointed out to him in public; but Hooker, in his chronicle, asserts that that nobleman died not of poison, but of an attack of dysentery, to which he was subject. Essex complained bitterly, in his letters to Sir Henry Sidney, of the queen's bad faith with him in the affair of the projected plantation of Clannaboy, and protested against the injustice which had been inflicted, through him, on such loyal lords of Ulster as O'Donnell, MacMahon, and others "whom he had, on the pledged word of the queen, undone with fair promises."

† Dublin, and many parts of the Pale, were devastated by plague in the summer and autumn of 1575. The Four Masters say:—"Intense heat and extreme drought in the summer of this year; there was no rain for one hour by night or day from Bealtaine (1st of May) to Lammas (1st of August). A loathsome disease and a dreadful malady rose from this heat, namely, the plague. This malady raged virulently among the Irish and English in Dublin, in Naas of Leinster, Ardee, Mullingar, and Athboy. Between these places many a castle was left without a guard, many a flock without a shepherd, and many a noble corpse without burial in consequence of this distemper."

A.D. 1576.—Sir Henry Sidney had taken with him to Dublin, as captives, the sons of the earl of Clanrickard, and some of the O'Brien's, but having administered to them a severe reproof, and exacted a promise that they would not return to their respective countries, he now set them free and commenced another progress to the south. He had not, however, proceeded far when he learned that the restless De Burgos had recrossed the Shannon, cast off their English costume, and once more raised the standard of revolt. The deputy upon this hastened back to Dublin, collected the available troops, and marched with great celerity into Connaught, where he took possession of the towns and castles of Clanrickard in the queen's name, and seizing the earl himself, whom he suspected of conniving at his sons' rebellion, sent him to be imprisoned in Dublin castle. Confounded by the rapid movements of the deputy, the earl's sons fled to the woods and mountains, and Sidney was able to resume his intended progress to Munster, although by a different route from that he had originally laid down. He proceeded from Galway, through Clare, to Limerick, where he installed Sir William Drury in the office of lord-president of Munster, formerly held by Sir John Perrot, and shortly after Sir Nicholas Malby was placed with similar authority over Connaught; but the inhuman ferocity of Fitton had rendered the name of president so odious in this latter province, that Sidney thought it prudent to invest Malby with the title of "Colonel of Connaught."

The earl of Desmond was soon brought into collision with the new president of Munster. He protested against the holding of courts, by the latter, within his palatinate of Kerry; but finding that Drury disregarded his privilege, and was about proceeding to Tralee to hold a sessions there, he made a virtue of necessity, and offered the hospitality of his castle to the stern representative of power. The invitation was accepted, but on approaching the chief town of Kerry, the president, who, as usual in these judicial visitations, was attended by an armed retinue of some six or seven score men, perceived that seven or eight hundred armed men were assembled, as he thought, in a hostile attitude. His apprehensions may have been well founded, or his bravery have been only Quixotic; but he drew up his party in battle array, marched resolutely forward, and the real or supposed enemy fled to the woods. The countess of Desmond came out from the town in a state of distraction, and an her knees assured the doughty president that her lord had no hostile intention, but that, the lord president's visit being just then unexpected, these men had assembled for a general hunting. Drury appeared to accept the explanation, and went on to hold his

sessions, while the earl forwarded to the government, in Dublin, an indignant complaint against the president's offensive proceedings. Shortly after this Sir William Drury seized the earl's brother, John, in Cork, on suspicion of some treasonable practices, and sent him under an escort to Dublin.

In the meantime Sir Henry Sidney, having learned that a large body of Scots were about to join the still unsubdued sons of the earl of Clanrickard, marched into Connaught, where Mac William Iochter, who had deserted the cause of the young De Burgos, came to his standard; and the Scots being discouraged by the prospect of affairs, on their arrival in the west, abandoned their friends without fighting, and returned to Ulster. Thus deserted, the earl's sons continued to hide themselves in the wildest recesses of the woods and hills, and Sidney, having left some troops to hunt them down, returned to Dublin.

A.D. 1577.—Difficulties of another kind now disturbed the Pale, owing to the arbitrary exercise of power by the lord deputy, who, by the sole authority of the privy council, and without the intervention of parliament, converted the occasional subsidy, which was granted in emergencies for the support of the government and army, into a regular tax, abolished local and personal privileges of exemption, and decreed that the assessment should be levied on all subjects of the crown. This proceeding received the warmest approval of the queen, who had always most reluctantly granted the supplies necessary for the Irish establishment; but it aroused a general and violent feeling of discontent throughout the Pale. The most loyal joined in remonstrances against an exercise of despotic power so odious and oppressive. The people pleaded constitutional rights, but the only reply to this was the queen's prerogative. The collection of the cess was resisted, and agents were sent in the name of the lords, and other leading inhabitants of the Pale, to represent the grievance to the queen and the English privy council. Their remonstrance was anticipated by letters from the lord deputy, and after a partial hearing of their complaint by the queen, in person, the agents were committed to the tower for contumacy, and Sidney was reprimanded, by letter, for not having immediately punished those who presumed to question the prerogative of the crown. This stretch of despotism augmented the popular indignation; and Elizabeth and her ministers, alarmed at the clamour which was raised, and sensible of the danger of alienating the few in Ireland who were friendly to the government, thought it better to accommodate matters. A composition for seven years' purveyance, payable by instalments, was agreed to; the

agents, and others who were imprisoned, were liberated, and the question was set at rest.

The wars of so many generations had not been able to exterminate the ancient race of Leix and O'Kally, where some sturdy representatives of the O'Mores, O'Conors, and others, had grown up since the thinning of their septs in the late reigns. These shared in the general dissaffection, and were roused into action by the wild heroism of the famous outlaw chieftain, Rory Oge O'More, who, at this time, kept the borders of the Pale in perpetual alarm by his daring exploits. With a few followers he was generally a match for the small garrisons by whom the border-towns were guarded. This year he surprised Naas, the night after the annual festival, or "patron" day, of the town, when the inhabitants were buried in sleep after their festivities, and had forgotten to set the usual watch on the town-walls. His men carried lighted brands on poles, and with these set the low thatched houses on fire, so that the town was in a few minutes one sheet of flames, and the terrified inhabitants, roused from their slumbers, were unable to make any resistance. The Anglo-Irish chroniclers, who make Rory the hero of the wildest adventures, tell us that he sat for some time at the market-cross to enjoy the spectacle, and then departed in triumph without taking any life. Thus was Rory Oge for some time the terror of the Pale, making nightly attacks on its towns and villages, and having himself numerous hair-breadth escapes from the attempts to kill or capture him. Many persons in Kilkenny and other towns were suspected of being friendly to him, and of furnishing him with information which enabled him to escape the snares laid against him. On one occasion he got two English officers, captains Harrington and Cosby, into his power, and took them to his retreat in a wood near Carlow, where, through the treachery of a servant, he was soon after surprised at night by Robert Hartpool, the constable of Carlow, and had a narrow escape, having had to cut his way through the ranks of the soldiers who surrounded the cabin where he slept. His two English prisoners were rescued on this occasion, and his wife and sixteen or seventeen of his men slain; and the following year he was cut off by MacGilla Patrick, baron of upper Ossory, who watched his movements with a strong detachment of the queen's troops and a party of Irish kernes. O'More came out of a wood to parley with MacGilla Patrick's kerne, when one of the latter ran him through with his sword. Thus, on the 30th of June, 1578, was the Pale relieved from its deadliest source of fear, and the Irish deprived of a brave soldier, who, with a

better organised system of opposition might have proved a very dangerous foe to Elizabeth's government.*

This year, the nineteenth of queen Elizabeth, is marked by a frightful transaction, the recital of which has often in late times made men shudder, while its gloomy interest has been enhanced by the mystery in which it has been shrouded. It would appear that the heads of the Irish families of Leix and Offaly were invited in the queen's name, and under her protection, to attend a meeting or conference in the great rath on the hill of Mullamast (Mullach-Maistean), in the county of Kildare, and that about four hundred of them obeyed the summons. The Irish annalists assert that they were people who had remained on friendly terms with the English, and that they had been "summoned to show themselves with the greatest numbers they could bring with them." Some of them may have been implicated in the revolt of Rory Oge, who was then verging towards his fall; but no special provocation is alleged against them, and at all events they came to the meeting under the guarantee of the royal protection. No sooner, however, had they assembled in the great rath than they were encompassed by a treble line of the queen's garrison soldiers, and all of them, to a man, most inhumanly butchered in cold blood—and this atrocious act was committed with the cognisance and approval of the queen's deputy in Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney!† In this horrible massacre, coming so soon after the

* Dowling, according to whom O'More was slain in 1577, asserts that that chief maintained his independence during eighteen years, in the course of which time he burnt Naas, Athy, Carlow, Leighlin bridge, Rathcool, and other places; but the injury he inflicted on some of these towns must have been very slight. The Four Masters, who record his death (as does also Ware), in 1578, describe him as "the head of the plunderers and insurgents of the men of Ireland in his time." The baron of Ossory was offered the one thousand marks which had been promised as a reward for the head of O'More; but he only accepted one hundred pounds, which he divided among his men. Owen, or Owny, the son of Rory Oge, was also a valiant captain, and became celebrated as a soldier in the subsequent wars against Elizabeth.

† According to a traditional account of the massacre of Mullamast, given on the authority of "an old gentleman named Cullen, of the county of Kildare, who was living in 1765, and had frequently discoursed with one Dwyer and one Dowling actually living at Mullamast when this horrid murder was committed," as published by Dr. O'Donovan (*Four Masters*, vol. v., pp. 1695—1696) from a MS. in the handwriting of the late Laurence Byrne, of Fallybeg, in the Queen's county, it appears that the victims belonged to the seven septs of Leix, namely, the O'Mores, O'Kelly's, O'Lalors, Devoys, Mac Eloys, O'Dorans, and O'Dowlings, with some of the family of Keating; and that the persons concerned in the commission of the murder were the Deavils, Grehams, Cosbys, Pigotts, Bowens, Hartpoles, Harcourts, Dempseys, and Fitzgeralds—the five last-named families being at that time Catholics. Tradition attaches the most blame in the matter to the O'Dempseys, because they were not only Catholics but Irish; and "the inhabitants of the district," says Dr. O'Donovan, "now believe that a curse has followed this great Irish family ever since." It is probable that Cosby was the officer in command of the military party called in to execute the massacre; the chief command of all the forces in the queen's pay having been committed by lord deputy Sussex to Francis Cosby; one Edmund O'Dempsey being a captain of horse under him (Patent Roll, 5th & 6th Philip and Mary). Captain Thomas Lee, an officer of government, who in 1594, addressed a memorial to Elizabeth,

murder of O'Neill of Clannaboy and his family, and the slaughter of his followers, by the earl of Essex, and followed by other like acts of inhumanity and perfidy on the part of the government, in the south, and in the merciless rigor with which the laws were enforced against the Irish, we obtain a frightful idea of the principles then acted upon in the government of this country.

The affair of Mullamast and the prosecution of some citizens of Kilkenny, who were suspected of holding communication with Rory Oge O'More, are the last incidents in the government of Sir Henry Sidney. That statesman had been four times appointed lord justice of Ireland, and three times lord deputy; and it is remarkable that notwithstanding his excessive rigor, he is mentioned in the Irish annals in terms which imply respect. In compliance with his repeated and earnest applications for permission to retire, he surrendered the sword of state to Sir William Drury, the lord president of Munster; on the 26th of May, 1578.

entitled "a brief declaration of the government of Ireland" (preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, and printed in the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii., p. 91, and in the appendix to Dr. Curry's *Civil Wars in Ireland*) mentions in that tract, among other acts of oppression, cruelty, rapine, and injustice, the massacre of Mullamast, in the following words:—"They have drawn unto them by protection three or four hundred of these country people, under color to do your majesty service, and brought them to a place of meeting, where your garrison soldiers were appointed to be, who have there most dishonorably put them all to the sword; and this hath been by the consent and practise of the lord deputy for the time being." Thady Dowling, the cotemporary Protestant chancellor of Leighlin, thus records the massacre:—"1577.—Moris MacLasy MacConyll (O'More), lord of Merggi, as he asserted, and successor of the baron of Omergi, with 40 (query? a mistake for 400) of his followers, after his confederation with Rory O'More, and after a certain promise of protection, was slain at Mullaghmastyn, in the county of Kildare, the place appointed for it by Master Cosby and Robert Hartpoole, having been summoned there treacherously, under pretence of performing service;" and at the end of this entry, which is in Latin, some zealous Protestant interpolated the following words in English:—"Harpoll excused it that Moris had geven villanous wordes to the breach of his protection," which might mean that, in order to commence the slaughter, a pretended riot was raised, on the occasion of some hasty words extracted from O'More. O'Sullivan (*Hist. Cath.*, p. 99, ed. 1850) says that 180 men of the family of O'More were slain in the massacre. According to some traditions only one O'More escaped from the slaughter; but according to the MS. of Lawrence Byrne, above referred to, the popular tradition was that the lives of several others were preserved through the means of one Harry Lalor, who, "remarking that none of those returned who had entered the fort before him, desired his companions to make off as fast as they could in case they did not see him come back. Said Lalor, as he was entering the fort, saw the carcases of his slaughtered companions; then drew his sword and fought his way back to those that survived, along with whom he made his escape to Dysart, without seeing the Barrow." Mullamast (Mullach-Maistean) is a large but not lofty hill, situated about five miles from the town of Athy, in the county of Kildare, and in our times has been rendered further remarkable as the scene of one of Mr. O'Connell's most celebrated meetings in the great repeal movement of the year 1843.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH—CONTINUATION.

Plans of James FitzMaurice on the Continent.—Projected Italian expedition to Ireland—Its singular fate.—Fitzmaurice lands with some Spaniards at Smerwick.—Conduct of the earl of Desmond.—Savage treatment of a bishop and priest.—The insurgents scattered.—Murder of Davells and Carter.—Tragical death of James FitzMaurice.—Proceedings of Drury and Malby.—Catholics in the royal ranks.—Defeat of the royal army by John of Desmond at Gort-na-Tiobrad.—Death of Sir William Drury.—Important battle at Monasteranena—Defeat of the Geraldines.—Desmond treated as a rebel—Hostilities against him.—Sir Nicholas Malby at Askeaton.—Desmond at length driven into rebellion.—He plunders and burns Youghal.—The country devastated by Ormond.—Humanity of a friar.—James of Desmond captured and executed.—Campaign of Pelham and Ormond in Desmond's country.—Capture of Carrigafoyle castle.—Other castles surrendered to the lord justice.—Narrow escape of the earl of Desmond.—Insurrection in Wicklow.—Arrival of lord Gray—His disaster in Glenmalure.—Landing of a large Spanish armament at Smerwick harbour.—Lord Gray besieges the foreigners.—Horrible and treacherous slaughter in the Fort del Ore.—Savage barbarity of lord Gray and his captains.—Butchery of women and children near Kildimo.—Rumoured plot in Dublin.—Arrest of the earl of Kildare and others.—Premature executions.—Forays of the earl of Desmond.—Melancholy end of John of Desmond.—The FitzMaurices of Kerry in rebellion.—Battle of Gort-na-Pisi.—The Glen of Aherlow.—Desperate state of Desmond—His murder—His character.—Mild policy of Perrott.—The Parliament of 1585.—Composition in Connaught.—Plantation of Munster.—Brutal severity of Sir Richard Bingham in Connaught.—&c.

[A.D. 1579 TO A.D. 1587.]

JAMES FitzMaurice, the most earnest and consistent of the Irish patriots of his time, was not inactive during the long sojourn he had been making on the Continent. While staying with his family at St. Malo's, his movements were closely watched by the spies of Sir Henry Sidney.* At that moment, however, the relations between England and France were unfavorable to his purpose, and when he applied to Henry III. for help for the Irish Catholics, he was merely told by that monarch that he would use his interference with Elizabeth to procure pardon for him. Reconciliation with the queen of England was the last thing that FitzMaurice desired; so he next repaired to Philip II. of Spain, who, being also then at peace with

* Sidney at this time calls Sir James FitzMaurice "a papist in extremity (*i.e.*, an extreme Catholic), well esteemed, and of good credit among the people." *S. P.*

Elizabeth, appears to have done no more than refer him to pope Gregory XIII. Leaving his two sons in Spain, Sir James proceeded to Rome, where he was most favorably received by the pontiff, and where his solicitations were warmly seconded by Cornelius O'Mulrian, O.S.F., bishop of Killaloe, Dr. Allen, called by some an Irish Jesuit, and Dr. Saunders, an eminent English ecclesiastic. The pope granted a bull encouraging the Irish to fight for the recovery of their liberty and the defence of their religion; and an expedition was fitted out at the cost of the holy father, to be maintained subsequently by Philip II.; and, at the earnest wish of FitzMaurice, it was entrusted to an English adventurer named Stukely, as admiral, while Hercules Pisano, an experienced soldier, had the military command.* Stukely sailed with his squadron from Civita Vecchia, and touched at Lisbon at the very moment when Sebastian, the chivalrous and romantic king of Portugal, was setting out on his expedition to Morocco, and was easily persuaded to join in that wild project, on receiving a promise from the king that after returning from Africa he would either go himself to Ireland, or give him a larger force for the purpose. Stukely forgot his engagement to the pope and to the Irish, and sailed to Morocco, where he, with the greater number of his luckless men were slain in the famous battle of Alcaçar, in which Sebastian and two Moorish kings also fell.

James FitzMaurice, instead of accompanying Stukely, travelled through France to Spain, and embarked for Ireland with about four score Spaniards on board three small vessels. He was accompanied by Dr. Saunders, in the capacity of legate, the bishop of Killaloe, and Dr. Allen, and was at this time wholly ignorant of the fate of Stukely's expedition.

* Thomas Stukely, to whose charge this ill-fated expedition was entrusted, was a native of Devonshire, and was distinguished for his reckless and enterprising disposition. Some assert that he was a natural son of Henry VIII., and he claimed descent maternally from Dermot MacMurrough. In 1563 he projected a company to prosecute discoveries in Terra Florida, and obtained the queen's approbation; but the scheme was not carried out for want of funds. In Ireland he ingratiated himself with Sir Henry Sidney, and in 1567 was employed to negotiate, on the part of the government, with Shane O'Neill, but Elizabeth expressed her disapproval of the choice made of him on that occasion. Soon after he became disgusted with government, because, it is said, he was refused the office of steward of Wexford. He then expressed his sympathy for the disaffected Irish, and went to the Continent to propose plans to the pope and the king of Spain for the invasion of Ireland. It is impossible to say whether his conduct ultimately was the result of his wild love of adventure, or of perfidy to the Irish cause which he had espoused. The expedition placed under his care is generally stated to have consisted of 800 men. Muratori says 600. O'Daly exaggerates the number when he says the pope gave 2,000 soldiers. (*Geraldines*, p. 75, Duffy's ed.). O'Sullivan (*Hist. Cath.*, p 113) says there were about 1,000 soldiers, and that a number of these consisted of bands of highwaymen, who had been pardoned on condition of their joining the Irish expedition. O'Daly adds that the pope doubted Stukely's fidelity, but yielded to the solicitation of FitzMaurice, and invested Stukely with the title of lord of Idrone; English writers mention other titles conferred on him also by his holiness.

His little squadron made the harbour of Dingle on the 17th of July, 1579, and so frequent was the intercourse between that locality and Spain, that some of the Spanish mariners were recognised by persons from the town, who came alongside, but were not permitted to board the ships. The vessels were then brought round to Smerwick harbour, another small haven in the extremity of the peninsula in which Dingle is situated, and here FitzMaurice and his handful of Spaniards disembarked next day, and took possession of the almost insulated rock of Oilen-an-oir, usually called Fort-del-ore, which juts into the bay. A rude kind of fort, belonging to one Peter Rice of Dingle, already existed on this small peninsula, and FitzMaurice caused it to be strengthened by a trench and curtain-wall across the neck of land by which the rock is joined to the mainland.*

The news of these armaments, grossly exaggerated by rumour, created extraordinary excitement throughout Munster, where the embers of civil war were yet smouldering; but the old curse of division and misunderstanding still overhung the country. The earl of Desmond, to whom the people looked as a leader, was utterly unfit for that position. His heart was undoubtedly with the popular cause, but he was weak-minded and vacillating, and mistrusted those with whom it would have been his duty to act. He disliked James FitzMaurice, whose active and aspiring spirit was so wholly opposed to his. It is said that he also feared his ambition; for the line of succession had often before been rudely changed in the earldom of Desmond. His apprehension, not for his life but for his family, where possessions so vast as his were at stake, was also an excusable cause for his long hesitation before he involved himself in rebellion. In a word, he was either induced by personal considerations to discountenance the foreign invasion and the proceedings of his cousin,

* Dingle, or Dingle-I-Couch, near the extremity of the peninsula of Corkaguiney, in the west of Kerry, was once a town of great importance, and from an early period carried on an extensive commerce with Spain. Its name Daingean-ui-Chuis, signifies the fortress of O'Cuis, the ancient Irish proprietor of the place before the English invasion, not of O'Hussey, as Dr. Smith (*Hist. of Kerry*) and others have asserted. (*See Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1714, z.). As to the Dano-Irish name of Smerwick, which Camden supposed to be a corruption of St. Mary-wick, a local antiquary suggests that it may mean the "spreading harbour," from the Irish *smearam*, to spread. (*Kerry Magazine*). Its name was originally Ardmacaunt or Ardcanny Bay, "from a certayn devout man's name called Cauntus," says an old writer. (*Journal of Pelham's Expedition to Dingle in* 1580, *kept by Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, and forwarded to Lord Burghley*). The Spanish name Fort-del-ore is synonymous with the Irish Dun-an-oir, the "fort of the gold," and was given to the rock in question from the circumstance that one of the ships of the celebrated navigator, Frobisher, laden with gold ore from the newly discovered land which he called Meta Incognita, the present Greenland, had been wrecked there about a year before the landing of FitzMaurice and his Spaniards, when the ore was stowed away in Peter Rice's aforesaid stronghold by the directions of the earl of Desmond.

Sir James FitzMaurice, or at least he made a show of acting in that sense, and vainly endeavoured to convince the government officials of his loyalty, while they, by their insulting taunts and doubts, seemed determined to drive him into open revolt. Shortly before the arrival of FitzMaurice three persons in disguise landed at Dingle from a Spanish ship. They were seized by government spies, and carried first before the earl of Desmond, who afterwards took credit to himself with the state for transmitting them to the authorities in Limerick. It turned out that one of them was Dr. Patrick O'Haly, bishop of Mayo, and another Father Cornelius O'Rourke, the name of the third not being mentioned; and on Sir William Drury's arrival at Killmallock that year, he caused both the bishop and the priest to be subjected to frightful torture in order to extract some confession from them. Ultimately they were hanged as traitors from a tree, and their bodies remained suspended for fourteen days to be used as targets by the soldiery.* At the same time that these ecclesiastics were handed over by the earl as an evidence of his loyalty, as we are led by himself to understand, he mustered an army to resist the invasion. The earl of Clancare also held aloof, and the people were deterred either by the control or example of their great lords from joining the standard of FitzMaurice. It is true that John and James of Desmond, the earl's brothers, hastened to meet their Spanish allies, and that some 200 of the O'Flaherties of West Connaught came by sea to rally under the Catholic standard;† but the Spaniards were justly disheartened at the prospect before them. They were led to expect a general rising of the people, and there was no such thing. They were told that the earl of Desmond would be their leader, and they saw him arrayed against them: while on the other hand it must be observed that their appearance, numerically so contemptible, only committed the Irish Catholics, without being capable of inspiring them with confidence.

On the 26th of July, eight days from their landing, the Spaniards saw their transports captured by Captain Courtenay, who had come from Kinsale with a small ship of war and a pinnace; and the O'Flaherties having made their escape with their own galleys, the strangers were left without means of retreat, and to avoid being starved on the rock of Oilean-an-oir they marched into the interior under the three Geraldines. The earl of Desmond, in his defence of himself, asserts that he pursued them to Kilmore, or the Great Wood, in the north of the county of Cork,

* Wadding; Arthur á Monasterio; and Bruodin, Passio Mart. p. 437.

† Stated by Desmond in his defence of himself preserved in the State Paper Office.

bordering on Limerick, and that he pressed them so hard that on the 17th of August they were obliged to separate into small parties; John retiring to the fastness of Lynamore; James, his other brother, to that of Glenflesk; while FitzMaurice, accompanied by a dozen horsemen and a few kernes, proceeded towards Tipperary, on the pretence of making a pilgrimage to the relic of the Holy Cross, but in reality to try to rally the disaffected in Connaught and the north.*

A few incidents connected with this wretched attempt remain to be related. On the news of FitzMaurice's arrival, the lord justice, Sir William Drury, who was in Cork, accompanied by Sir Nicholas Malby, despatched, in all haste, Henry Davells, constable of Dungarvan, and Arthur Carter, provost-marshal of Munster, to summon Desmond and his brothers to attack the fort at Smerwick. These men were extremely officious, blustered a good deal with the earl about his duty, and after reconnoitering the fort, were returning to the deputy to accuse Desmond of disloyalty, when the earl's brother, John, followed them to Tralee, and slew both of them at night in a little inn where they had put up, near the castle.† This murder was aggravated by the fact that John and Davells were intimate friends, and by the English it is said that John did the act in order to show FitzMaurice and the Spaniards that he irretrievably committed himself to their cause. A great deal of indignation has been vented about this crime, but we have a right to measure it by the standard of that day, and should bear in mind the example set by the state itself in the commission of many fearful atrocities. The rath of Mullamast was still reeking with the blood of its victims; and as the reader proceeds he will find how little reason there is to select this action of the insurgent leader for special obloquy.‡

To return to James FitzMaurice, he continued his way through Hy-Connell-Gavra (Conello) and Clanwilliam, in the county of Limerick, and in the latter of these districts seized some horses from the plough to replace the jaded steeds of his party. This depredation was committed on the lands of William Burke of Castle-Connell, whose sons, Theobald and Ulick, obtained the aid of Mac-I-Brien-Ara, and pursued the fugi-

* Before this separation some misunderstanding is said to have taken place between John of Desmond and FitzMaurice, owing to the latter refusing to punish one of his men for a gross act of violence which he committed—so little was there of cohesion among the leaders.

† So says Hooker; but most writers state that Davells was slain in the castle of Tralee.

‡ "Desmond," says O'Daly, "only slew an avowed enemy, who not only sought to crush the cause of liberty, but did signal injury to John himself in the house of lord Muskerry." (*Geraldines*, p. 78). Smith, in his *History of Kerry*, p. 163, says "the pretence was Sir Henry Danvers holding session of gaol delivery in Desmond's palatinate." The name is called Daversius by O'Sullivan, and Danversius by O'Daly; but the correct form is Davells.

tives, with whom they came up at a place a few miles east of Limerick.* FitzMaurice remonstrated with his assailants, who were his own kinsmen, but was fired at and mortally wounded. He then rushed into the thick of the fight; with one blow cleft the head of Theobald Burke, and with another inflicted a mortal wound on his brother, so that his enemies, though more numerous, were speedily put to flight. James expired in a few hours, and his head was cut off by his cousin, Maurice FitzJohn, as some say, at his own request, that his remains might not be recognised by the English; but not long after his body, buried at the foot of a tree, was discovered by a hunter, taken to Kilmallock, and there suspended from a gallows.†

The death of FitzMaurice was a fatal blow to the cause of the insurgents, and a source of great joy to government. Sir William Drury came with Malby, about the beginning of September, to Kilmallock, where the earl of Desmond met him and endeavoured to exculpate himself from any implication in the proceedings of his brothers. He was, nevertheless, kept under arrest for three days; but on undertaking to send his only son, James, then a child, as a hostage, he was liberated. He also received a promise that his lands and tenants should be respected; but this engagement was violated as soon as made, for some of his lands were immediately after plundered by Drury's soldiers; and at the same time all his men deserted to his brother, John, who, on the death of FitzMaurice, succeeded to the command of the insurgents, and collected a respectable force, into which the Spanish officers introduced a regular military discipline. Drury summoned all the nobility of Munster, on their allegiance, to rally under the royal standard, and thus gathered a considerable army, composed to a great extent of Irish and Catholics, who, partly through fear and partly through the indecision or jealousy of their lords, found themselves thus serving against the very cause to which all their national and religious sentiments would have naturally attracted them. This army the lord justice sent in large divisions to search the wood of Kilmore and the surrounding country for John of Desmond. One of the parties, numbering several hundred men, fell in with the Irish army, under John and James of Desmond, at a place

* "Ad vadum semitæ" or Beal-atha-an-Bhorin, says O'Sullivan. The place is believed to be the present Barrington's-bridge, six miles east from Limerick.

† This conflict took place on the 18th of August. It is said that Dr. Allen was present and administered the last rites of religion to FitzMaurice. Ware says that Sir William Burke father of Theobald and Ulick, was created baron of Castleconnell, and was awared an annual pension of 100 marks; and Camden tells us that he died of joy at the royal favors showered on him in reward for the loyalty of his family

called Gort-na-Tiobrad—in English, Springfield—in the south of the county of Limerick, and, in a desperate encounter, was cut to pieces; captains Herbert and Price, the officers in command, and a captain Eustace, being among the slain. This success cheered the spirits of the Irish; and immediately after Sir William Drury, while encamped at Athneasy (Beal-atha-na-Deise), a ford about four miles east of Kilmallock, sickened from incessant fatigue, and entrusting the command of the army to Sir Nicholas Malby, got himself carried by easy stages to Waterford, where he died on the 30th of September.

A reinforcement of 600 troops had just then reached Waterford from Devonshire; a fleet had arrived on the coast under the command of Sir John Perrott, the former president of Munster; and on the news of Drury's death being received in Dublin, Sir William Pelham, who had recently come to Ireland, was chosen lord justice by the council. Sir Nicholas Malby was not idle in the south. Having left a garrison of 300 foot and 50 horse at Kilmallock, he marched with the bulk of his army to Limerick, and then returning towards the south, on learning the position of Sir John of Desmond, he encountered that chief on the plain near the magnificent ancient abbey of Monasteranena,* about two miles from Croom and nine south by west from Limerick. It is said that John hesitated to give battle, but yielded to the opinion of Dr. Allen, and that he then left the disposition of the army to the foreign officers, who had disciplined the irregular masses of Irish so well as to excite the surprise of the English. For a long time victory seemed to be with the Geraldines. Malby's lines were twice broken, and compelled to retreat in order to reform; but ultimately the Irish were routed with the loss of Thomas FitzGerald, son of the earl's uncle, John Oge, and of many of the warlike Clann-Sheehy, and other followers of the Geraldines, to the number in all of 260 men killed.†

This battle was fought about the beginning of October. The earl of Desmond and FitzMaurice, lord of Lixnaw, watched its progress from the top of Tory Hill, little more than a mile distant, and late in the evening sent to congratulate Malby on his victory. At least so the English chroniclers tell us, adding that the message was treated with the contempt which it

* Locally it is called Manister, the ancient addition to the name being almost quite disused.

† O'Sullivan Beare and O'Daly represent this battle as gained by John of Desmond, but the Four Masters agree with Camden, who is followed by Ware and the other English historians, in giving the victory to Malby. The English say that Dr. Allen was among the slain, but none of the Irish authorities mention this fact. O'Sullivan tells us that Ulick and John Burke, sons of the earl of Clanrickard, and Peter and John Lacy, were among the Irish auxiliaries of Malby at Monaster. O'Daly also mentions the Burkes, but the Four Masters do not, although they tell us, under the date of 1580, that "the sons of the earl were both at peace with the English."

deserved; and, as soon as his army was ready to march, the implacable English commander proceeded to lay waste Desmond's territory in the neighbourhood. He burned the abbey of Askeaton, wasted Rathkeale and the surrounding district, and despoiled Adare in the same manner. He was then joined by the lord justice Pelham, and by the earls of Ormond and Kildare; and the earl of Desmond having, after such provocation and with such good reason to fear personal restraint or violence, refused to come to their camp, they resolved to place garrisons in several of his castles. On the 30th October the earl of Ormond was sent to summon Desmond to give up the papal nuncio, Dr. Saunders, and to surrender his castles of Carrigafoyle and Askeaton to the lord justice. The reply of Desmond consisted of fresh representations of his own wrongs; and on the 2nd of November Pelham issued a proclamation, declaring him a traitor unless he came in and submitted within twenty days; and, without waiting for any of that interval to elapse, marched the very next day with a hostile army into the earl's palatinate of Kerry; constituted his hereditary foe, the earl of Ormond, governor of Munster, and returned to Limerick on his way to Dublin.*

Thus was the vacillating Desmond at length determined as to the course he should pursue. He took the field with his brothers, invaded the territories of the Roches and Barrys in Cork,† and seized the town of Youghal, which he plundered and committed to the flames, so that not

* In a letter, dated from his castle of Askeaton, October 19th, 1579, in which he attempts to vindicate himself with the government, the earl of Desmond thus describes the outrageous proceedings of Malby against him: "The 4th of this present month, Sir Nicholas Maltbie being in campe at the abbeye of Nenaghe (Monaster), sent certeyn of his menne to enter into Rathmore, a manor of myne, and there murdered the keepers, spoileth the towne and castel, and tooke awaie from thence certayn of my evidences and other writings. On the 6th of the same he not only spoyled Rath-Keally (Rathkeale), a town of myne, but also tyranously burned both houses and corne. Upon the 7th of the same month the said Sir Nicholas encamped within the abbey of Asketyn, and there most maliciously defaced the ould monuments of my ancestors, fired both the abbie, the whole towne, and the corne thereabouts, and ceased not to shoote at my menne within Asketyn castel." By such acts as these the officials sought to urge the unfortunate earl into an open participation in the rebellion, that there might be no obstacle to his attainder and the confiscation of his vast estates. Foreseeing that such a result would be inevitable, Desmond executed a deed of feoffment before this time, conveying his lands to trustees for his heirs; but this deed was unavailable, as it was pronounced to have been executed seven weeks after his treasonable combination, the said combination dating from the 18th of July, 1578, when the earl signed a document along with his brothers, the lord of Lixnaw, and many other leading men of Munster, pledging themselves to resist the violence of the lord deputy. Indeed, this latter document is rather an advice to the earl not to yield to the unreasonable requirements of the lord deputy, and a pledge on the part of the subscribers to "aid, help, and assist the said Erle to mayntain and defend this their advice against the said lord deputy or any other that shall covet the said Erle's inheritance;" and there seems to be no reason why his own name should be affixed to it, except that he might be committed to the consequences. Lords Gormanstown and Delvin refused to countersign Pelham's proclamation declaring Desmond a traitor.

† Hy Macaille, or Imokilly, and Hy Liathain, in which latter Castle Lyons is situated.

a single habitable house was left in it. This occurred at Christmas; and at the same time the earl of Ormond was invading Desmond's territory of Hy Connello, where he advanced as far as Newcastle, burning the towns and villages, slaughtering the inhabitants, and reducing the country to a desert. Ormond next marched to Cork, and then returned towards Cashel, treating every district through which he passed, if occupied by Irish or Catholics, in the same inhuman manner, "burning every house and every stack of corn." He discovered the mayor of Youghal, who was accused of having betrayed his trust to the earl of Desmond, and taking him to the ruined town, he caused him to be hanged at the door of his own house. No human being was found in that unhappy town except a poor friar, who had conveyed the body of Henry Davells from Tralee to Waterford to procure for it decent interment.

A.D. 1580.—In the meantime John of Desmond had been able to harass the English garrisons of several small towns; and the Irish annalists, describing the desolation produced by so much mutual destruction, say that "the country was left one levelled plain, without corn or edifices." James, Desmond's youngest brother, made an incursion about the beginning of the year into the lands of Sir Cormac MacTeige MacCarthy, of Muskerry, the sheriff of Cork,* and, while carrying off a prey of cattle, was pursued and captured by Sir Cormac's brother, Donnell, who took him to Cork, where he was hanged and quartered by Sir Warham St. Leger, marshal of Munster, and captain, afterwards the famous Sir Walter, Raleigh, who had recently entered the queen's service in Ireland. His head was spiked over one of the city gates; and about the same time another James FitzGerald, son of the earl's uncle, John Oge, was slain by Brian Duv O'Brien, lord of Pobble Brien and Carrigogunnell.

Sir William Pelham and the earl of Ormond set out early this year on a fresh campaign in Desmond's country; the former marching first to Limerick in the beginning of February, and the latter to Cork, and both subsequently forming a junction at the foot of Slieve Mis, near Tralee. They spared neither age nor sex in their march, and, owing to the state of desolation to which the country had been reduced, suffered not a little inconvenience themselves from want of provisions. They then marched northward, to destroy the castles still garrisoned by Desmond's men, and first laid siege to the strong castle of Carrigafoyle (Carrig-an-phuill), situated on an islet in the Shannon, on the coast of Kerry. The

* This Sir Cormac MacCarthy was so distinguished for his loyalty that Sir Henry Sidney pronounced him to be "the rarest man that ever was born of the Irishrie."

Four Masters say that Pelham landed some heavy ordnance from Sir William Winter's fleet, which arrived on the Irish coast about this time, and battered down a portion of the castle, crushing some of the warders beneath the ruins: but other annalists make no mention of cannon landed from the ships. The castle was bravely defended by 50 Irishmen and 19 Spaniards, under the command of count Julio, an Italian officer, who, when summoned to surrender, said he held his trust in the name of the king of Spain. A large breach having been made, the castle was taken by storm; 50 of the garrison were put to the sword, and 6 hanged in the camp; and Julio being kept for two or three days was then hanged. The remainder of the number had been already slain. The fate of Carrigafoyle filled the other garrisons with consternation. The warders of Ballinloughane (Baile-ui-Gheileachain) destroyed their castle before deserting it, and those of Askeaton attempted to do the same by a train of gunpowder, when abandoning that castle at night, but did not succeed in injuring the principal parts of the edifice, which was taken possession of next morning by the lord justice. This was the last castle held for the earl of Desmond. Pelham proceeded to Limerick, where he remained forty days, and again returned to Askeaton, making another long stay there, during which "he never ceased by day or night from persecuting and extirpating the Geraldines." He put to death, among others, an aged gentleman named Wall, of Dunmoylan, who was blind from his birth, and Supple, of Kilmacow, who was over a hundred years old; and on the 12th of June he and Ormond set out with the whole army to explore the dreaded strongholds of Kerry, and to take precautions against another expected landing of the Spaniards at Dingle. Ormond's route was through Cork to Kerry, while Pelham marched through the mountain district of Slievelogher, and by Castleisland to Castlemaine (Castle-Magne), near which he found Ormond encamped. While traversing Slievelogher, he seized a prey of 1,500 cows belonging to the earl of Desmond, who had a narrow escape of falling, together with his countess and Dr. Saunders, into the hands of the lord deputy, having passed that way only about an hour before. Some of the vestments and sacred vessels belonging to the legate were taken by the soldiers; but, excepting the fresh spoliation to which it gave occasion, this exploration would not appear to have led to any important result.*

* The earl of Desmond was now reduced so low, that about this time his countess sought the lord justice, and on her knees implored mercy for her husband; but her prayers would not be listened to; and we are told that the unhappy earl proposed to surrender himself to admiral Winter, on the sole condition of being carried as a prisoner to England, but that this desperate expedient

At this time the O'Byrnes and James Eustace, viscount Baltinglass, were in arms in Wicklow, but, like the insurgents of the south, they were isolated. Sir William Pelham was recalled, and succeeded by Arthur, lord Gray, of Wilton, who arrived at Howth on the 12th of August, and was so eager to enter on the duties of his office, that he did not wait for the return of his predecessor to Dublin, in order to be installed in the usual way, but hastily set out with an army against the Wicklow insurgents, who were encamped in the strong passes of Glenmalure and Sheveroe. Those who had some experience in Irish warfare cautioned the new lord deputy against the rashness of his proceeding; but, with the self-confidence so usual with his countrymen on coming to Ireland, he haughtily rejected their advice, and, on the 25th of August, entered the famous defile of Glenmalure. The deputy himself, with the earl of Kildare, James Wingfield, and George (afterwards Sir George) Carew, occupied an eminence at the entrance to the valley with their reserve, while the remainder of the army advanced into the defile. A deep and mysterious silence prevailed as they made their way over the boggy ground which separated the woods covering the lofty hills on either side; but they had scarcely penetrated half-a-mile when a smart fire was opened on them from the underwood. They were immediately thrown into disorder, and the Irish, rushing from their cover, soon completed with spear and sword what had been so well begun with their fire-arms; so that few of those who had advanced into the fatal valley lived to return to the lord deputy, who, covered with confusion, and vowing vengeance against the Irish race, made a hasty retreat to Dublin, where he received the sword of state from Pelham on the 7th of September.*

The long expected aid from the Continent was at this moment approaching the Irish coast, and, Sir William Winter having returned to England from his cruise, no impediment was offered to the descent,

was also unsuccessful. The admiral appears to have been a merciful man, and Hooker grumbles that he had given protection to some Irish who had presented themselves to him—a savage sentiment, which the historian Leland properly rebukes.

* Among those slain on this occasion in Glenmalure were colonel John Moor, Francis Cosby, commander of the kerne of Leix, another experienced officer named Audley, and Sir Peter Carew, elder brother of the George Carew mentioned above, and both the sons of Sir Peter, who claimed the inheritance of Idrone and of the so-called kingdom of Cork. Hooker describes the famous valley of Glenmalure as "lying in the middle of the wood, of a great length, between two hills, and no other way is there to pass through. Under foot it is boggy and soft, and full of great stones and slippery rocks, very hard and evil to pass through; the sides are full of great and mighty trees upon the sides of the hills, and full of brushments and underwoods." Among the Irish who flocked to the standard of viscount Baltinglass in this rising, the Four Masters enumerate "the Kavanaghs, Kinsellaghs, Byrnes, Tooles, Gaval-Ranuell (the branch of the O'Byrnes who possessed the district in Wicklow called Ranelagh), and the surviving part of the inhabitants of Offaly and Leix."

which accordingly took place on the beech of Smerwick harbour, where about 700 Spaniards and Italians landed, early this month, from four Spanish vessels, of which the largest was of 400 tons burden, the others being small craft of 60 and 80 tons. The expedition was under the command of Sebastian de San Josef, a Spaniard, the other principal officers being Hercules Pisano, and the duke of Biscay; and in the cotemporary documents it is called the pope's army.* A supply of arms for 5,000 men was brought, together with a large sum of money and a promise of future succour, and the Fort del Ore was once more occupied and its works repaired and strengthened.† The Four Masters say the name of the invaders "was greater than their importance, for their fame was at first so great that had they come to Limerick, Galway, or Cork, these great towns would have been left wide open to them."

The earl of Desmond hastened to meet his foreign auxiliaries, but his brother John was then with viscount Baltinglass in Leinster, although the English chroniclers represent him as having joined the Spaniards.‡ The earl led his allies upon some excursions in the neighbourhood, in one of which they exchanged a few shots with the army of Ormond, who had come, with all the troops he could collect, to reconnoiter the invaders. Desmond appears to have then left them to go and raise the country; and Ormond, finding that he could do nothing until he received assistance, marched to Rathkeale to await the lord deputy. Thus was the time wasted till the close of October.

* The bull of Gregory XIII., sent with this expedition, was dated from St. Peter's, May 13th, 1580, and was the second issued by that pontiff in favour of the persecuted Irish Catholics. His Holiness mentions with regret the death of James FitzMaurice, and refers to John of Desmond as his successor in the leadership; and, in case of John's demise, appoints his youngest brother, James, general-in-chief; but no mention of the earl of Desmond is made in the document. (See the bull in O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, and a translation in Meehan's *Geraldines*).

† It is strange how the fatal rock of Dun-an-Oir should have been selected by the Spaniards in both expeditions. It could scarcely have afforded standing room for those who came on the second occasion, its diameter not being more than about two chains. (*Four Masters*, vol. v. p. 1739. *n.*) It rises about fifty feet from the sea, with perpendicular sides, but is commanded by a neighbouring hill, and was pronounced by English officers quite untenable. O'Sullivan, who gives a very confused account of these proceedings, confounds the expeditions of 1579 and 1580.

‡ The Four Masters give an interesting account, at this date, of the adventures of John of Desmond, from his setting out in July from the woods of Aharlagh (Aherlow) until he reached Eustace in Wicklow; how he took numerous spoils; how he was joined by "the sons of Mac Gilla-Patrick, the son of O'Carroll, and a great number of evil-doers and plunderers;" and how he lived on Slieve Bloom in a manner "worthy of a true plunderer." "for he slept but upon couches of stone or earth, he drank but of the pure cold streams, (and that) from the palms of his hands or from his shoes; and his only cooking utensils were the long twigs of the forest for dressing the flesh-meats carried away from his enemies." He set out with Eustace and others to join the Spaniards about Michaelmas, but only arrived in Kerry to find that they had been all cut off by lord Gray. It is possible that the passage of John and his confederates was intercepted by the earl of Ormond; and Leland (B. iv. c. 2.) makes his approach an excuse for the massacre of Fort del Ore.

Burning to retrieve his disgrace at Glenmalure, lord Gray made all the haste he could to collect his forces and march to the south. On the 31st of October he encamped about eight or ten miles from the fort at Smerwick harbour, accompanied by the earl of Ormond, captains Zouch, Raleigh, Denny, Macworth, and other experienced officers; vice-admiral Sir Richard Bingham had reached Dingle before him; and on the 5th of November admiral Winter arrived with his fleet from Kinsale. Heavy guns were landed from the ships to attack the fort; on the evening of the 7th the trenches were opened, and the works were carried on so actively that on the third day the besiegers had advanced within a hundred and twenty paces of the curtain. The accounts of the sequel are contradictory in some of the particulars. Sir Richard Bingham, in his report of the transaction, says the garrison demanded a parley on the evening of the third day, and were then prepared to surrender at discretion, but that it being night they were allowed until next morning, the besiegers in the mean time continuing their trenches to within sixty paces of the fort. On the morning of the 10th, officers were sent into the fort to take an inventory of the ammunition and provisions for the queen's use, and the foreign commander and his captains were ordered to come forth and deliver up their ensigns. According to Bingham's account captain Denny's company then entered the fort on one side, and some sailors on another—Hooker says it was captains Raleigh and Macworth who commanded the bands of executioners—and they fell to, slaughtering the unarmed foreigners in cold blood, "in which they never ceased while there lived one," the number thus inhumanly butchered being, "as some judged, between 500 and 600." Sir Richard Bingham's object is to insinuate that the atrocious massacre was perpetrated without orders; but this shameless misrepresentation is contradicted, not only by the Irish accounts, but by the despatch of lord Gray himself, addressed to the queen, "from the camp before Smerwick, November 12th, 1580." Gray asserts that in the parley which took place, he told the Spanish commander that "no condition or composition were they to expect, other than they should simplie render me the forte, and yield themselves to my will for lyf or deth." He then proceeds:—"Morning came, I presented my forces in bataille before the forte. The coronel, with ten or twelve of his chief gentlemen, came trayling their ensigns rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the forte. . . . I sent streighte certeyne gentlemen to see their weapons and armoires laid down, and to guard the munition and victual then left from spoyle; *then put I in certeyne bandes who*

streighte fell to execution. There were 600 slayn!" This is the lord deputy's own account. There is no attempt made to excuse the horrible murder, or transfer it to other shoulders; but a most important circumstance is falsified in this official statement, for we are assured by all the Irish authorities that the lives and liberties of the foreign soldiers were guaranteed by the deputy, nor is there any reason why they should have otherwise surrendered without striking a blow, while they had an abundant supply of ammunition and provisions. O'Sullivan tells us that "Gray's faith"—"Graia fides"—became proverbial through the Continent, where this inhuman massacre was reprobated as an outrage against humanity and the rights of nations.*

A.D. 1581.—The war in Munster had assumed a savage character, of which it is almost impossible to convey any adequate idea. The brutal barbarities of lord Gray and his captains had driven many of the most loyal of the Irish and old English to espouse the now desperate cause of the insurgents. Each official endeavoured "to do some exploit," as it was phrased; and Raleigh, who received the command in Cork, was one of those who evinced the most fiendish activity in tracking and hunting down the miserable Catholics. He repaired to Dublin for enlarged powers to proceed against the old English families of the Barrys and Roches,

* The life of the Spanish commander was spared, but on his return home he was disgraced, and is universally charged with cowardice or treason in surrendering the fort. Muratori (*Annali*) says it was surrendered "shamefully." It was at all events capable of a better defence. Two days after the massacre an Englishman who had served Dr. Saunders, a Mr. Plunket, who had acted as interpreter, and an Irish priest taken in the fort, were executed. Bingham, in a letter to Walsingham, says, "their arms and legs were first broken, and they were then hanged on a gibbet on the walls of the fort." Gray, in the despatch in which he coolly avows the commission of so atrocious a crime, dwells with great unction on the "divine confession of his faith made by "good John Cheeke," who was wounded by a ball from the fort; "so wrought in him God's spirit, plainlie declairing him a child of His elected;" and he assures her majesty, that in his own parley with the Spaniards he took care to call the pope "a detestable shaveling, the right Antichrist, and general ambitious tyrant over all right principalities"—thus showing by his words how much his mind must have been biassed by sectarian animosity. It is generally admitted that the number slaughtered in cold blood was seven hundred, and that the execution of the butchery was entrusted to the afterwards famous (Sir) Walter Raleigh, who fleshed his maiden sword on the occasion. The Denny mentioned in the text was "Ned Dennye," who was sent by lord Gray as a bearer of dispatches to the queen. He afterwards married the "queen's own favorite maid of honor," and "obtained plentiful estate in Ireland." No attention whatever is due to the statement that the foreign officers, being unable to produce any written commission from the pope or the king of Spain, were on that account not treated by lord Gray according to the laws of nations. This excuse was subsequently put forward by the poet Spencer, who was lord Gray's secretary, and who tells us that he himself was "not far off." It was a notorious fact that the expedition was sent by the king of Spain, as Camden says, to divert the attention of Elizabeth from the affairs of Belgium; and Cox further assures us that the massacre "very much displeased the queen." See the valuable notes of O'Donovan in the *Four Masters*, O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, Meehan's *Geraldines*, Spencer's *View of Ireland*, Hooker, Ware, Cox, Leland, &c. A valuable collection of extracts from state papers relative to the affairs of the Fort del Ore appeared in Nos. viii., xiii., xiv. xv., and xvi. of the *Kerry Magazine* for 1854 and 1855.

against whom some charges of treason had been trumped up. Lord Barry indignantly set fire to his castle rather than allow it to be overrun by the soldiery, and repaired to the woods, where he joined John of Desmond; but lord Roche, who, along with his lady, was seized and carried prisoner to Cork, established his innocence and escaped. Some soldiers from Adare going on a marauding excursion into the barony of Kenry were cut off by David Purcell, the representative of an ancient Anglo-Irish family, who had hitherto been an exemplary loyalist. Captain Achin, the officer in command of the station at Adare, obtained some troops from Kilmallock, and entering Kenry to wreck his vengeance on the people, came to Purcell's castle of Ballycalhane near Kildimo, where, finding that David with his men had fled to the woods, he massacred one hundred and fifty women and children who had sought refuge in the castle.* Foremost among the captains who distinguished themselves at this time were Zouch and Dowdall, but the former soon became so prominent for his services that he was appointed governor or president of Munster.

In Connaught, William Burke, one of the sons of the earl of Clanricard, having surrendered on a promise of protection, as our annalists say, was hanged in Galway on the 29th of May, and all his followers who had rashly relied on the same promise were treated in a like manner; and about the same time Turlough O'Brien, who had been a year in prison, was hanged in Clare. Nor did Dublin escape the rage for executions. It was said that some conspiracy was on foot, and that a plot was formed to capture the castle, massacre the English, and overturn the government. We are told that forty-five persons were brought to the scaffold for this imaginary treason, Nugent, who had been chief justice of the Common Pleas, being one of the number. The earl of Kildare, his son, and the lord of Delvin, were arrested and sent for trial to England, where the groundlessness of the charge against them was

* The fate of David Purcell is related by the Four Masters. He descended the Shannon some time after this with a few followers, and sought to conceal himself for a night on Scattery island. Here, however, he was immediately pursued by Turlough MacMahon of Clonderalaw in Clare, who took Purcell and his men to his castle of Colmanstown, where the latter were hanged on the nearest trees, Purcell himself being taken to Limerick and executed there. Yet this Purcell "had assisted the crown from the very commencement of the Geraldine war." (*Four Masters* vol. v., p. 1759). Archbishop Lombard (*De Regno Hib. Comment.*, p. 535) relates some horrible cruelties similar to that mentioned above, as perpetrated by the government officials in Munster even after Desmond's death and the suppression of his rebellion; such as the forcing of people into castles and houses, which were then set on fire; "and if any of them attempted to escape from the flames they were shot or stabbed by the soldiers who guarded them. It was a diversion," he continues, "to these monsters of men to take up infants on the points of their spears and whirl them about in their agony," &c. See Dr. Curry's *Civil Wars*, p. 27.

proved; and then it became obvious that the execution of Nugent and the others had been premature. This over-hasty "vindication of justice" excited some displeasure in England, where the affair of Smerwick Harbour made an impression not at all favorable to lord Gray's humanity; but the custom of hanging men in hot haste prevailed to a fearful extent in Ireland then, and for centuries after.

The hopeless struggle of the Geraldines was still protracted. John of Desmond made a successful foray beyond the Suir in May, slaying several of his pursuers and carrying off the spoils to the fastnesses of Claenglass, in the south of the county of Limerick, and to the neighbouring woods of Kilmore. In June he took spoils from MacCarthy More, and again, about Christmas, Kilfeakle in Tipperary was plundered by him, or as some accounts have it, by the earl of Desmond. A large number of faithful followers still surrounded the unhappy earl, but while encamped at Aghadoe, near Killarney, he was attacked unawares on a Sunday morning by Captain Zouch, and many of his men were slain. About the end of September he penetrated as far as Cashel, and carried off a large spoil of cattle and other property to the woods of Aherlow, after slaying, say our annalists, four hundred of his pursuers. Some time in the winter of this year Dr. Saunders, the Pope's legate, died in cold and wretchedness in a miserable hovel in the woods of Claenglass. This illustrious and heroic ecclesiastic, for whom the government would have given a large reward, was worn out by fatigue and privation, and died the death of a confessor, attended in his last moments by Cornelius, bishop of Killaloe, who administered to him the last sacraments.*

A.D. 1582.—The fidelity of the peasantry to the Geraldines was one of the most interesting features of this heart-sickening war. Great rewards were offered for the heads of the leaders; but the humblest of their followers were still faithful to the last. An Irishman was, nevertheless,

* Dr. Nicholas Saunders, or Sanderus, was a native of Charlewood in England, and had been professor of canon law at Oxford; but flying from England on the accession of Elizabeth, he repaired to Rome, where he received priest's orders and the degree of doctor of divinity. He taught theology at Louvain, and was sent by the Pope as nuncio to Spain, where he wrote his famous "History of the Rise and Progress of the English Reformation;" but before that work was published he proceeded, by the orders of Gregory XIII., to Ireland. Cox calls him "a malicious, cunning, and indefatigable rebel;" but Mageoghan more truly describes him as "a man of exemplary life, and most zealous in the Catholic cause." He died of dysentery, and English writers, who abhorred him, say that his body when found was half devoured by wolves, while O'Sullevan tells us that he was carried to the grave by four Irish knights, of whom one was his (O'Sullevan's) own father, Dermot; and that his venerated remains were privately interred at night by priests. (*Hist. Cath.* p. 121). His companion in suffering, the bishop of Killaloe, escaped to Spain, and died in Lisbon, A.D. 1617.

found elsewhere to act as a spy on the footsteps of John of Desmond, and information obtained by this man from an unsuspecting messenger enabled Zouch to intercept John near Castle Lyons (Castle Hy-Liathain), while on his way to meet lord Barry, between whom and Fitzgerald of Imokilly there had arisen a misunderstanding, which John wished to arrange. The latter was accompanied only by his kinsman, James Fitz-Gerald of Strancally, and four or five horsemen; and when he unexpectedly came face to face with Zouch and his troops, whom, in a dark and misty day, he had first supposed to be Barry's men, he saw immediately that escape was impossible. He desired his companions to fly, as their enemies only sought for him; but the lord of Strancally refused to abandon his leader. They made a fruitless attempt to gain a wood, and were surrounded by the soldiers, one of whom, named Thomas Fleming, said to have been once in the service of John of Desmond, plunged a spear into that chief's throat, ere Zouch, who wished to capture him alive, could ward off the blow. The noble Geraldine expired before his enemies had carried him a mile, and his body was then thrown across his own steed and conveyed thus to Cork; when his head being cut off was sent to Dublin, to be spiked in front of the castle; while his mutilated trunk was hung in chains at one of the gates of Cork, "where it remained," says O'Daly, "nearly three years, 'till on a tempestuous night it was blown into the sea." His kinsman, James, was hanged soon after, together with his two sons; but lord Barry made his peace with the government.*

With the gallant John of Desmond departed the last hope of the Geraldines; but the unhappy earl himself was still in arms. The three sons of FitzMaurice of Lixnaw escaped from captivity in Limerick, and flew to their paternal woods. They attacked the garrison of Ardfert, and slew its captain, Hatsim.† The lord of Lixnaw, who had hitherto committed no overt act of treason, now joined his infatuated sons, destroyed his principal castles, that they might not fall into the hands of the English, and retired to the woods at the head of a large body of followers; and Zouch, on coming to Ardfert, and finding that the FitzMaurices were beyond his reach, avenged the death of Hatsim by hanging a number of hostages whom he held, although, say the Four Masters, they were mere children. Soon after this FitzMaurice repented of his rashness, and pleading as an excuse that the oppression of the queen's officers

* Four Masters.

† This was no doubt the same person as the "Captain Achin" who slaughtered the women and children in Parcell's castle. (*Supra*, p. 425).

had driven him into rebellion, he obtained his pardon through the mediation of the earl of Ormond.

By this time Munster had been converted into such a solitude that, as our annalists tell us, the lowing of a cow or the voice of the ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dunqueen, in the west of Kerry, to Cashel, in Tipperary. That fair province now presented the hideous spectacle of desolation which Spencer so graphically describes.* It was reported that the earl of Desmond was dead, and the army was thereupon considerably reduced. Complaints, in the mean time, daily reached Elizabeth of the inhuman rigor of Gray. That viceroy was truly described as a man of blood, who had alienated the hearts of all the Irish subjects by his barbarities, and who "left her majesty little to reign over but carcasses and ashes;"† and he was at length recalled in August, and Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Henry Wallop, the treasurer at war, appointed lords justices. A more moderate policy was determined on, and several who had been involved in the insurrection were amnestied; the earl of Desmond, however, being excluded from mercy. Two or three times in the course of this year this unhappy nobleman showed

* After developing his remedy for the ills of Ireland, namely, the employment of large masses of troops "to tread down all that standeth before them on foot, and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of that land," and advising that war should be carried on against them not in summer only but in winter, "for then the trees are bare and naked, which use both to clothe and house the kerne; the ground is cold and wet, which useth to be his bedding; the air is sharp and bitter, to blow through his naked sides and legs; the kine are barren and without milk, which useth to be his food, besides being all with calf (for the most part) they will, through much chasing and driving, cast all their calves and lose their milk, which should relieve him in the next summer." (*State of Ireland*, p. 158, &c.); Spencer proceeds to say that "the end will be very short," and in proof he describes what he himself had witnessed in "the late wars of Munster;" "for notwithstanding that the same was a most rich and plentiful countrey, full of corne and cattle . . . . . yet ere one yeare and a halfe, they (the Irish) were brought to such wretchednesse, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves: they did eate the dead carrions, happy where they could finde them, yea and one another soone after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithal: that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentifull country suddainely left voyde of man and beast." (*State of Ireland*, p. 166). Similar pictures of the frightful state to which the south of Ireland was reduced at this period may be seen in *Hollinshed*, vi., 459; *Fynes Morrison*, p. 272 (folio); and *Cox*, p. 449. But the poet Spencer, who could suggest no better means for the subjugation of a race with such kind hearts and gentle natures as the Irish, still saw that the scene of all this horrible waste and devastation was beautiful—too beautiful, alas! for those whose extermination was a necessary step to its enjoyment by others. "And sure it is yet a most beautifull and sweete country as any is under heaven," he says, "being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish most abundantly; sprinkled with many very sweete islands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas: adorned with goodly woods; also full of very good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them; besides the soyle itselfe is most fertile, and lastly, the heavens most milde and temperate." (*State of Ireland*, p. 28).

† Cox, *Hib. Angl.* Lodge, vol. ii., p. 257 (8vo. ed.).

himself at the head of several hundred men. He despoiled the territory of the earl of Ormond, during the absence of the latter in England; defeated some English troops in a desperate conflict at Gort-na-pisi, or Peafield, in Tipperary; and almost annihilated a large irregular force led against him by the brothers and sons of the earl of Ormond, at Knockgraffon, in the same county. He carried off spoils from MacCarthy and other hostile parties; but these few predatory successes only helped to prolong the miserable struggle. By degrees his followers dwindled away, and with the few faithful adherents who remained he was hunted like a beast of the forest from one wood or mountain cavern to another. The glen of Aherlow, which the cotemporary English writers sometimes call Harlow, was one of his favorite retreats; at other times he frequented woods in the south-west of the county of Limerick; and often he sought shelter among the woods and mountains of his own palatinate of Kerry.*

A.D. 1583.—In the summer and autumn of this year, say the Four Masters, the earl of Desmond was attended by only four persons, who accompanied him "from one cavern of a rock, or hollow of a tree, to another." They were so hunted from place to place that "where they did dress their meat," says Hooker, "thence they would remove to eat it in another place, and from thence go into another place to lie. In the nights they would watch; in the forenoon they would be upon the hills and mountains to descry the country; and in the afternoon they would sleep." Their enemies were well apprised of these movements; and, on one occasion, in the autumn of this year, when so many as three score gallowglasses mustered round the earl in Aherlow, Captain Dowdall, with a troop of soldiers, surprised them while they were cooking a horse to eat. It was their hour of rest—the afternoon—and five-and-twenty of the gallowglasses were taken in their cabins and put to the sword,

* The unhappy earl, we are told, passed the Christmas of this year in great distress in the wood of Kilquane, near Kilmallock, and on the 4th of January a plan was laid by one John Welsh to gain the large reward offered for his capture. Hooker relates the circumstances. Captains Dowdall and Bangor, and George Thorington, provost marshal of Munster, led a chosen band of soldiers from the garrison of Kilmallock, and everything was so well arranged that they arrived by break of day at the earl's cabin, which was close by a river, then swollen from the rains. Desmond's watchful ear caught an approaching sound of footsteps or breaking twigs, and he and the countess rushed from their wretched couch into the river, in which they remained concealed under a bank, with only their heads over the water, until Welsh and his disappointed party had left. The unhappy Desmond more than once humbled himself to sue for pardon; and his countess, Eleanor, who was a Butler, being the daughter of Lord Dunboyne, and who, although she disapproved from the beginning of his resistance to government, still shared all his privations and sufferings, frequently supplicated for mercy for him in vain. His unconditional surrender would alone be accepted, but we are assured by O'Daly that he was offered pardon if he gave up Dr. Saunders, a stipulation which he spurned.

many others having been slain in attempting to defend themselves. The earl escaped and fled to Kerry, whither we must follow him, to relate the last act in this harrowing tragedy.

On the 9th of November the earl of Desmond left his retreat in the woods near Castleisland, and went westwards towards the bay of Tralee. He sent two horsemen with eighteen kernes to carry off a prey from the Moriartys, who would appear to have been hostile to him; he himself and John MacEligot, with two or three footmen, staying for them at a place then called Doiremore. The predatory party proceeded to Cahirnifahy, lying by the sea side, west of Castle Gregory, in the peninsula of Corkaguiney, and there took a prey consisting of forty cows, nine horses, and some other goods, from Maurice MacOwen and another, announcing at the same time that the earl of Desmond was hard by, and that it was for him the cattle were required. MacOwen despatched messengers to Lieutenant Stanley, at Dingle, and to his brothers-in-law, Owen and Donnell, sons of Donnell O'Moriarty; and the two latter followed in the track of the prey with a band of eighteen kernes, of whom two were armed with muskets. At Castlemaine they applied for aid to the warder, Cheston, on the recommendation of Lieutenant Stanley, and obtained a reinforcement of five soldiers. On arriving at Tralee they traced the prey in the direction of Slieve Logher or Luachra, and, about five miles east of Tralee, entering, late in the evening, the vale of Glanageenty (Gleann-an-Ghinntigh), in that mountain district, they ascended an eminence, and observed a fire in the glen beneath them. Donnell O'Moriarty explored the place under cover of the darkness, and reported that the party they were in search of were there, but had not the prey with them, and he suggested that they should wait until morning to make the attack. At the dawn of day Owen and Donnell O'Moriarty, with Daniel O'Kelly, one of the soldiers, who had served some time in England, took the lead of the band, the kerne following next, and the soldiers bringing up the rear. They rushed with a loud shout to the cabin where the earl's party had lain, but the latter had fled on the first sound of the enemy's approach, with the exception of a venerable looking man, a woman, and a boy. O'Kelly, who entered first, aimed a blow with his sword at the old man and almost severed his arm. The old man then exclaimed, "I am the earl of Desmond, spare my life." Donnell O'Moriarty took him on his back, and carried him a short distance, but, according to their own account, they feared the earl's party might return and rescue him, and O'Kelly cut off his head at Owen O'Moriarty's desire.*

* The circumstances above related are taken almost verbally from the depositions of Owen MacDon-

Thus, on the morning of the 11th of November, 1583, perished Gerald, the great earl of Desmond—"ingens rebellibus exemplar," as some English writers call him. Most assuredly this unfortunate nobleman was driven into rebellion in order, once for all, to crush the power of his family, and for the baser purpose of seizing and partitioning his vast domains. He wanted the most essential qualities of a popular leader; and when the time required decision and action he was vacillating, and therefore powerless. His jealousy and pride would not suffer him to be guided by his cousin, James FitzMaurice, or by his brother, John, both of whom possessed superior mental and physical energy; and when they took the leadership he could not play a subservient part. Yet he possessed courage and military ability, as he proved in several hard-fought conflicts after the deaths of James and John; his sympathies were always with the Catholic cause; and his heroic endurance of long and cruel sufferings, his unparalleled misfortunes and melancholy end, obliterated his faults, and have caused his memory to be venerated in the traditions of the country. His head was carried to Castlemaine, and thence forwarded to queen Elizabeth, who caused it to be impaled in an iron cage on London bridge; and his body having been concealed for some time by the peasantry was ultimately interred in the little chapel of Kilnamanagh, near Castleisland.

neil O'Moriarty (Muirchertaich), sworn before the earl of Ormond, the bishop of Ossory, and the sovereign of Kilkenny on the 26th of the same month of November. These depositions are to be found in a rare work by Thomas Churchyard, entitled "A Scourge for Rebels," printed in 1584, and have been reprinted in the *Kerry Magazine* for July, 1854. The story of the earl's men having shamefully robbed "a poor widow named Moriarty" is untrue, the woman in question being the wife of the man called Maurice MacOwen, and the sister of Owen and Donnell O'Moriarty. The two horsemen sent with the kerne on this expedition are called in Owen's depositions "Corroghore ne Scoily and Shane Deleo," names which have been identified as "Conor O'Driscol and John Daly." Brother Dominic O'Daly, bishop elect of Coimbra, and author of "Incrementum, &c. Geraldinorum," was a near relative of this Daly, and tells us that "Cornelius O'Daly and a few others were at a short distance from the earl in the valley, watching the cattle that had been seized the day before," and that "John MacWilliam and James MacDavid were the only companions who partook of his miserable hut (and who deserted him) at the time of his death." (Meehan's Translation, p. 108). O'Kelly, who was in such haste to murder the old earl, was rewarded by government with a pension of £30 a-year, but was hanged in London for highway robbery; and Owen O'Moriarty was also hanged some years after, in the insurrection of Hugh O'Neill, by FitzMaurice of Lixnaw, the whole family becoming objects of popular detestation on account of the part he took in the earl's death. Long after Desmond's death it was a popular belief that the place where he was slain was still red with his blood. The spot is still called Bothar-an-Iarla, and an old tree used to be shown under which, it was said, his body was first buried. In addition to the authorities already quoted, see O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.*, Coxe's *Hib. Angl.*, Hooker, &c. We are grieved to add that the Four Masters evince an abject, time-serving spirit, in all their entries about the Geraldine war. Their patron, Farrell O'Gara, was, as Dr. O'Donovan observes in his just animadversions on these passages, an cleve of Trinity College, and they wrote for him and for the loyalists of the reign of Charles I. Hence they constantly stigmatize the struggles of the catholics of the south as treason, and apply disparaging epithets to their leaders.

During the great Geraldine rebellion the rest of Ireland was comparatively tranquil. The earl of Clanrickard—called by the Irish Richard Saxonagh—returned from his long captivity in London to breathe his native air for the last time before he expired in Galway, in August, 1582; and a violent contention then arose between his turbulent sons, Ulick and John-of-the-Shamrocks. The former succeeded as earl, and the latter received for his patrimony the barony of Leitrim, in the south-east of the county of Galway; but the next year Ulick slew his brother, John, at night, and was thus left in the exclusive enjoyment of the territory of Clanrickard. Viscount Baltinglass escaped to Spain, where he died in misery; and Captain Brabazon "pacified" the north of Connaught in 1582 by a series of sanguinary devastations.

A.D. 1584.—Following the ordinary rule that a calm succeeds a storm, an interval of moderation and mercy succeeded the fierce persecution of the war in Munster, and Sir John Perrott was the man selected by Elizabeth to carry out the new policy. He arrived in Ireland on the 21st of June, and was sworn in on the 26th; and with him came Sir Thomas Norreys, or Norris, as president of Munster, and Sir Richard Bingham as governor of Connaught, in the place of Sir Nicholas Malby, who had recently died at Athlone. The new deputy set out on a circuit, commencing at Galway, where he was received with welcome by the leading men of Connaught. He next proceeded to Limerick, and at Quin, on his way through Thomond, Donough Beg O'Brien, who had taken an active part in the late insurrections, was first hanged from a car, then taken down before he was dead, and his bones broken with the back of an axe, and finally his bruised body was hoisted to the top of the church steeple, to feed the birds and "serve as a warning to future evil-doers." The Four Masters add that Perrott was "resolved to destroy and reduce a great number of gentlemen" in Limerick, when he was suddenly called away to repress a movement of Sorley Boy MacDonnell, who had lately obtained an accession of strength from Scotland. This duty, however, was easily performed, and the year passed away without any event of importance.*

A.D. 1585.—Perrott summoned a parliament, which met in Dublin on the 26th of April this year, and was memorable for the great number of Irish lords and heads of septs who attended, either as members or without the right to vote, to give the proceedings the sanction of their presence.†

* On this occasion seven counties were marked out in Ulster, viz.:—Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan; for each of which sheriffs, commissioners of the peace, and coroners, were nominated.

† The Four Masters give a list of the chieftains and heads of septs who attended this parliament.

The first session closed on the 29th of May, and was a very stormy one, owing to violent debates between the court party and the country party, into which the members for the Pale were divided. Acts were passed to attaint James Eustace, viscount Baltinglass; to make estates tail forfeitable for treason; and to restore in blood Laurence Delahide, whose ancestor had been attainted during the rebellion of Silken Thomas. The second session was held on the 28th of April, 1586, when the late earl of Desmond and a hundred and forty of his adherents were attainted. A strong opposition was given to Desmond's attainder, on the ground that he had executed a conveyance of his estates to trustees several years before; but the government officers pretended to show that an act of treason preceded this conveyance; and it was then provided that any such instrument made for the last thirteen years should be entered on record in the Exchequer, within a year, or be void. Thus were lands then estimated at 574,628 acres—but containing, in truth, a great deal more—confiscated to the crown, to be distributed among English undertakers.

The Scots, under a son of Sorley Boy, again excited troubles in Ulster; but the lord deputy on proceeding against them found that they had already been defeated. Their leader was hanged, Sorley Boy was

They appear in the following order, those who had seats, as we find by the official list published in the third appendix to Hardiman's edition of the *Statute of Kilkenny*, being distinguished by an (*), viz.:—Turlough Laineach (the) O'Neill; * Hugh O'Neill, baron of Dungannon, created earl of Tyrone in this parliament; * Hugh O'Donnell, chief of Tirconnell; Cuconnaught Maguire, chief of Fermanagh; John Oge O'Doherty, chief of Inishowen; Turlough O'Boyle, chief of Boylagh, in Donegal; Owen O'Gallagher, O'Donnell's marshal; Ross MacMahon, chief of Oriel: Rory O'Kane, chief of Oireacht-O'Cahane; Con O'Neill, chief of Clannaboy (his nephew * Shane MacBrien O'Neill, was one of the knights for the county Antrim); * Hugh Magennis, chief of Iveagh (one of the knights for the county of Down); Brian O'Rourke; * John Roe O'Reilly (the official list has it Philip) and his uncle, * Edmond O'Reilly (knights for the county of Cavan); * O'Farrell Bane and * O'Farrell Boy (knights for the county of Longford); Hugh, son of O'Conor Don; Tiege Oge O'Conor Roe; Donnell O'Conor Sligo; Brian MacDermot, deputed by MacDermot of Moylurg; Carbry O'Beirn, chief of Tir-Briuin-na-Sinna in Roscommon; Tiege O'Kelly, of Mullaghmore in Galway; Donnell O'Madden; * Ulick, earl of Clanrickard; John and Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Murrough-of-the-battle-axes O'Flaherty; * Donough O'Brien, earl of Thomond; * Sir Turlough O'Brien (knight for the county of Clare) Turlough, son of Tiege O'Brien; John MacNamara; * Boetius MacClancy, the brehon of Thomond (knight for the county of Clare); Rossa O'Loughlin of Burren; * Mac-I-Brien Ara, (Protestant) bishop of Killaloe, and chief of his family; Calvagh O'Carroll; John MacCoghlan; Philip O'Dwyer, of Kilnamanagh in Tipperary; Mac-Brien, of Coonagh in Limerick; Brian Duv O'Brien, lord of Carrigogunnell; Conor O'Mulryan (O'Ryan), chief of the two Owneys; * Donnell MacCarthy More, earl of Clancare; Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh, of Carbery in the county Cork, and his two nephews; Dermot and Donough MacCarthy of Duhallow; Owen O'Sullevan Beare, and Owen O'Sullivan More; Conor O'Mahony, of Ivahagh, in Carbery, county of Cork; Sir Fineen O'Driscol More; * Fineen MacGillapatrick, lord of Upper Ossory; Conla Mageoghegan, of Kineleagh in Westmeath; Connel O'Molloy of the King's county; and Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne, chief of the Gaval-Rannall, in Wicklow. There were none of the other O'Byrnes, Kavanaghs, O'Tooles, O'Conors Faly, O'Mores, O'Dunns, or O'Dempseys. See Dr. O'Donovan's invaluable notes to the *Four Masters*, under the year 1585 (vol. v. pp. 1827 to 1841), in which the existing or last known representative of each of the above heads of septs is identified.

taken by Sir John Perrott to Dublin, and the government of the northern province was entrusted to Turlough Luineach O'Neil, Hugh, baron of Dungannon, and marshal Bagnal. Meanwhile the English of the Pale had begun to show an inveterate opposition to Perrott. His indulgence and courtesy towards the Irish had excited the jealousy and displeasure of the new English. The army was also dissatisfied with his pacific policy. Archbishop Loftus gave every possible opposition to his favorite project of establishing a university in Dublin.* The machinations against him developed an incredible amount of hatred and baseness. It was even pretended that he purposed to throw off the English authority; letters were forged in the name of Turlough Luineach, and others, and sent to the queen to undermine him in her confidence; and when he applied for leave to justify himself in person before the queen and council his request was refused. He was, however, diligent in his duties, and succeeded in inducing the chiefs and lords of Connaught to adopt a composition in lieu of the former irregular assessments, the amount being ten shillings English, or a mark Irish, on every quarter of land, whether arable or pasture.†

The project for re-peopling from England the depopulated districts of Munster was now taken up with extraordinary zeal. Great inducements were held out to younger brothers to become undertakers. Estates were offered for three-pence, and in some places for two-pence, per acre, rent to commence only at the end of three years, and only half the sum to be payable for three years more. Seven years were allowed to each undertaker to complete his plantation. Garrisons were to be placed on the borders, and commissioners appointed to decide differences. Each person obtaining 12,000 acres was to plant eighty-six English families on his estate, and for lesser quantities in proportion. The native Irish might be employed as laborers—they might become "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" in their own country—but on no account were they to be admitted as tenants! Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Wareham Sentleger, and Sir George Bourchier, were among those who obtained large and early grants. It was expected that above 20,000 English would be planted in Munster in a few years; but this fine scheme failed in its most material points. The stipulations were evaded in a variety of ways by the undertakers; and

* The University of Trinity College was afterwards founded by Loftus himself in 1592.

† The cartron, or quarter, like other old denominations of land used in Ireland, contained no definite number of acres. "Some cartrons," says Ware, "contained 100, some 112, some 120, and the largest of all 160 acres." See Harris's *Ware's Antiq.*, vol. ii., p. 226.

the government on its side failed to provide the requisite defences. Above all, the Irish in many cases obtained leases and conveyances, and in some places the lands were abandoned to the old possessors.*

A.D. 1586.—Our attention is now demanded for a while by the affairs of Connaught, where the brutal severity of the president or governor, Sir Richard Bingham, was wholly opposed to the policy of moderation professed by the lord deputy. At a session held in Galway, in January this year, seventy persons, men and women, some of them people of distinction, were executed; and on the 1st of March Bingham laid siege to the strong castle of Cloonoan, in Clare, which was held by Mahon O'Brien, "a chieffe champion of the pope's, and a greate practizer with foreign powers." On the seventh day Mahon was shot on the battlements while bravely defending his castle, and the garrison having then surrendered, were all put to the sword without mercy. The president next marched into Mayo, where the Burkes had shut themselves up in their castles for protection against his oppression. Richard Burke, surnamed Deamhan-an-Chorrain, or the "demon of the reaping-hook," and his kinsman, Walter Burke, had fortified themselves in the stronghold of the Hag's castle (caislean-na-caillighe), built on an artificial island in Lough Mask. Bingham pitched his camp on the shore, and went with a party in four or five boats to attack the castle; but a storm coming on, one of the boats was capsized, and Bingham himself had a narrow escape. A few of his men were killed or drowned, and the boat fell into the hands of the Burkes, who used it the next night in escaping to the opposite shore.† Bingham then demolished the castle, and hanged Richard Oge, surnamed Fal-fo-Eirin, or the "fence of Ireland," son of MacWilliam Burke, who had come voluntarily to the camp, and several other strongholds shared the fate of the Hag's castle. Soldiers were sent into West Connaught in search of "rebels," and they spared none who came in their way, slaying "women, boys, and aged men," many of their victims being persons who considered themselves under the protection of government, as the tenants of Murrough-na-duagh O'Flaherty.‡

This career of carnage in cold blood provoked Sir John Perrott, who had more than once endeavoured to interrupt it. Bingham went to

* See Fynes Moryson, Smith's *Cork and Kerry*, and Fitzgerald's *Limerick*, for the names of the principal undertakers in Munster.

† Docwra's *Relation*, published in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society.

‡ *Four Masters*. On this occasion they hanged Theobald O'Toole, the proprietor of the distant island of Omey, on the coast of Connemara—a man "who supported the destitute, and practised hospitality."

Dublin to defend his violent measures, and words of angry recrimination passed between him and Perrott, the council taking part with the former. Unfortunately, while the matter was still under consideration, news arrived that the Burkes had confederated to resist the extortions of the sheriffs, as well as to protect themselves against the monstrous tyranny of the president. In fact, they had broken out into open rebellion, so that Bingham, whose cruelty had produced that result, enjoyed a complete triumph over the pacific deputy. Perrott himself wished to proceed against the unruly MacWilliams, but the council would not allow him, and Bingham, returning to Connaught to exercise his severity with redoubled fury, commenced with the execution of the hostages whom the Burkes had given for their allegiance. A fleet of Highland Scots arrived at Inishowen, and the Burkes sent to them for help, promising large spoils and extensive lands in Connaught should they succeed in resisting Bingham. The Scots embraced the opportunity, and Sir Richard finding that the insurgents were too powerful in the field, tried what might be done by stratagem. He feigned a retreat, and leaving the Scots under the impression that he fled from them, he collected what troops he could, and by a long, forced march on a dark night, surprised the enemy on the morning of September 22nd, at Ardnaree, a suburb of Ballina-Tyrawly on the Sligo side of the Moy. The Burkes were absent on a foraging excursion, and the Scots made an attempt to present a face to the foe, but they were routed with frightful slaughter, and compelled in their flight to plunge into the wide and rapid river. Few of them escaped, and the Irish annalists say that 2,000 of them were killed or drowned. Most of the flying Scots were captured and hanged, or otherwise cut off; and Edmond Burke, an aged gentleman, whose sons were in arms, was hanged by Bingham, although he was "a withered, grey old man," without strength to walk to the gallows. Sessions were again held in Galway in December, and a large number of people were handed over to the executioner, among others some of the MacSheehys of Munster, who had fought in the Geraldine war.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH—CONTINUED.

Affairs of Ulster.—Hugh, earl of Tyrone—His visit to Elizabeth—His growing power—Complaints against him.—Sir Hugh O'Donnell.—Capture of Hugh Roe O'Donnell; cunning device.—Sir William FitzWilliam, lord deputy.—The Spanish armada—The wrecks on the Irish coast.—Disappointed avarice of the lord deputy—He oppresses the Irish chiefs—Murders MacMahon.—Hugh Geimhleach hanged by Hugh O'Neill, who then revisits London, excuses himself to Elizabeth, and signs terms of agreement.—O'Neill returns to Ireland, and refuses to give his sureties until the government should fulfil its engagements.—Hugh Roe's first escape from Dublin Castle and his recapture.—Fresh charges against Hugh O'Neill—He carries off and marries the sister of Marshal Bagnal.—Brian O'Rourke hanged in London.—Hugh Roe's second escape—Affecting incidents—His adventures and return to Tirconnell—Drives off an English party—His father's abdication and his own election as chieftain—He assails Turlough Luineach, and compels him to resign the chieftaincy of Tyrone to Hugh O'Neill.—An English sheriff hunted out of Fermanagh.—Rebellion of Maguire—Enniskillen taken by the English—Irish victory at the Ford of the Biscuits, and recapture of Enniskillen.—Sir William Russell lord deputy.—Hugh O'Neill visits Dublin—Bagnal's charges against him—Vindication of his policy.—Fiagh Mac Hugh O'Byrne and Walter Riavagh FitzGerald.—Arrival of Sir John Norris.—Hugh O'Neill rises in arms—Takes the Blackwater Fort.—Protracted negotiations.—War in Connaught; successes of O'Donnell—Bingham foiled at Sligo, and retreats.—Differences between Norris and the deputy.—Bingham disgraced and recalled.—Fresh promises from Spain.—Interesting events in Connaught.—Proceedings of the Leinster insurgents.—Ormond appointed lord lieutenant.—Last truce with O'Neill.—Hostilities resumed in Ulster.—Desperate plight of the government.—Great Irish victory of the Yellow Ford.—Ormond repulsed in Leix.—War resumed in Munster, &c.

[FROM A.D. 1587 TO A.D. 1599.]

SYMPTOMS of approaching storm were now (1587) visible in Ulster, where the exactions and oppression of the English sheriffs excited wide-spread disaffection. Turlough Luineach had become old and feeble, and enjoyed little influence in his sept. On the other hand, Hugh O'Neill, the son of Mathew, was daily advancing in power and popularity. Like Turlough he had been hitherto distinguished for his loyalty. He had, as it were, a hereditary claim to the support of the English government; and in return he had given the aid of his sword, and had fought under the English standard in the Geraldine war; but his valour and military habits inspired his countrymen with confidence and respect; he was in the vigor of his age, and was looked to naturally as the successor to the chieftaincy of Tyrone. In

the parliament of 1585 he took his seat as baron of Dungannon; and ere the proceedings had terminated obtained the title of earl of Tyrone, in virtue of the grants made to his grandfather, Con Bacagh, and to his father, by Henry VIII.; but on the question of the inheritance annexed to the earldom he was referred to the queen. He accordingly repaired to England, carrying the warmest recommendations from the lord deputy, Sir John Perrott; and he gained the good graces of Elizabeth so effectually, by his courtly manners, and his skill in flattering her vanity, that she sent him back with letters patent under the great seal, granting him the earldom and inheritance in the amplest manner. He was, however, required to define clearly the bounds of Tyrone; to set apart 240 acres on the banks of the Blackwater for the erection of an English fort; to exercise no authority over the neighbouring chieftains; and to make sufficient provision for the sons of Shane O'Neill and Turlough Luineach—Turlough himself continuing, for the remainder of his life, to enjoy the title of Irish chieftain of Tyrone, with right of superiority over Maguire and O'Cahane, or O'Kane. On his return Hugh was received with enthusiasm by his countrymen, and the confidence reposed in him by government was such that his proposal to keep up a standing force of six companies of well-trained soldiers, to preserve the peace of the north, was gladly accepted; a step which proved to be incautious on the part of the English authorities.

With such power thrown into his hands, both by Irish and English, and with all the traditions of his ancient race, and all the wrongs of his oppressed country before him, it was not to be expected that Hugh O'Neill would quietly sink into the subservient minister of his country's foreign masters; or, that he would stifle every impulse of hereditary ambition within him. Such a course would have been revolting to his aspiring nature. From time to time complaints reached government from minor chiefs, over whom Hugh soon began to extend his power. Turlough and the sons of Shane-an-Diomais appealed against him. He kept up amicable relations with the Ulster Scots, and secured the friendship of the powerful and hitherto hostile sept of O'Cahane by giving them the fosterage of his son. All these circumstances caused uneasiness to the government of the Pale, which had suffered a considerable diminution of strength by the withdrawal of a thousand soldiers from Ireland to serve the queen in the low countries, at the close of 1586. The chief of Tirconnell, hitherto steadfast in his allegiance, also exhibited a growing spirit of independence which was sufficiently alarming. There was an intimacy between him and Hugh O'Neill which boded no good for

the English. The earl of Tyrone had married a daughter of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, and the families were drawn together by friendly ties. O'Donnell refused to admit an English sheriff into his territory, and the traffic carried on between his remote coasts and those of Spain established relations between the countries not at all satisfactory to the English authorities.

The course which the government adopted under these circumstances was as extraordinary as it was infamous. It was known that Hugh Roe, or the "red," the eldest son of Sir Hugh O'Donnell, was a youth of rare abilities, and aspiring mind; and it was resolved that by some means the council should get possession of this boy as a hostage. To accomplish this openly would, however, require a large army, and rouse the northern chiefs to resistance, and Sir John Perrott proposed a plan by which such danger and expense would be avoided. How the act of treachery, which he suggested, is to be reconciled with his general character for partiality to the old Irish race seems puzzling; but he may have thought that a plan which avoided bloodshed, though not the most honorable, was the most humane means of attaining the end that had been resolved on.

A vessel laden with Spanish wines was sent round from Dublin to the coast of Donegal, on the pretence of traffic, and of having come direct from Spain. The commander was one John Bermingham, a Dublin merchant, and the crew consisted of fifty armed men. The ship arrived with a favorable wind in Lough Swilly, and anchored opposite Rathmullen, a castle built by Mac Sweeny of Fanad, one of O'Donnell's commanders of gallowglasses; it being previously ascertained that Hugh Roe was not far off with his foster-father, Mac Sweeny-na-tuath. A party of the sailors landed, and while they pretended to sell their wine they took care to explore the country. The neighbouring people flocked to the shore; abundance of the liquor was distributed among them; and when Hugh Roe came to Mac Sweeny's castle, and his host sent to the ship for wine, it was answered that none remained for sale, but that if a few gentlemen came on board all that was left would be willingly given to them. The unsuspecting Irish chiefs fell into the snare. Hugh Roe, then scarcely fifteen years of age, with Mac Sweeny and his party, proceeded in a small boat to the ship, were ushered into the cabin, and served with wine until they became, as the annalists tell us, "jolly and cheerful;" then their arms were stealthily removed, the hatches closed down, the cable cut, and the prize secured. An alarm was instantly raised, and the people crowded from all quarters to the beach, but the ship was in deep water, and there were no boats by which she could

be attacked. Young Hugh's foster-father rushed to the shore, and offered any ransom, but none of course would be accepted. The guests who were not required were put ashore, and the ship sailed for Dublin, where the young scion of the house of O'Donnell was safely lodged in Bermingham tower, along with several other state prisoners of the Milesian and old English races already confined there.*

A.D. 1588.—Hugh, earl of Tyrone, led an army, at the close of April, against Turlough Luineach O'Neill, and encamped at Corricklea, between the rivers Finn and Mourne. Sir Hugh O'Donnell joined his son-in-law, the earl, while the family of Sir Hugh's brother, Calvagh, took the side of Turlough, who was also supported by auxiliaries from Connaught, and by Hugh O'Gallagher. A battle, in which the earl was defeated, was fought between them on the first of May. In the meantime the importunities of Sir John Perrott to be relieved from his charge in Ireland were at length listened to. His enemies had become insupportable, and he was brow-beaten at the council-board by subordinates.† On the 30th of June he was succeeded by Sir William FitzWilliam—a man of a cruel and sordid disposition, without any redeeming quality in his character—who had already filled the office of lord justice more than once.

The preparations that had been making, for some time, in Spain, for a descent on the English coasts, had excited much of hope and of fear among the different classes of the population in this country. The abortive result is familiar to the world. Scattered by the winds of heaven, the "invincible armada" made this year memorable by the example which it afforded of one of man's proudest efforts collapsing into nothingness. Many of the ships were wrecked on the coast of Ireland in September, and their crews, too frequently, only escaped from the dangers of the deep to fall into the hands of the queen's officers, by whom they were executed without mercy.‡ The ruling passion of the

* These particulars are from the Four Masters, who abstracted the account from the life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, written by Cuchory, or Peregrine O'Clery, one of themselves, and preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

† See in Ware's annals, under A.D. 1587, an account of an altercation between the lord deputy and Sir Nicholas Bagnal, the marshal; Perrott was in the habit of saying that he could please the Irish better than the English. Many of the former lamented his departure; and old Turlough Luineach, who accompanied him to the water's side, wept in taking leave. See Ware.

‡ The loss of the Spanish armada, on the coast of Ireland, according to Thady Dowling, was 17 ships and 5,394 men—the numbers generally given by historians; but it appears from a document in the State Paper Office, London, signed by Geoffry Fenton, the Irish secretary of state, that the total numbers were 18 ships and 6,194 men, viz.:—in Lough Foyle, 1 ship and 1,100 men; in Sligo, 3 ships and 1,500 men; in Tirawley, 1 ship and 400 men; on Clare Island, 1 ship and 300 men; "in Fynglasse, O'Male's country," 1 ship and 400 men; in O'Flaherty's country, 1 ship and 200 men; in the Shannon, 2 ships and 600 men; at Tralee, 1 ship and 24 men; at Dingle, 1 ship and 500 men; in Desmond, 1 ship and 300 men; in Erris, 2 ships, no men lost, these being

new deputy was avarice, and unfortunately for the Spanish sailors, and for the Irish on whose shores they were cast away, rumour attributed to the former the possession of fabulous treasures. A thousand Spaniards, under an officer named Antonio de Léva, found refuge with O'Rourke and Mac Sweeny-na-tuath, the foster-father of young O'Donnell, and were urged to commence hostilities, but their instructions did not apply to such a contingency, and they determined on returning for orders to Spain. For this purpose they re-embarked, but a fresh storm arose, and the ship, with all on board, went down within sight of the Irish coast. A commission was issued by FitzWilliam to search for the treasure which these Spaniards were supposed to have brought, but none, of course, could be found, and the deputy, not content with this result, resolved to visit the locality himself "in hopes to finger some of it," as Ware tells us. He was accompanied by Bingham, and laid waste the territories of the Irish chiefs who had harboured the strangers. O'Rourke escaped to Scotland, but was delivered up to Elizabeth, and subsequently executed in London; and FitzWilliam, disappointed in his search for Spanish gold, carried off John Oge O'Doherty and Sir John Mac Tuathal O'Gallagher, "two of the most loyal subjects in Ulster," and threw them into prison in Dublin castle. The latter died from the rigor of his imprisonment, and the former remained two years in captivity, and owed his liberation, in the end, to the payment of a large bribe to the corrupt viceroy.

A.D. 1589.—That the hatred and distrust of the Irish towards the English government were kept alive by such oppressive acts as these cannot be a matter of wonder; but at every step, as we proceed, we meet similar outrages. A very remarkable and atrocious instance occurred this year. Rossa MacMahon, chief of Monaghan, having abandoned the principle of tanistry, and taken a re-grant of his territory from Elizabeth, by English tenure, died without issue male, and his brother, Hugh Roe MacMahon, went to Dublin to be settled in the inheritance as his

taken into other vessels; in "Shannan, 1 burnt, none lost, because the men were likewise embarked in other shipps"; in "Gallway Haven, 1 shipp which escaped and left prisoners, 70"; "drowned and sunk in the N.W. sea of Scotland, as appeareth by the confession of the Spanish prisoners, (but in truth they were lost in Ireland.) 1 shipp, called St. Mathew, 500 tons, men 450; one of Byshey of St. Sebastian's, 400 tons, men 350: total of shipps, 18: men 6,194."—(See *Four Masters*, vol. v., p. 1870, *n.*) "The Spaniards cast ashore at Galway" says Dr. Lynch, in the *Icon Antistitis*, "were doomed to perish; and the Augustinian friars, who served them as chaplains, exhorted them to meet the death-struggle bravely, when they were led out, south of the city, to St. Augustin's hill, then surmounted by a monastery, where they were decapitated. The matrons of Galway piously prepared winding-sheets for the bodies, and we have heard that two of the Spanish sailors escaped destruction by lurking a long time in Galway, and afterwards got back to their own country."—*Pii Antis. Icon., edited and translated by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, p.* 27, *also p.* 176.

heir-at-law. His case was perfectly legal, but he found that a bribe to the venal lord deputy was, nevertheless, necessary, and six hundred cows were the stipulated douceur. He was, however, thrown into prison because some of the cows, it was said, were not forthcoming; but, in a few days, all was made right, and FitzWilliam set out with him for Monaghan, to give him possession of his estate. The sequel would seem almost incredible. MacMahon was suddenly arrested on a charge of treason, because he had employed an armed force, two years before, to recover rents due to him in Farney; he was tried by a jury of common soldiers, some of whom, being Irish, were shut up without food until they agreed to a verdict, while the English soldiers on the jury were allowed free egress and ingress, as they had immediately agreed to convict him; and, in short, within two days from his unexpected arrest he was indicted, tried, and executed at his own house. FitzWilliam's object in proceeding into the country was to get rid of the obstacles which the forms of law would have thrown in his way in Dublin; and he now hastened to partition the vast estates of the murdered chieftain. Sir Henry Bagnal, who was wading to enormous Irish possessions through the blood of their owners, received a portion. This man was established at Newry, and had succeeded his father, Sir Nicholas, as marshal. MacMahon's chief residence and some lands were bestowed upon Captain Henslowe, who was appointed seneschal; and the bulk of the property was, on payment of "a good fine underhand" to the lord deputy, divided among four of the MacMahon sept, subject to an annual rent to the queen.* The northern chieftains must have been devoid of human feelings if such proceedings did not confirm them in their aversion to English rule; nor can we be surprised that they were unanimous in refusing to admit English sheriffs, or other officials, into their lands, or that such officers, when forced upon them, required the constant presence of strong guards to protect them.†

A.D. 1590.—Hugh Geimhleach, *i.e.*, Hugh-of-the-fetters, an illegitimate son of Shane-an-diomais, communicated to the lord deputy charges of treason against the earl of Tyrone, alleging, among other things, that he had plotted with the shipwrecked Spaniards to obtain help from the

* So far we take the facts from Camden and Fynes Moryson, but the infamy of FitzWilliam is still more apparent from the State Papers, where that monster's own correspondence with Burghley shows that he was in treaty with one Brian MacHugh Oge MacMahon, to get him appointed to the chieftaincy for enormous bribes, which he calls God to witness "he meant for the profit of her majesty, and not his own!"—See Shirley's *Account of Farney*, pp. 88 to 98.

† When Maguire received notice from the viceroy that a sheriff would be sent into Fermanagh, he answered significantly:—"Your sheriff will be welcome, but let me know his eric, that, if my people cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country."

king of Spain to levy war against the queen. The earl denied the charges, and soon after contrived to seize his accuser, whom he hanged as a traitor, after some form of trial. The respect for the memory of Shane O'Neill was such that, it is said, no man in Tyrone would act as the executioner of his son, and the earl had to procure one from Meath, though Camden maliciously asserts that the earl himself acted as the hangman. This proceeding exasperated the government, and Hugh, having no confidence in the officials of the Pale, set out for England in May, in order to vindicate himself before Elizabeth. This step, however, was itself illegal, as he left Ireland without the licence of the viceroy, and he was accordingly cast into prison in London, but his incarceration was neither long nor rigorous, and in the following month his submission was graciously received, and articles by which he bound himself anew to his former engagements were signed by him. He renounced the title of O'Neill, consented that Tyrone should be made shire-ground; that gaols should be erected there; that a composition similar to that agreed on in Connaught, in 1577, should be paid within ten months; that he should levy no armed force, or make any incursion into a neighbouring territory except to follow a prey within five days after the capture of such prey from his own lands, or to prevent depredations from without. He undertook to execute no man without a commission from the lord deputy, except in cases of martial law, and to keep his troop of horsemen in the queen's pay ready for service. Further, he promised not to admit monks or friars into his territory; nor to correspond with foreign traitors; to promote the use of English apparel; to sell provisions to the fort of the Blackwater, &c. For the fulfilment of these conditions he pledged his honor, and promised to send unexceptionable sureties, who were, however, not to be detained as prisoners in Dublin castle, but to be committed to the care of merchants in the city, or of gentlemen of the Pale. The sureties might also be changed every three months. Government, on the other side, engaged to secure the earl from all molestation, by requiring similar conditions from the neighbouring chieftains; and Hugh, on returning to Ireland, confirmed the above articles before the lord deputy and council; but very prudently excused himself from the execution of them until the neighbouring Irish lords had given securities to fulfil the conditions on their part, as it was stipulated they should be obliged to do. Camden tells us that for some time the earl omitted nothing that could be expected from a most dutiful subject.

Hugh Roe O'Donnell had now pined for three years and three months in captivity, when, in concert with some of his fellow prisoners, he resol-

ved on a desperate effort to escape. On a dark evening towards the close of winter he and his chosen companions let themselves down by a rope from one of the windows of Dublin castle, crossed the drawbridge, and passed through the city gate unobserved. They fled towards Slieve Rua, or the Three-Rock mountain, which they crossed; but young O'Donnell became too fatigued to advance another step. His shoes were worn out, and his feet torn by the brambles in the rugged pathways which they had selected; and sinking down quite exhausted he lay concealed in a wood while his companions reluctantly departed. One of these was Art Kavanagh, who was re-captured the following year and hung at Carlow. A faithful servant, who had been in the secret of Hugh's escape, still remained with him, and repaired for succour to the house of Felim O'Toole, chief of Feara Cualann, who resided in the place now called Powerscourt, and who had visited Hugh in prison. In the meantime the flight of the prisoners had created great excitement in Dublin, and numerous bands were dispatched in pursuit of them. Felim O'Toole would have willingly protected young O'Donnell, but his friends persuaded him that the attempt would be useless to the latter, and disastrous to himself and family; and finding that the soldiers were approaching, they went in search of the fugitive in the woods, and made a merit of giving him up to his pursuers. Thus was Red Hugh consigned once more to the dungeons of Dublin castle, to be guarded more strictly than before.

A.D. 1591.—During this time many acts of the earl of Tyrone tended to place him in an equivocal position with the government, and enemies were not wanting to urge every charge that could be made against him. He was accused of having attacked and wounded Turlough Luineach; but he replied that the latter was the aggressor, and had been making an inroad into his lands at the time he was hurt. The earl permitted Tyrone to be marked out as shire land, and Dungannon to be made the county town, in which criminals were to be imprisoned and tried; and the government was so pleased with this concession that it would have overlooked a more serious charge on the occasion.

The earl, however, now involved himself in a proceeding which raised up for him the bitterest enemy of all. We have already made some mention of the marshal, Sir Henry Bagnal. This man hated the Irish with a rancour which bad men are known to feel towards those whom they have mortally injured. He had shed a great deal of their blood, obtained a great deal of their lands, and was the sworn enemy of the whole race. Sir Henry had a sister who was young and exceedingly

beautiful. The wife of the earl of Tyrone, the daughter of Sir Hugh MacManus O'Donnell, had died, and the heart of the Irish chieftain was captivated by the beautiful English girl. His love was reciprocated, and he became in due form a suitor for her hand, but all his efforts to gain her brother's consent to their marriage were in vain. The story indeed is one which might seem to have been borrowed from some old romance, if we did not find it circumstantially detailed in the matter-of-fact documents of the State Paper Office. The Irish prince and the English maiden mutually plighted their vows, and O'Neill presented to the lady a gold chain worth £100; but the inexorable Sir Henry removed his sister from Newry to the house of Sir Patrick Barnwell, who was married to another of his sisters, and who lived about seven miles from Dublin. Thither the earl followed her. He was courteously received by Sir Patrick, and seems to have had many friends among the English. One of these, a gentleman named William Warren, acted as his confidant; and at a party at Barnwell's house the earl engaged the rest of the company in conversation while Warren rode off with the lady behind him, accompanied by two servants, and carried her safely to the residence of a friend at Drumcondra, near Dublin. Here O'Neill soon followed, and the Protestant bishop of Meath, Thomas Jones, a Lancashire man, was easily induced to come and unite them in marriage the same evening. This elopement and marriage, which took place on the 3rd of August, 1591, were made the subject of violent accusations against O'Neill. Sir Henry Bagnal was furious. "I cannot but accurse myselfe and fortune," he wrote to the lord treasurer, "that my bloude, which in my father and myselfe hath often beene spilled in repressinge this rebellious race, should nowe be mingled with so traiterous a stocke and kindred." He charged the earl with having another wife living; but this point was explained, as O'Neill showed that this lady who was his first wife, the daughter of Sir Brian MacFelim O'Neill, had been divorced previous to his marriage with the daughter of O'Donnell. Altogether the government would appear to have viewed the conduct of O'Neill in this matter rather leniently; but Bagnal was henceforth his most implacable foe, and the circumstance was not without its influence on succeeding events.*

A perpetual recurrence of outrages against the northern chieftains served effectually to prepare the way for the crisis which was now fast approaching in their province. This year Brian-na-Murtha O'Rourke,

* The countess of Tyrone died in January 1596, some years before the last scene of deadly strife between her brother and her husband.

whose flight to Scotland we have already noticed, was put to death in London under circumstances that excited deep sympathy for him. The principal charge against him was, that he had sheltered some of the ship-wrecked Spaniards, and refused to surrender them to government. He was given up by the Scots, and being taken to London, was tried, condemned, and executed.*

A.D. 1592.—Once more red Hugh O'Donnell shook off his fetters, and in a dark night of Christmas escaped, for the second time, from the dungeons of Dublin castle. Henry and Art O'Neill, sons of Shane-an-diomais, were companions of his flight, and it was said that the lord deputy, FitzWilliam, winked at their escape, being bribed by the earl of Tyrone, who wished to get the sons of Shane into his own hands, as the English might at any moment have set them up as rivals against him.† They descended by a rope through the privy, which opened into the castle ditch; and leaving there their soiled outer garments, they were conducted by a young man named Turlough Roe O'Hagan, the confidential servant or emissary of the earl of Tyrone, who was sent to act as their guide. Passing through the gates of the city, which were still open, three of the party reached the same Slieve Rua which Hugh had visited on the former occasion. The fourth, Henry O'Neill, strayed from his companions in some way—probably before they left the city—but eventually he reached Tyrone, where the earl seized and imprisoned him. Hugh Roe and Art O'Neill, with their faithful guide, proceeded on their way over the Wicklow mountains towards Glenmalure, to Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne, a chief famous for his heroism, and who was then in arms against the government. Art O'Neill had grown corpulent in

* This Irish chieftain was famous for his personal beauty as well as for his firmness and haughty bearing. He could not understand English, and refused to plead before an English tribunal; but when told that the court would try him and condemn him whether he pleaded or not, he merely said, "if it must be, let it be." Miler Magrath, the apostate friar who had been made archbishop of Cashel, was sent to him just before his execution to induce him to conform, but the heroic chieftain told Magrath rather to learn a lesson from his fortitude, and return to the bosom of the church. Lord Bacon says that O'Rourke "gravely petitioned the queen that he might be hanged with a gad or withe, after his own country fashion, which doubtless was readily granted him." Walker in his *Irish Bards*, and Hardiman in his *Irish Minstrelsy*, mention an extraordinary interview between queen Elizabeth and O'Rourke, but the story appears to rest on no solid foundation. Dr. O'Donovan (*Four Masters*, vol. vi., p. 1907, note) says "the family of O'Rourke seems to have been the proudest and most inflexible of all the Irish race," and adduces the example of this chieftain's father of whom Sir Henry Sidney said:—"I found hym the proudest man that ever I dealt with in Ireland."

† Camden and Fynes Moryson, who confound the two escapes of Hugh Roe, intimate that the connivance of the corrupt lord deputy was obtained by a bribe, of which, however, Hugh Roe himself and his biographer were wholly ignorant. If the corruption did not exist in both cases, it did at least in that of the second escape, when an object of importance to the earl of Tyrone was effected.

prison, and had besides been hurt in descending from the castle, so that he became quite worn out with fatigue. The party were also exhausted with hunger, and as the snow fell thickly, and their clothing was very scanty, they suffered additionally from intense cold. For a while Red Hugh and the servant supported Art between them; but this exertion could not long be sustained, and at length Red Hugh and Art lay down exhausted under a lofty rock, and sent the servant to Glenmalure for help. With all possible speed Fiagh O'Byrne, on receiving the message, dispatched some of his trusty men to carry the necessary succour; but they arrived almost too late at the precipice under which the two youths lay. "Their bodies," say the Four Masters, "were covered with white-bordered shrouds of hailstones freezing round them, and their light clothes adhered to their skin, so that, covered as they were with the snow, it did not appear to the men who had arrived that they were human beings at all, for they found no life in their members, but just as if they were dead." On being raised up Art O'Neill fell back and expired, and was buried on the spot; but Red Hugh was revived with some difficulty and carried to Glenmalure, where he was secreted in a sequestered cabin and attended by a physician. Here he remained until a messenger came from the earl of Tyrone, with whom he departed, although still in such a state that it was necessary to lift him on and off his horse. Fiagh sent an armed troop to escort him to the Liffey, which he crossed near Dublin, although all the fords were guarded by English soldiers, and among his escort were Felim O'Toole and his brother, who did their best to make amends for their inability to shelter him in his former flight. Hugh crossed the Boyne in a boat, while the servant conveyed the horses through the town, and at Mellifont abbey they reposed for a day and a night at the house of an English friend of the earl of Tyrone. At Dundalk they rode fearlessly through the town, thus disarming the suspicion of those who were watching for them along the borders of the Pale. On entering the Fews they halted for a day at the house of the chief, Sir Turlough, son of Henry O'Neill; thence they crossed Slieve Fuaid to Armagh, where they remained for a night in disguise, and the following day found them at Dungannon, where Red Hugh was hospitably received by the earl of Tyrone. Ultimately young O'Donnell arrived in safety at his father's castle in Ballyshannon, where he found the country over-awed and plundered by a party of 200 English, who, under captains Willis and Conwell, occupied the monastery of Donegal, and had also fortified themselves in a place now called Ballyweel. A large assemblage of people having collected to greet Red

Hugh on his arrival, he invited them to march with him to Donegal, and there intimated to the English that they should leave—but might depart in safety, provided they left behind any prisoners or cattle they had seized in the neighbourhood. Our annalists tell us that "they did as they were ordered, and thankful that they escaped with their lives, they went back to Connaught," while the friars returned to their monastery in Donegal.

Red Hugh still suffered from the effects of the frost of the Wicklow mountains, and the physicians finding it necessary to amputate the great toes of both his feet, he remained at Ballyshannon under their care from the 1st of February until April. A general meeting of the Kinel Connel was then summoned, and all having met except the partisans of Calvagh O'Donnell's family, Sir Hugh abdicated the chieftaincy, which was then conferred, amid the acclamations of the meeting on his son, Red Hugh. The young chieftain was inaugurated on the 3d of May, and according to the ancient usage, proceeded at once to make a hostile incursion. He entered the lands of Sir Turlough Luineach, which he laid waste; and this old chief having applied for the aid of some English soldiers, Red Hugh paid him another visit, and drove his adherents to seek an asylum in the castle of O'Kane of Glengiveen, where, being under the protection of a friendly chief, he would not molest them. Soon after he besieged Sir Turlough and his Englishmen in the castle of Strabane, and burned the town up to the walls of the fortress; but as these proceedings amounted to an open defiance of English authority, his friend, the earl of Tyrone, feared that a premature and fruitless war would be the result, and brought about a meeting between Hugh Roe and the lord deputy at Dundalk, so arranging matters that the former obtained a full pardon for all that was passed, including his escape from Dublin castle. This recognition of Hugh Roe's chieftaincy by the government induced the adherents of Calvagh O'Donnell's sons to admit him as their chief, so that his power at home was considerably augmented.*

* Under this year (1592) Ware tells us that "eleven priests and jesuits were seized in Connaught and Munster, and brought up to Dublin, where they were examined before the lord deputy." The usual charge against "popish priests" at that time was "that they sowed sedition and rebellion in the kingdom;" and among the witnesses against them in the present instance was one James Raily, or Reily, who swore that "Michael Fitzsimons, one of the said priests, stirred up above a hundred persons, amongst whom he himself was one, to assist Baltinglass in his rebellion." The witness—a true type of his class—said he was sure he would be murdered if he went back to Connaught; and being asked by the lord deputy, "if he would go to church and serve her majesty against the rebels," he answered, "then truly I will forsake the devil and serve God and the queen." "Whereupon the lord deputy clothed him, and made him turnkey of the prison of Dublin castle."

A.D. 1593.—O'Donnell collected another army, this year, at Lifford, and under his influence Turlough Luineach surrendered the chieftaincy of Tyrone to Hugh O'Neill, who now became the O'Neill, as well as earl of Tyrone; and Turlough further consented to dismiss his English guard, so that Ulster was left, once more, subject only to its ancient Irish dynasts, O'Neill and O'Donnell. This took place in May, but in the same month serious disturbances broke out in Breffiny and Fermanagh. George Bingham, the brother of Sir Richard, entered the former district, with an armed force, to distrain for rents claimed for the queen. Brian Oge O'Rourke asserted that no rents were unpaid except for lands lying waste, and which ought not to be rated. Bingham, nevertheless, seized the cattle of O'Rourke, and the latter took up arms, and marching to Ballymote, where Bingham resided, retaliated by acts of plunder. O'Rourke's neighbour, Hugh Maguire, was next provoked into hostilities He had purchased exemption from the presence of an English sheriff, during Fitzwilliam's administration, by a bribe of three hundred cows, which he had given that deputy; yet Captain Willis—the same whom young O'Donnell had ignominiously driven from Donegal—was appointed sheriff of Fermanagh, and went about the country with one hundred armed men, and as many women and children, who were all supported on the spoils of the district. Maguire hunted Willis and his retinue into a church, where he would assuredly have put them to the sword had not Hugh O'Neill interfered, and saved their lives on condition that they immediately quitted the country. The lord deputy was enraged because O'Neill did not punish Maguire, and he even called him a traitor; and O'Neill's mortal enemy, marshal Bagnal, seized the opportunity to forward fresh impeachments against him.

Meanwhile Maguire joined O'Rourke in open rebellion. At that moment Edward MacGauran, who had been appointed by the pope archbishop of Armagh, returned to Ireland as the bearer of promises from the king of Spain to the Irish catholics. A reward was offered by the deputy for his apprehension, but the primate repaired to Maguire, whom he encouraged by his exhortations, and accompanied in an incursion into northern Connaught, against Sir Richard Bingham. They had proceeded as far as Tulsk, in Roscommon, when they unexpectedly encountered the forces of the president, whom they put to flight, slaying one of the English officers, Sir William Clifford; but, unhappily, archbishop MacGauran,

Father FitzSimons, who was the son of an alderman of Dublin, was executed in the corn market, but Ware does not mention the fate of the other priests. A great many of the Catholic clergy were however, at that time pining in the government prisons, where they were left to die.

and the abbot, Cathal Maguire, were killed, on the Irish side, while ministering to the wounded. The lord deputy now collected all the troops of the Pale, and marched into Fermanagh, where he was joined by the earl of Tyrone and marshal Bagnal. To the latter he committed the chief command, and, at the same time, Sir Richard Bingham and the earl of Thomond approached from Connaught. For Maguire to attempt resisting such an overwhelming force was madness; yet, having sent his cattle into Tirconnell, he defended, with great bravery, a ford on the river Erne, to the west of Ballock, and lost two hundred of his men before the passage was forced. The earl of Tyrone, who crossed the river at the head of the cavalry, was wounded in the thigh, in the conflict, and O'Sullevan Beare tells us that Red Hugh O'Donnell was marching to the aid of Maguire, and would have attacked the English the night after the battle of the ford had not O'Neill privately requested him to refrain from doing so while he was in their ranks. O'Neill wished to abide his time, but was heartily disgusted with the part which circumstances, for the moment, obliged him to play. The campaign led to no result except the raising up of Conor Oge Maguire, in opposition to the legitimate chief of Fermanagh, according to the old policy of England, which would rule Ireland by the divisions of her people.

A.D. 1594.—The lord deputy again came to Fermanagh this year, took the town of Enniskillen, and having placed an English garrison there, returned to Dublin: but scarcely had he departed when Maguire appealed to O'Donnell, who, throwing off all semblance of allegiance, led an army to the aid of his friend, besieged the English garrison in Enniskillen, and plundered all who lived under English jurisdiction in the surrounding territory. The lord deputy ordered the gentlemen of the Pale, with O'Reilly and Bingham, to revictual the fort of Enniskillen, where the garrison had already begun to suffer severely from hunger; and the force collected for this purpose was placed under the command of Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Henry Duke, and George Bingham. Maguire, with such men as had been left with him by O'Donnell, and Cormac O'Neill, brother of the earl of Tyrone,* set out to intercept them,

* O'Sullivan tells us that O'Donnell, on hearing that a force was about to march to relieve Enniskillen, sent word to O'Neill that he would regard him as an enemy unless he lent his aid at such a juncture. Tyrone was convinced that a rebellion, at that moment, before the appearance of the expected aid from Spain, would rashly peril the catholic cause; yet, he also knew that he gained little by holding aloof himself as he was, already, an object of suspicion to the English government. He was perplexed how to act, but the matter seems to have been compromised by the departure of his brother, Cormac, with a contingent of one hundred horse and three hundred disciplined musketeers, to join Maguire, at the same time that it did not publicly appear whether they were sent by O'Neill or went spontaneously. (*Hist. Cath.*, p. 136.) O'Sullivan, who gives

and encountered them at a ford about five miles from the town, where he routed them with the slaughter, according to O'Sullivan, of four hundred of their men. All the provisions intended for the beleaguered fortress were taken, so that the place was called Bel-atha-na-mBiscaigeadh, or, the "ford of the biscuits," * and, as soon as the news of the defeat reached Enniskillen the garrison capitulated, and were suffered, by Maguire, to depart in safety.

The victorious Irish left a sufficient garrison at Enniskillen, and marched into Northern Connaught, where Sir Richard Bingham exercised intolerable oppression. They laid waste all the English settlements, and slew every man from the age of fifteen to sixty whom they found who could not speak Irish, so that no Englishman remained in the country, except in a few fortified towns and castles; and O'Sullivan tells us that the severity of the Irish on this occasion, was in retaliation for the truculence of the English, who buried old men, women, and children from the bridge of Enniskillen, when it fell into their power.

On the 11th of August, this year, a new lord deputy was sworn into office, Sir William Russell, youngest son of the earl of Bedford, having been sent over to replace Sir William FitzWilliam, of whose qualities, as a man or a governor, the reader must have formed a low estimate.

The earl of Tyrone, whose loyalty had, of late, become more dubious than ever, made his appearance, unexpectedly, in Dublin, a few weeks after the instalment of the new deputy. He complained of the unworthy suspicions entertained against him; and, in vindication of himself, appealed to the many services which he had rendered to the government, more especially to that which he had so lately performed against Maguire, and in which he had received a serious wound. It is thought that the lord deputy was inclined to receive his justification, but his old enemy, Bagnal, renewed his charges of high treason, with more energy than ever, against him. He asserted that O'Neill had entertained the late archbishop MacGauran, knowing him to be a traitor; that he corresponded with O'Donnell while the latter was levying war against the queen; that, being allowed to keep six companies in the queen's service, he had contrived, by constantly changing them, to discipline to arms all the men in Tyrone; and, that under the pretence of building a castle for himself, in the English fashion, he had purchased a large

a spirited description of the battle as the first, says, the army sent to relieve Enniskillen consisted of "about 2 horse and 1000 foot; whereas Carte makes it only forty-five horse and six hundred foot."

* This name is now obsolete, but the tradition of the site of the battle is still preserved. It was fought where Drumane bridge on the river Arney now stands.—*Four M. ann.*, p. 1612, note.

quantity of lead, which he kept stored up at Dungannon, as material for bullets.

O'Neill's attempt to vindicate himself, on this occasion, was a last alternative to avoid rebellion. English writers, and those who adopt their views, constantly accuse him of dissimulation and duplicity, yet, the conduct to which these opprobrious terms are applied would appear to have been, in him, only the result of sound policy and prudence. He must, at all times, have resented the oppression of his country by the English. The English rulers of Ireland were still regarded as strangers and invaders; while he, the representative of a long line of Irish kings, continued to preserve a remnant of hereditary independence which must have rendered him an object of hatred and suspicion to the foreign government. Sooner or later that vestige of ancient Irish royalty should be extinguished, and his own personal enemy, marshal Bagnal, was the man whose mission it was to work out that end. At the same time that O'Neill knew all this, the wisdom and depth of mind, for which he was so remarkable, taught him the futility of waging war against England in the old-fashioned piecemeal style. He knew that the aid of foreign catholic powers was indispensable, and that a favorable opportunity should be awaited; and, hence, while he would promote a spirit of nationality among the neighbouring chiefs, he discouraged the rashness which would plunge the country into a premature civil war. It was not duplicity but common prudence, therefore, which prevented him from hastily flying to arms: and not only does it seem certain that when he entered the field against the government he was goaded into that course by insults and injustice, but it cannot be positively asserted that he would not have lived all his life in passive submission to the English crown had he not been ultimately driven to resistance. He foresaw this contingency from a distance, and was prepared for it; and, if he was slow in rising, he, at least, approached nearer than any other Irishman to the liberation of his country from a foreign yoke.

Tyrone despised the malignity of Bagnal, and offered to prove the injustice of his charges by the ordeal of single combat; but his enemy added cowardice to his malice, and declined. The council deliberated whether they should seize the earl while he was in their power, but some of the members were friendly to him, and he was permitted to depart in safety.*

* Captain Thomas Lee, who, at this very time, was writing the "memorial" which he addressed to queen Elizabeth, and who was intimately acquainted with the characters of all the parties concerned,

A.D. 1595.—Sir William Russell's first exploit was an attack upon Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne, who was called "the firebrand of the mountains," and whose castle of Ballinacor, (Baile-na-cuirre,) in Glenmalure, he took by surprise in January. Fiagh, however, escaped with his family, having been alarmed by the accidental sound of a drum, just as the deputy's troops had reached the outer rampart. Walter Riavagh, or the swarthy, one of the Kildare Geraldines, was goaded into rebellion, and joined Fiagh; and scarcely had Russell returned to Dublin from Ballinacor, where he placed an English garrison, when Walter made a nocturnal excursion to the vicinity of the metropolis, and burned the suburban village of Crumlin, carrying off the leaden roof of the church to make outlets, while the garrison of Dublin witnessed the conflagration without being able to render any assistance. This happened on the 30th of January, and in the following April he was taken treacherously and executed in Dublin.*

The Irish had been goaded by oppressions under which human nature could not long writhe without resistance; and disaffection had become so

says:—"He (O'Neill) will, if it so stand with your majesty's pleasure, offer himself to the marshal, who hath been the chiefest instrument against him, to prove with his sword that he hath most wrongfully accused him; and because it is no conquest for him to overthrow a man ever held in the world to be of most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary to come armed against him naked, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge."—See the *Desiderat. Cur. Hib.*, vol. ii., pp. 91, &c.; and appendix to Curry's *Review*. Camden, in his character of Hugh O'Neill, gives him credit for "great physical powers of endurance, indefatigable industry, mental qualities suited to the greatest undertakings, great military knowledge, and a profound depth of mind to dissemble (*ad simulandum*)."—*Annales*, an. 1590, p. 572, ed. of 1639. Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes to the Four Masters, (vol. vi., p. 1888,) says of this most remarkable man:—"whether this earl, Hugh, was an O'Neill or not—and the editor feels satisfied that Shane-an-diomais proved in England that he was not—he was the cleverest man that ever bore that name. The O'Kellys of Bregia, of whom this Hugh must have been, (if he were not of the blood of the O'Neills,) were descended from Eagh Slaine, monarch of Ireland from 599 till 605. Connell Mageoghegan says that there reigned of king Hugh Slaine's race, as monarchs of this kingdom, nine kings . . . . . we may, therefore, well believe that the blood of Hugh Slaine, which was brought so low in the grandfather, found its level in the military genius and towering ambition of Hugh, earl of Tyrone."

* O'Sullevan, in his History of the Irish Catholics, (p. 162, ed. of 1850,) gives an interesting account of the fate of this Walter Reagh, or Riavaga. One Peter Fitzgerald, who had become a protestant, and was in the employment of the government, was his great enemy, and attacked his house of Gloran. Walter, soon after, with Terence, Felim, and Raymond O'Byrne, the sons of Fiagh, attacked Peter's castle, and setting it on fire burned it with its inmates. This, according to O'Sullevan, was the beginning of Walter's rebellion. Subsequently he was besieged in his castle by the English, and his brothers, Gerald and James, slain, some say hanged, when he cut his way through the enemy and escaped. Not long after he was wounded in a conflict with a party who were in pursuit of him, but was carried off by a companion named George O'More, who secreted him in a cavern, where he was betrayed by his attendant, and, being conveyed to Dublin, was impaled —other accounts say hanged and quartered, or hanged in chains. Terence O'Byrne was, some time after, delivered to the English by his own father, Fiagh, who was wrongfully persuaded that he had formed a plot to betray him. O'Sullevan says that Terence was executed in Dublin, after being offered his life if he changed his religion.

general, especially in Ulster and Connaught, that there could be no longer any doubt that a great civil war was imminent. The lord deputy solicited reinforcements from England, and it was resolved that Sir John Norris, or Norreys, an officer of great experience and celebrity, and whose brother, Sir Thomas, was president of Munster, should be sent over as lord general, with 2,000 veteran troops who had distinguished themselves in Brittany, together with 1,000 men of a fresh levy. The earl of Tyrone now thought it high time to declare himself. He found himself already treated as an enemy by the government on the one side, while on the other his countrymen could bear their galling yoke no longer. He accordingly seized the fort of the Blackwater, commanding the passage into his own territory, while O'Donnell, who had never faltered in his hostility to England, and burned to avenge his own and his country's wrongs, made incursions, in March and April, into Connaught and Annally O'Farrell, to plunder the recent English settlements there, and to burn and destroy their castles. These movements Red Hugh executed with such rapidity that he escaped any serious collision with the English forces.

As soon as Sir John Norris and his troops arrived, an expedition to the north was prepared, and O'Neill relinquished the Blackwater fort, after destroying the works and burning the town of Dungannon, including his own house. Our annalists say that the English army marched beyond Armagh until they came in view of the entrenched camp of the Irish, when they returned to Armagh, where they placed a strong garrison in the cathedral, and strengthened the fortifications; and that Sir William Russell having then committed the command to Norris returned to Dublin, where he proclaimed O'Neill a traitor by the name of Hugh O'Neill, son of Mathew Ferdarough, or the blacksmith.*

O'Donnell, in the mean time, obtained in the west several successes, which raised the confidence of the Irish. The castle of Sligo was given up to him by Ulick Burke, who had held it for the English, and who took this important step after slaying George Bingham in a private fray;†

* There are some important circumstances connected with these first movements in the north. The Four Masters state that O'Neill had invited O'Donnell to join him, and that they marched to Faughard, near Dundalk, to have a parley with the deputy, who, however, did not come; while from the English accounts it would appear that O'Neill had written letters both to Russell and to Norris, proposing to meet and confer with them on the occasion, but that the letters were intercepted by Bagnal. Thus the lord deputy proclaimed O'Neill a traitor in ignorance of the overtures which the latter had made.

† George Bingham manned and armed a ship, with which he pillaged the coast of Tirconnell, plundering the carmelite monastery of the Blessed Virgin, at Rathmullen, and the church of St. Columbkille, on Tory-island; but on his return from the expedition, an altercation took place

the people of northern Connaught who had been dispossessed of their lands by Bingham and his myrmidons, returned to their patrimonies; six hundred Scots arrived in Lough Foyle, under MacLeod of Ara, and entered into O'Donnell's service, and with these he scoured Connaught as far as Tuam and Dunmore, returning into Donegal through Costello and Sligo, and thus avoiding Bingham, who thought to intercept him in the Curlieu mountains. Sir Richard, who was accompanied by the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, with their contingents, followed Red Hugh as far as Sligo, and laid siege to the castle, which was bravely defended by O'Donnell's garrison. He attempted to sap the walls under cover of a testudo or penthouse, constructed of the timber taken from the neighbouring monastery; but the warders hurled down rocks and fired upon them from the battlements, destroying their machinery, and compelling them to raise the siege and depart. O'Donnell then demolished the castle, that it might not fall at a future time into the hands of the English, dismissed his Scottish mercenaries, and returned home.

An attempt made by Sir John Norris and his brother to re-victual Armagh was defeated by O'Neill. Both Norrises were wounded and obliged to retreat to Newry; but they succeeded soon after in throwing relief into Monaghan, where an English garrison had fortified themselves in the monastery. In the return march from Monaghan the royal troops were attacked at Clontibret, and a desperate fight took place, in which several of the English were slain, and the remainder escaped with difficulty to Newry, from which town a party had come to succour them.*

O'Neill had hitherto acted chiefly on the defensive, and when commissioners were appointed by the queen to treat with the confederated chiefs, he entered into the negotiations with alacrity. The commissioners were the treasurer, Wallop, and chief justice Gardiner, with whom the northern leaders conferred in an open field near Dundalk. The Irish chiefs made such representations of their grievances that the commissioners confessed some of them were reasonable enough, but said these should be referred to the queen; and the confederates having no

between him and Ulick Burke, son of Redmond-na-Scuab, who was in charge of the fortress of Sligo, relative to the share of the spoils to which the Irish section of the crew were entitled, and Burke having slain his antagonist, gave up the castle to Red Hugh O'Donnell. *Four Masters.*

* O'Sullevan Beare (*Hist. Cath. tom* 3, *lib.* 3, *c.* ii.) gives a detailed account of this battle at Clontibret, in the course of which James Segrave (Sedgreius) of Meath encountered O'Neill in single combat. Segrave was a man of great stature and strength, and the lances of both combatants having been shivered, he trusted to his enormous physical power, and grasping O'Neill by the neck pulled him from his horse. Both fell to the ground and rolled over and over in the deadly struggle; but O'Neill contrived to seize his dagger, which he plunged into the abdomen of his antagonist, and thus ended a combat of which both armies stood spectators.

confidence in the English government, and being now taught reliance on themselves, broke off the conference. This occurred in July, and unless some of the incidents already noticed took place subsequent to that date, Hugh O'Neill remained inactive during the rest of the year;* but on the death of Turlough Luineach, in the course of the summer, he assumed the Irish title of the O'Neill in addition to the English one of earl of Tyrone. O'Donnell returned to Connaught in December, and appeared to exercise regal powers in that province. He determined some disputed titles to chieftaincy, conferring that of the O'Dowda on Tiege, the legitimate heir, and formally inaugurating Theobald Burke, son of Walter Kittagh, as the MacWilliam.† He destroyed thirteen castles on this occasion, and returned in triumph to Tirconnell. All the Irish of northern and eastern Connaught had joined in the insurrection; and the hostages of the province having in August this year broken from their prison in Galway, after drinking some wine, were all either shot by their guard, who stopped them at the west bridge in that town, or taken and hanged by Bingham.‡

A.D. 1596.—Differences had long prevailed between the lord general, Norris, and the lord deputy, Russell. The former, says Leland, "had judgment and equity to discern that the hostilities of the Irish had been provoked by several instances of wanton insolence and oppression." The deputy, who was jealous of the fame of Norris, adopted opposite views, and insisted on a "rigorous persecution of the rebels." The opinions of Norris became popular in England, and a commission was

* There is some discrepancy in the dates of these events; for while the Irish accounts place the affair of Clontibret in May, the English fix the re-victualling of Armagh and Monaghan in the beginning of September, and therefore after the first attempt (in July) to come to terms with the confederates. (See Wright's History of Ireland.)

† This Theobald, whose father, Walter Kittagh or the "left handed," was the son of the MacWilliam who defeated Sir Edward Fitton at the battle of Shrule in 1750, was, according to the pedigree in Archdall's Lodge, vol. iii., pp. 414, &c., the representative of the eldest branch of the Mac William Iochtar, or Lower Burkes. In 1595 he took the castle of Belleek, near Ballina, from Bingham's garrison, and routed a body of troops sent to relieve it. His opponent in the claim to the chieftaincy was another Theobald Burke, better known as Tioboit-na-Long, of whom presently. It may be observed here that Lodge incorrectly writes the title of the lower or northern MacWilliams *Oughter* instead of *Iochtar*, and that of the upper or southern branch *Eighter* instead of *Uachtar*, and that the mistake has crept into many works on Irish history.

‡ Among the chiefs of eastern Connaught who had revolted at this time was Donnell O'Madden, chief of O'Madden's country, on the Shannon. Cloghan, one of his castles in the district of Lusmagh, was summoned to surrender by the lord deputy Russell in March, 1596, and we mention the circumstance on account of the memorable reply of the Irish garrison. O'Madden himself was absent, but his brave warders told captain Thomas Lee, who was sent by the deputy to summon them, that "if every man in his lordship's company were a lord deputy still they would not surrender!" Next day, however, the castle was captured, and forty-six persons slain; those who were taken being hurled from the battlements and thus killed. (See the extract from Sir William Russell's *Journal*, published in Dr. O'Donovan's *Hy Many*, pp. 149, 150.)

issued to him and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to treat with the confederates. Terms of submission were agreed on, and promises of pardon given; but our annalists tell us that the Irish did not regard this arrangement of differences as conclusive. O'Neill's first demand was for religious liberty, and this would not be conceded. Norris, who had remained inactive during the winter, took the opportunity, however, to withdraw his troops from Ulster, and marched to suppress the commotions in Connaught; but with the exception of placing garrisons in some strong castles abandoned by the Irish, nothing decisive was effected there. The repeated complaints of the barbarities of Bingham had at length made some impression on the queen and her council. Sir Richard left Ireland without permission to answer the charges against him, and on presenting himself at court was committed to prison, and Sir Conyers Clifford, a just and humane man, was appointed in his stead president of Connaught.

Scarcely had the cessation of arms been agreed to between the Ulster chiefs and the queen's commissioners, when three Spanish pinnaces arrived on the coast of Donegal, bringing encouraging letters from the king of Spain, and a supply of military stores, addressed specially to O'Donnell. O'Neill is charged by the English with having communicated to Fiagh MacHugh, and the other Leinster insurgents, the news of the promises held out by Spain, at the same time that he sent to the lord deputy, as an evidence of the sincerity of his submission, the letter which he had received from the Spanish monarch. Such charges of dissimulation, so frequently reiterated against the earl of Tyrone, by English writers, deserve little attention. It is natural that he should have wished to deceive the English government, and to gain time until his plans were matured and expected succour had arrived; and it may be questioned whether any means he employed for this purpose were not, under the circumstances, quite legitimate. It was understood that several Irish chiefs now signed an invitation to the king of Spain to invade Ireland, but that O'Neill only intimated verbally his accession to the league. He remonstrated against the hostilities carried on against his friend, Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne, and made these, soon after, a pretext for marching suddenly on Armagh, and forcing that garrison to surrender, before Sir John Norris could come to its relief. Yet, strange to say, another commission, to treat once more with O'Neill, arrived after this from England. English writers express profound disgust at these repeated overtures of peace on the part of the government, and there is no doubt that the course pursued impressed the Irish with the idea of great weakness in their opponents. O'Neill refused, as usual, to confer

with the commissioners in a town, and the meeting, like the former ones, took place in a field near Dundalk; but the other confederates do not appear to have been present, and the only result was a renewal of former terms with the earl of Tyrone.*

A.D. 1597.—While O'Neill was inactive in Tyrone, Connaught was the scene of the wildest commotions. Towards the close of the last year O'Conor Sligo returned, after a long stay in England, and manifested a zealous and ostentatious loyalty. His old feudatories, MacDonough of Tirerill, and O'Hart, were detached, by his influence, from the Catholic cause, and these examples, together with the popularity of Sir Conyers Clifford, greatly strengthened the English ranks in the west. Red Hugh O'Donnell took immediate steps to punish the defection. In December he crossed the river of Sligo, and swept off every head of cattle belonging to the friends of O'Conor; and the following January he returned with a much larger force, and overran all Connaught. He burned the gates of Athenry and pillaged the town; and all the territory of Clanrickard was plundered by him as far as Maree, Oranmore, and the walls of Galway. He then returned home laden with spoils, routing, on his way, a force which O'Conor Sligo had collected to intercept him. Theobald Burke, surnamed Na-Long, or "of the ships," who claimed the title and estates of Mac-William, in opposition to Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh, succeeded, by the aid of Clifford and O'Conor Sligo, in expelling his rival, who, in his turn, was restored by O'Donnell, and once more expelled by the power of the English and of the Irish loyalists. Thus was the whole province plunged in disorder.†

In Leinster, Fiagh MacHugh O'Byrne was betrayed into the hands of

* Several conflicts, not recorded, indeed, with any minute attention to chronology, would nevertheless appear, from O'Sullevan Beare's *Catholic History* to have taken place between O'Neill and the English before the close of this year. Owny, son of Rory Oge O'More, was, at this time, plundering the English of Leix, and Fiagh MacHugh carried terror and desolation through a great part of Leinster. The former slew Alexander and Francis Cosby, the son and grandson of the Francis Cosby of Mullamast notoriety, and routed their troops at Stradbally Bridge, on the 19th of May.—See Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., p. 165.

† Theobald-na-Long, mentioned in the text, was the son of Risdiard-an-Iarain, or "Iron Richard," who was highly praised by Sir Henry Sidney, and died in 1585. Theobald's mother was the famous Grace O'Malley, or Graine-ni-Mhaile, (Granu-Weal,) daughter of Owen O'Malley, chief of the Owles, or Umaile, in Mayo. This singular woman was married first to O'Flaherty, chief of West Connaught, and during the minority of her brother took the command of a fleet of galleys on several piratical excursions. She was then outlawed, and defeated some troops sent to besiege her castle of Carrigahooly; but, on her marriage with Sir Richard Burke, she was reconciled to government, and subsequently performed some valuable services for the queen. Many traditions are preserved in the west about her exploits, her visit to Elizabeth, &c. On her voyage to London, at the queen's invitation, about 1575, her son, Theobald, was born; hence his sobriquet "na-Long" —"of the ships." He was knighted, it is said, by Elizabeth while an infant, and was created first viscount Mayo by Charles I.—See Lodge; also, the *Anthologia Hibernica* for 1793 and 1794.

the English through the jealousy of some of his kinsmen, and slain in May this year; and on the 22nd of the same month Sir William Russell was removed from the government, and Thomas, lord Borough, or Burgh, sent over to replace him. One of the first acts of the new deputy was to deprive Sir John Norris of the generalship, and send him to govern Munster with his brother. The gallant veteran, who while in office had indeed performed no service worthy of his great military reputation, soon after died broken-hearted. Lord Borough next ordered a great muster of forces at Drogheda, on the 20th of July, and marching at their head, crossed the Blackwater without opposition; demolished a small fort which O'Neill had raised, and erected a strong one in which he placed a garrison of 300 men, under the command of a brave officer named Williams. O'Neill, who would appear to have been at first taken by surprise, vigorously assailed the lord deputy's camp, and sent reinforcements to Tyrrell, who carried on the war in Leinster.*

Lord Borough had directed Sir Conyers Clifford to make a simultaneous movement against O'Donnell, and accordingly the loyalist forces of Connaught assembled at the monastery of Boyle, on the 24th of July. They marched to Sligo, and thence to the Erne, which, after some hard fighting, they crossed at the ford of Ath-cul-uain, about half-a-mile west of Belleek; Murrough O'Brien, baron of Inchiquin, was shot by the Irish while in the centre of the ford; and Clifford having obtained some cannon by sea from Galway, laid siege to the castle of Ballyshannon, which was defended with great bravery for O'Donnell by Hugh Crawford, a Scot, with eighty soldiers, of whom some were Spaniards and the rest Irish. An incessant fire was kept up on the castle for three days, and under the shelter of a testudo an attempt was made to sap the walls; but the beams and rocks hurled from the battlements by the defenders demolished the works of the assailants, and O'Donnell arriving with a considerable force, besieged the royal army in their own camp. At the dawn of day on the 15th of August, Clifford silently re-crossed the Erne at a ford immediately above the cataract of Assaroe, over which several of his men were washed by the impetuosity of the torrent; and O'Donnell, regretting the remissness which suffered the enemy to

* About this time captain Tyrrell cut off a detachment of 1,000 men of the royal army sent against him from Mullingar, under the command of young Barnewell, son of lord Trimblestone. Tyrrell had a much smaller force under his command, but prepared an ambuscade with great skill at the place since called Tyrrell's Pass, in Westmeath, and it is said that only one man of the enemy escaped to relate the disaster at the English head-quarters. (See the Abbé Mageoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 505, Duffy's ed.) It is probable, however, that Tyrrell's Pass, owes its name not to this conflict, but to the castle of the Tyrrells which stood near.

escape, pursued him over the river. The powder of the Irish was, however, spoiled by a heavy shower of rain, and the royal army was enabled to retreat in safety to Sligo, having abandoned three pieces of ordnance and a quantity of stores.

The spirits of the Irish were elated by so many successes. O'Neill laid siege to the new Blackwater fort; but in storming it by the aid of scaling ladders—which proved to be too short—he lost thirty of his men, and then resolved to starve the garrison into submission. This would have been soon effected had not lord Borough marched with a strong force, and succeeded in raising the siege, and throwing in relief both in men and provisions. The lord deputy, however, fell dangerously ill before the walls, or, as the Irish accounts say, was mortally wounded, and died in a litter before he could be carried as far as Newry.† On the news of his death reaching Dublin the council choose as his successor Sir Thomas Norris, the president of Munster; but this selection was provisional, for in a month after the civil duties of the government were committed to Archbishop Loftus, who was also lord chancellor, and Sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the queen's bench, as lords justices, and the military goverment to the earl of Ormond, as lord lieutenant.

Meanwhile O'Donnell plundered the lands of O'Conor Roe, who had joined the English party, and this produced some jealousy between O'Donnell and O'Rourke, who was friendly to O'Conor. Hugh Maguire and Cormac, brother of O'Neill, entered Westmeath and sacked and burned Mullingar. Theobald, son of Walter Kittagh Burke, re-took the territory of MacWilliam, and plundered the Owles or O'Malley's country; Tyrrell, at the head of the Leinster insurgents devastated Ormond, and cut to pieces a large body of the royal troops at Maryborough; Sir John Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, with three companies of his garrison, was cut off by the son of Sorley Boy MacDonnell; in short the country was almost wholly in the hands of the Catholics, when the appointment of the earl of Ormond opened a new door for negociations with the Irish chieftains. Our annalists say that shortly before

† Either on this or his former march to the Blackwater, the lord deputy lost his wife's brother, Sir Francis Vaughan, who was killed by the Irish; and the earl of Kildare died at Drogheda of the wounds which he received, or, as others say, of chagrin for his two foster-brothers, who were killed before the Blackwater fort. This earl was Henry, who succeeded on the death (in 1585) of his father, Garrett, brother of Silken Thomas, and he was succeeded in his turn by his brother, William. Among the losses of the government about this period it may be stated that on the 11th of March, 1597, 144 barrels of gunpowder, just received from England, exploded in Winetavern-street, Dublin, producing fearful havoc in the neighbourhood. (See Gilbert's *Hist. of Dub.*, vol. i., p. 154.)

Christmas the earls of Ormond and Thomond went to Ulster and remained three days in a conference with O'Neill and O'Donnell; that they agreed to the terms of a treaty, which were to be submitted to the queen, and that a truce was to be observed until May, when the royal decision on the points at issue would be made known.

A.D. 1598.—The modifications which Elizabeth required in the terms of peace were received earlier than was expected, and another conference was held with O'Neill on the 15th of March to communicate them to him. The chief of Tyrone discussed the several points with a freedom which showed that he well knew the weakness of the government and his own increased strength. He refused to desert his confederates until they had time allowed them to come in and submit; he consented to renounce the title of O'Neill, but would reserve the substantial rights of the chieftaincy; he would not give up the sons of Shane O'Neill, as he had not received them into his charge from the state; he would admit a sheriff into Tyrone, provided he was a gentleman of the country, and not appointed immediately; he would surrender political refugees, but not such as fled to Tyrone on account of religious persecution: in fine, he refused to give up his eldest son as a hostage. The independent tone of O'Neill was deeply galling to the English, but the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, with other distinguished Irishmen, were nevertheless delegated to submit his propositions anew to Elizabeth, and that haughty princess not only consented to abate some of her claims, but O'Neill's pardon was actually drawn up, bearing date April 11th, 1598, and sealed with the great seal of Ireland. These hollow concessions, however, came too late. O'Neill believed that the opportunity had arrived to obtain infinitely more—the liberation of his country itself. He expected the long-promised succour from Spain; the national cause was progressing favorably at home, and he dreaded lest further delay should cool the ardor of the Irish chieftains. He therefore broke off the negociations, and rejected the proffered pardon—by avoiding the messenger who was sent to convey it to him.*

* O'Neill afterwards scorned to plead this pardon, so that he was outlawed in 1600, says Moryson, on the indictment of 1595. It may be here added that, during the truce, James, brother of the earl of Ormond, with other gentlemen, made an incursion into Ikerrin against Brian Reagh O'More, but lost several of their men. James Butler was made prisoner, but O'More generously gave him up to the earl of Ormond in a week after. Redmond Burke, son of John-of-the-Shamrocks, owing to the injustice of his uncle, the earl of Clanrickard, joined the insurgents, and received the command of 100 men from O'Neill, who sent him with others to fight under Tyrrell's standard in Leinster; and in Connaught, O'Rourke, who had made his submission to Clifford on account of his friendship for O'Conor Roe, returned to the national cause, for, as the Four Masters say, it was of

On the 7th of June the last truce expired, and two days after O'Neill appeared with a division of his army before the Blackwater fort, "swearing by his barbarous hand that he would not depart until he had carried it;"* while he sent another division into Brefliny, to attack the castle of Cavan. There could be no more valiant man than captain Thomas Williams, who commanded in the unhappy fort of the Blackwater, and who was resolved to defend his charge to the last man; and O'Neill, profiting by the lesson which the former vigorous defence had taught him, resolved to make no more assaults, but set about enclosing the fort with vast trenches, to prevent the sorties of foraging parties. These trenches, which were connected with great tracts of bog, were more than a mile in length, and several feet deep, "with a thorny hedge at the top." The approaches to the fort were "plashed," the roads rendered impassable to artillery by trenches, and the Irish army so posted that no force could advance to relieve the garrison without fighting a battle. The fort was scarcely victualled to the end of June, and would have been soon forced by hunger to surrender had not the besieged had the good fortune to seize "divers horses and mares," on the flesh of which they subsisted.

Long and anxious was the debate at the council-board in Dublin as to the course now to be pursued. The English power in Ireland was in a most critical position. Only a few garrisons remained in all Ulster. Connaught was in arms. A well-organised Irish army, under captain Tyrrell, and other brave and experienced leaders, threatened the seat of government in Leinster. The prestige of O'Neill and O'Donnell was becoming every day greater. The latter entertained a hatred of England which nothing could mitigate; while the former was more formidable for his knowledge of modern warfare, his consummate prudence, and his subtlety as a statesman. Reinforcements of troops arrived at Dungarvan from England, but in attempting to reach Dublin they were attacked by the Irish and lost over 400 men.† The English government of Ireland was never in more pusillanimous hands than those of the present lords justices; and the iron-hearted Ormond himself—"a man of great energy and boldness," as Camden describes him—was dismayed at the struggle before him. The council had written to England for help and advice. The civil members strongly urged that captain Williams should be

that time thought safer in Connaught "to have the governor in opposition than to be pursued by O'Donnell's vengeance."

* Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Cecil, June 11th, 1598.

† See *Four Masters* vol. vi., p. 2056, note.

directed to surrender the Blackwater fort to O'Neill on the best conditions that he could obtain. Even Ormond would reluctantly yield to this view, but Bagnal cried shame at such timidity, and insisted that an army, which he himself undertook to command, should be despatched immediately to re-victual the fort. At this critical moment Ormond took the fatal resolution to divide his forces, and to march himself at the head of one division against the Leinster insurgents, while Bagnal led the other to relieve the fort of the Blackwater. This course was taken contrary to the pressing advice of the council; but Ormond considered that the active hostilities of Tyrrell and his confederates in Leinster, involving as they did the devastation of his own county palatine of Tipperary, demanded the most strenuous operations; while the other duty only concerned what he styled "the scurvie fort of Blackwater." Bagnal, too, was earnest in soliciting for himself the task of taking vengeance on the man whom of all others he hated with a deadly hatred; and so the plan was persevered in. At the last moment the lords justices sent a message to the commander to surrender the fort; but Bagnal, according to his old custom, intercepted the letter, and took it back to the council.*

On the morning of Monday, August 14th, the army, which had reached Armagh from Newry with some slight losses the preceding day, set out from the former city for the Blackwater. It amounted, by the English accounts, to about 4,000 foot and 350 horse;† the infantry comprising six regiments, and the whole were disposed in three divisions: the van being led by colonel Percy, supported by the marshal's own regiment, while the regiments of colonel Cosby and Sir Thomas Wingfield came next, and those of captains Cunis, or Caynis, and Billings, brought up the rear. The cavalry was commanded by Sir Calisthenes Brooke and captains Montague and Fleming. The main body of the Irish, whose infantry was about as numerous as that of the enemy, and the cavalry a little more so, but who in point of arms and equipments were greatly inferior to the royal army, occupied an entrenched position near the small river Callan, about two miles from Armagh, at a place called Beal-at-atha-buy, or the mouth of the Yellow Ford. Bogs and woods extended on either side; a part of the way was broken by small hills, and deep trenches and pitfalls were dug in the road and neighbouring fields. The leaders on both sides harangued their respective forces, and

* Letter of the L.L. JJ. to the privy council, of August 16th, 1598.

† Captain Mountjoy's report to the council says 3,870 infantry and 300 cavalry; but O'Sullevan Beare makes the numbers 4,500 foot and 300 horse.

the Irish were, moreover, encouraged by O'Donnell's poet, Fearfeasa O'Clery, who produced the words of an ancient prophecy attributed to St. Bearchan, foretelling that at a place called the Yellow Ford the foreigner would be defeated by a Hugh O'Neill.

The morning, says O'Sullevan, was calm and beautiful, and the English army advanced from Armagh, before the rising of the sun, with colors flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding, in all the pomp and pride of war; but their front had nc proceeded more than half-a-mile when the Irish skirmishers began to gall them severely from the brushwood on either flank. The most circumstantial account of the sequel is that which we obtain from the English official reports. The vanguard of the royal army advanced gallantly, and after a desperate struggle gained possession of the first Irish entrenchment, about two miles from Armagh. They then pushed forward and reached an eminence, where they were vigorously charged by the Irish, and driven back beyond the trench. Bagnal's tactics were a miserable failure. His divisions were too far separated to support each other; and his leading regiment was cut to pieces before the second had come to the charge. The marshal himself came up at the head of his own regiment and behaved with extraordinary valor, gaining the trench a second time; but the Irish were now engaged with the royal troops at every point, and the fighting was so hot in the rear, where Red Hugh O'Donnell, Maguire, and James MacSorley MacDonnell charged the English, that it was impossible for the reserve regiments to support their front. Bagnal raised the visor of his helmet, to gaze more freely about him, when a musket ball pierced his forehead and he rolled lifeless to the earth. Almost at the same time an ammunition waggon exploded in the central corps of the English, and scattered destruction around, killing and wounding several; and one of the cannon got into a pit or bog-hole, and defied all their efforts to extricate it. O'Neill, who had the Irish centre under his own special command, saw that the moment was decisive. Confusion had already seized the English ranks; and riding up with forty horsemen, followed by a body of spearmen, he plunged with a loud shout into the melée, and made the enemy fly in disorder. All this time the battle raged so fiercely in the rear that the English, according to their own account, had not been able to advance a quarter of a mile in an hour and a-half, and the death of the marshal was not known at that point when the flight had begun. Maelmuire O'Reilly, who was called "the handsome," and, as being a royalist, was styled "the queen's O'Reilly," made a desperate effort to rally the royal troops, but he himself was soon num-

bered with the slain. About one o'clock the route became general, and the pits and trenches along the way caused more mischief to the flying English than even in the morning march. The new levies cast away their arms, and if they had not been so near Armagh scarcely a man would have escaped. As it was, the flight was not a long one; the ammunition of the Irish was nearly exhausted, and the shattered remains of the English army shut themselves up in the fortified cathedral, leaving their general, 23 officers, and about 1,700 of their rank and file on the field; together with their artillery, and baggage, a great portion of their arms and colors, their drums, &c., in the hands of the Irish. The loss on the side of the confederates was estimated, at the highest, as from seven to eight hundred. Never since the English set foot on Irish soil had they received such an overthrow in this country. "It was a glorious victory for the rebels," says Camden, "and of special advantage: for hereby they got both arms and provisions, and Tyrone's name was cried up all over Ireland as the author of their liberty.*

The English cavalry, which had suffered least, escaped the night after the battle to Dundalk, under captain Montague, pursued for a little way by Terence O'Hanlon; and a few days after the garrisons of Armagh

* The Irish and English cotemporary accounts of the battle are collected by Dr. O'Donovan in his notes to the Four Masters, an. 1598; and all the documents connected with it preserved in the State Paper office have been published in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for January, 1857. John Mitchell describes it in his own nervous and eloquent style in his "Life and Times of Aodh O'Neill," in Duffy's *Library of Ireland*. The battle is sometimes designated the "journey of the Blackwater," but by the Irish is usually called the battle of Athbuidhe or the Yellow Ford. Its site is marked on the Ordnance map of Armagh, sheet 12; and the name of Ballinabov is still applied to a small marsh or cut-out bog in the townland of Cabragh, about a mile-and-three-quarters north of the city of Armagh (*Four Masters*, vi., p. 2061, note). The Blackwater fort is called Portnua by the Four Masters, and Portmore by O'Sullevan Beare and other cotemporary writers. The number slain on the English side is by the Irish annalists reckoned 2,500, including the general and 18 captains; and the first English accounts vary the loss from 2,000 to 1,500; but the official list forwarded to the privy council a few days after the battle gives the numbers thus, viz.:—killed, the general, 14 colonels and captains, 9 lieutenants, and 855 rank and file; wounded, 363; captain Cosby taken prisoner, and 12 stands of colors lost. About 300 Irish in the queen's pay and 2 Englishmen deserted to the confederates. O'Sullevan states the loss of the Irish to have been less than 200 killed, and over 600 wounded. Ormond, in a letter to Cecil, of September 15, referring to the bad tactics of Bagnal in placing the divisions at such intervals, writes:—"Suer the devill bewiched them, that none of them did prevent this grose error!" The Four Masters give August 10th as the date of the battle, but from the State Papers the correct date appears to be that given in the text, August 14th. O'Sullevan says O'Donnell commanded the left wing, and Maguire the Irish cavalry; the whole being under the command of O'Neill. Cucogry O'Clery, in his life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, tells us that very few of the Irish were dressed in armour like the English, but that they had a sufficient supply of spears, and broad lances with strong handles of ash; straight, keen-edged swords, and thin, polished battle-axes. Dr. O'Donovan thinks that the prophecy which Fearfeasa O'Clery turned to such good account on this memorable occasion was originally intended for the Danes, as the word "*Danair*" is in it applied to the foreigners

and the Blackwater fort capitulated, and were allowed to march to Dundalk with their wounded men, leaving their arms and ammunition behind them. O'Neill supposed that Armagh was provisioned for a longer time than it really was, while his own supplies were running short, and he knew that an English force of 2,000 men was daily expected in his rear at Lough Foyle; and hence the favorable conditions which he granted. The Ulster chiefs returned to their respective homes, for it never had been the custom of the Irish to follow up a victory. Their hostings were temporary, and their commissariat imperfect. O'Neill knew the helpless state of the government at that moment, and it is not probable that he retired to Dungannon at such an important juncture without solid reasons. Ormond was at this time shut up in Kilkenny, whither he had retired after the discomfiture of his men in Leix; and the trembling lords justices were obliged to send out some six or seven hundred armed citizens, on the 17th of August, to prevent the approach of the Leinster insurgents, who were expected before the walls of Dublin. Elizabeth was enraged at the losses which her arms had sustained in Ireland, and wrote upbraiding letters to her Irish council. She sent Sir Richard Bingham to replace marshal Bagnal; and she could not have shewn her exasperation better than by renewing her commission to the man who had been disgraced for his butcheries of the Irish in cold blood. Bingham, however, died immediately after his return to Ireland, and Sir Samuel Bagnal was then sent to Dublin as marshal, with the 2,000 men who had been originally intended for Lough Foyle.

O'Neill wrote to captain Tyrrell, Owny O'More, and Redmond Burke, to hasten into Munster, where the sons of Thomas Roe, brother of the late earl of Desmond, were prepared to raise the standard of revolt; and his orders were immediately carried out. The Leinster insurgents plundered Ormond in their march to the south, and a great number of Irish chieftains came to swell their ranks. The new Munster rebellion broke out, says Fynes Moryson, like lightning. Sir Thomas Norris was at Kilmallock, but as soon as the confederates entered the county of Limerick he withdrew hastily to Cork. James, son of Thomas Roe, joined the confederate army in Connello, and they proceeded to destroy the settlements of the English undertakers who occupied the lands of the late earl of Desmond. Their castles and houses were pulled down, their farms desolated, and they themselves—cast out naked—were all either slain or expelled; while, as our annalists say, the spoils were so great that an in-calf cow was sold for sixpence, a brood mare for threepence, and the best hog for one penny, in the Irish camp. Ormond marched

to Kilmallock, where he was joined by Norris; but the Irish army presented so formidable a front that he thought it well to return to his own palatinate, while the president retired to Mallow. The title of earl of Desmond was conferred, by the authority of O'Neill, on James, son of Thomas Roe;* all the castles of Desmond were recovered except those of Askeaton, Castlemaine, and Mallow; and matters being thus advanced in Munster, the Leinster and Ulster confederates returned home, with the exception of Tyrrell—who remained to organise the forces of the newly-created earl. Among those who had now risen in arms in the south were Patrick FitzMaurice, lord of Lixnaw; the knight of Glynn; the white knight, and most of the other Geraldines; some of the Mac Carthys; the O'Donohoes; the Condons; lord Roche; Butler, lord of Mountgarrett, who had married a daughter of O'Neill; Butler of Cahir, and other members of that family.

O'Donnell, who had purchased the castle of Ballymote from Mac Donough of Corran, and made it his principal residence,† proceeded with a great hosting, at the close of the year, into Clanrickard, slaying several, and carrying off immense booty; and the following spring (1599) he made an incursion on a large scale into Thomond, and swept away such enormous spoils that the hills of Burren were black with the droves of cattle which were driven to the north. Thomond was at that time the scene of intestine broils among various parties of the O'Briens, and when O'Donnell had left, Clifford proceeded there to punish those who had given evidence of disloyalty. The earl of Thomond, who had returned lately from England, also came with some ordnance from Limerick, and inflicted vengeance on the obnoxious.

* This James is better known by the title of the *Sugane* (Straw-rope) earl, contemptuously applied to him by his enemies. For his parentage *vide supra*, p. 396, n. Cox says he was "the handsomest man of his time;" but Camden calls him "*hominem obscœnissimum.*"

† The price paid for the castle was £400 and 300 cows, and Sir Conyers Clifford, president of Connaught, was bidding for it in opposition to O'Donnell. For thirteen years before it had been in the hands of the royalists, and it is curious to find anything like a commercial transaction carried on under the circumstances.

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGN OF ELIZABETH—CONCLUDED.

The Earl of Essex Viceroy—His incapacity—His fruitless expedition to Munster.—O'Conor Sligo besieged at Colloony.—Sir Conyers Clifford marches against O'Donnell.—Total defeat of the English at the Curlieu mountains and death of Clifford.—Essex applies for reinforcements—His march to the Lagan—His interview with O'Neill—His departure from Ireland, and unhappy fate.—O'Neill's expedition to Munster.—Combat and death of Hugh Maguire and Sir Warham Sentleger.—Arrival of Lord Mountjoy as Deputy.—O'Neill returns to Ulster.—Presents from the Pope and the King of Spain.—Capture of Ormond by Owny O'More.—Sir George Carew President of Munster—His subtlety—His plots against the Sugane Earl and his brother.—Capture of Glin Castle and general submission of Desmond.—Death of Owny O'More.—Barbarous desolation of the country by the Deputy.—The son of the late Earl of Desmond sent to Ireland—Failure of his mission.—Retribution on a traitor (*note*).—Docwra's expedition to Lough Foyle.—Defections from the Irish ranks.—Predatory excursions of Red Hugh O'Donnell.—Mountjoy's expeditions against O'Neill.—Complicated misfortunes of the Irish.—Niall Garv besieged in the monastery of Donegal by Hugh Roe.—Arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale—They are besieged by Mountjoy and Carew.—Extraordinary march of O'Donnell and mustering of the Irish forces to assist them.—Battle of Kinsale, and total route of the Irish army.—Departure of Red Hugh O'Donnell for Spain.—Surrender of Kinsale, and departure of the Spaniards.—Deplorable state of the Irish.—Dreadful famine.—Siege of Dunboy Castle.—Flight of O'Sullevan.—Submission of O'Neill.—Death of Elizabeth.

[FROM A.D. 1599 TO A.D. 1603.]

INVESTED with more ample powers, and endowed with a more splendid allowance than any of his predecessors, the earl of Essex landed in Ireland, as lord lieutenant, on the 15th of April, 1599, and was sworn in the same day. He was provided with an army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse—the most powerful and best equipped force ever sent into this country—and his instructions were to prosecute the war strenuously against the Ulster insurgents, and to plant garrisons at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. This was, indeed, the course which he himself had warmly advocated in those discussions at the council-board, in one of which his disrespectful manner extracted one of her habitual oaths and a box from the withered hand of his royal mistress; yet these commands, however explicit, and however obvious the end to be attained,

were, through some unaccountable infatuation, wholely overlooked by this unfortunate favorite of Elizabeth.

Essex issued a proclamation on his arrival, offering pardon and restoration of their property to such of the Irish as submitted, but very few availed themselves of the profiered favors. He sent reinforcements to the garrisons of Carrickfergus, Newry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Wicklow, and Naas; and then, instead of marching with the main body of his army towards Ulster, he proceeded to the south with 7,000 of his best soldiers. He was repeatedly attacked along the route by Owny* O'More and the other Leinster confederates; and in one of these conflicts, at a place called Bearna-na-gCleti, or, the gap or defile of the feathers, from the number of plumes collected there after the battle, he lost, according to O'Sullevan Beare, five hundred men. In Ormond lord Mountgarrett made his submission, and Essex then besieged the castle of Cahir, which was held by another of the insurgent Butlers, and was surrendered after part of the building had been demolished. Sir Thomas Norris, president of Munster, while waiting for the viceroy, at Kilmallock exercised his men in forays against the Irish; but in one of these he was mortally wounded by Thomas Burke, brother of the baron of Castleconnell, and died a few weeks after at Mallow.† Near Limerick, Essex, who was accompanied on this expedition by the earl of Ormond, was joined by Sir Conyers Clifford, president of Connaught, the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard, and Donough O'Conor Sligo. Clifford and Clanrickard returned to Connaught, and Essex, with the other commanders, marched against the Geraldines, who gave them a warmer reception than was anticipated. After some hard fighting, in his second day's march from Limerick, the viceroy pitched his camp a little to the east of Askeaton; and having succeeded in conveying some ammunition to that garrison, he was again attacked in marching to Adare, at a place called Finneterstown, where he lost several men, among others Sir Henry Norris. Then, without even attempting any further service with his fine army, he returned by a circuitous route, through Fermoy and Lismore, into Leinster; the Geraldines hovering on his rear and cutting off several of his men in the early part of the march, while the Leinster insurgents were equally unmerciful to him in the latter portion of it.

O'Conor Sligo, on returning from Munster, was blockaded in his only remaining castle of Coloony, by O'Donnell, and Essex directed Sir Conyers Clifford to hasten with all his available forces to relieve him,

* The Irish name Uaithne is sometimes anglicised Anthony, but more frequently Owny.

† O'Sullevan Beare places the death of Sir Thomas Norris two years earlier.

and to despatch by sea, from Galway, materials for the construction and fortification of a strong castle at Sligo, to defend that passage against the men of Tirconnell. Clifford proceeded to obey these orders, and while the naval expedition sailed round the coast, under the command of Theobald-na-long, he, himself, with a well-appointed army, advanced from Athlone towards the Curlieu mountains, beyond which, in the famous pass of Ballaghboy, Red Hugh O'Donnell awaited him, with such men as he could spare, after leaving a sufficient force under his kinsman, Niall Garv O'Donnell, to continue the blockade of Coloony castle.

The eve of the 15th of August was passed by Red Hugh in fasting and prayer, and on the morning of that festival of the Blessed Virgin mass was celebrated in the Irish camp, and the Holy Communion administered to O'Donnell and several of his men. The day was already far advanced when the Irish scouts from the hill-tops signalled the approach of the royal army from the abbey of Boyle, where it had encamped the previous night; and O'Donnell having addressed his people in a few spirit-stirring words, invoking all the religious ideas which the occasion suggested, to encourage them, sent the youngest and most athletic of his men, armed with javelins, bows, and muskets, to attack the enemy as soon as they should reach the rugged part of the mountain, the way having been already impeded by felled trees and other obstructions; while he himself followed with the remainder of his small force, marching with a steady pace, and more heavily armed for close fighting. The English say that Sir Conyers Clifford was deceived and did not expect any resistance here; but, that a quarter of a mile before he entered the defile he found a barricade defended by some of the Irish, who ran as soon as they discharged their javelins and other missiles. The English army continued to advance in a solid column by a road which permitted twelve men to march abreast, and which led through a small wood, and then through some bogs, where the Irish made their principal stand. It is clear that the latter behaved with desperate bravery from the outset. Their musketeers were few, but they made up for the smallness of their number by the steadiness of their aim. Several English officers fell, and the Irish fought with such fury that the English leaders had great difficulty in bringing their men to the charge. Sir Alexander Radcliff was slain early in the fight, and the English vanguard was soon after thrown into such disorder that it fell back upon the centre, and in a little while the whole army was flying panic-stricken from the field. Indignant at the ignominious retreat of his troops, Sir

Conyers Clifford refused to join the flying throng, and breaking from those who would have forced him from the field, even after he was wounded, he sought his death from the foe. The Four Masters say he was killed by a musket ball, but according to O'Sullevan Beare and Dymmock, he was pierced through the body with a spear. O'Rourke, who was encamped to the east of the Curlieus, arrived with his hosting in time to join in the pursuit and slaughter of the queen's army, which lost, according to O'Sullevan, 1,400 men; the English and the Anglo-Irish of Meath having suffered most, as the Connaught royalists were better able to avail themselves of the nature of the country in the flight.* The body of Clifford was recognised, after the battle, by O'Rourke, and his death excited a feeling of regret among the Irish, who esteemed him for his exalted principles of honor and humanity. His decapitated body was sent to be honorably interred in the old monastery of the Holy Trinity, in Lough Key, and his head was taken to Coloony, and shown to O'Conor, who, on receiving this evidence of the failure of his friends to relieve him, surrendered his castle to O'Donnell, who magnanimously restored his lands to the fallen chief, together with cattle to stock them. Red Hugh and his late foe now seemed to be on friendly terms, and Theobald-na-long, before returning with his fleet to Galway, also made peace with the triumphant chief of Tirconnell.

Essex had been writing to Elizabeth reports of his experience in the affairs of Ireland which quite exhausted her patience. She was amazed at the incapacity and infatuation which he manifested; and his enemies, who were numerous in the council, and who had originally encouraged his appointment to the government of Ireland in the hope that it would lead to his destruction, besides removing him from the court, where his personal influence with the queen was so powerful, now secretly rejoiced at every fresh evidence of his folly. His splendid

* O'Sullevan probably exaggerates the loss of the queen's forces, although Fynes Moryson, who passes very lightly over this battle, decidedly underrates it when he says that the English lost only 120 men. John Dymmock, a cotemporary writer, in his "Brief Relation of the Defeat in the Corleus," states, that besides the officers, there were slain two hundred men, whom he calls "base and cowardlye raskalls" because they ran from the Irish.—See Irish Archæological Society's *Tracts* for 1843. Dymmock adds that the rest of the royal army would have inevitably perished had not Sir Griffin Markham charged the pursuers with lord Southampton's cavalry, and thus covered the retreat to Boyle Abbey. The English, according to their own accounts, brought 2,100 men into the field, under twenty-five ensigns, and lost all their military stores, and nearly all their arms, colors, &c. The Irish, whose loss is stated by O'Sullevan to have been only 140 killed and wounded, gave thanks to God and the Blessed Virgin, attributing their victory, with such inequality of numbers and equipments, to the special intervention of heaven.—See O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.*, tom. 3, lib. 5, c. x.; Cucogry O'Clery's Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, MS.; and notes to the *Four Masters*, vol. vi., pp. 2124, &c.

army was wasted away to a few thousand men, and he wrote to England for two thousand fresh troops, without which he said he could take no step against the Ulster chiefs. The reinforcement he demanded came, and he then wrote over to say he could do no more that year than march to the frontier of Ulster with 1,300 foot and 300 horse. When Essex arrived at the Lagan, where it bounds Louth and Monaghan, O'Neill appeared with his forces on the opposite hills. The chief of Tyrone sent O'Hagan to demand a conference, which the aspiring viceroy at first refused but next day consented to grant. This memorable meeting took place at Ballyclinch, now Anaghclart-bridge, on the Lagan. Essex cautiously sent persons first to explore the place, and then posting some cavalry on a rising ground at hand, rode alone to the bank of the river. O'Neill approached unattended on the opposite side, and urging his steed into the stream, up to the saddle-girths, saluted the viceroy, says Camden, with great respect. The interview lasted nearly an hour without witnesses, and it has been generally supposed that during that time O'Neill, who possessed a profound knowledge of character, was able to make on the mind of the vain and ambitious Essex an impression by no means favorable to English interests. The meeting was then, after a pause, resumed, with the addition of six leading men on each side; and the result was a truce until the 1st of the ensuing May, with a clause that either party might at any time renew the war after a fortnight's notice. It is evident that O'Neill's tone at the meeting was higher and more decisive than English writers pretend, for he demanded that the Catholic religion should be tolerated; that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives of Ireland; that he himself, O'Donnell, and the earl of Desmond (whom O'Neill had created) should enjoy the lands of their ancestors; and that half the army in Ireland should consist of Irishmen.

This conference hastened the downfall of Essex. He left Ireland suddenly, and without permission, to explain his conduct, and on presenting himself before the queen was thrown into prison. His subsequent proceedings—his insane attempt to cause a popular outbreak, his trial, his execution in the tower on the 25th of February, 1601, and Elizabeth's remorse and sorrow, are familiar to every reader of English history.*

* Essex appears to have been more tolerant to the Irish Catholics than his predecessors. He allowed the public celebration of mass in chapels and other houses, although not in the parish churches. He also conferred honors on some Catholics, and liberated some priests from prison, such being the extent of the toleration granted to Catholics in return for the loyalty displayed by so many of them who fought under the standard of Elizabeth. See primate Lombard's *Commentaria*, p. 413, &c., and O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.*, p. 206, note, ed. 1850. Captain Thomas

A.D. 1600.—In the undisturbed possession of its native princes, Ulster had now enjoyed some years of internal peace, and O'Neill resolved to make a journey to the south, that he might ascertain, by his own observation, what were the hopes and prospects of the country. For this purpose, having left garrisons at the principal points along his own frontier, he set out in January with a force of nearly 3,000 men. He marched through Westmeath, wasting, as he passed, the lands of lord Delvin and Theobald Dillon, till their owners submitted to him. He next ravaged the territory of O'Carroll of Ely, to punish him for the base murder of some of the MacMahons of Oriel, whom he had slain, after inviting them into his service as soldiers. He then continued his march by Roscrea and the present Templemore, to the abbey of Holy Cross, where the sacred relic, whence that monastery took its name, was brought forth and venerated by the northern chief and his army; O'Neill presenting many rich gifts to the monks, and extending his protection to the lands of the abbey. The earl of Ormond, at the head of the royal army, approached O'Neill in his passage through Eliogarty, but avoided a collision. At Cashel James FitzThomas, whom he had created earl of Desmond, joined O'Neill with some men, and accompanied him through the County of Limerick, into Cork, by the pass of Bearna-dhearg, or Red Chair. O'Neill laid waste the lands of the loyalist lord Barry, but those of the Roches, and other friendly families, were respected; and, in the beginning of March he encamped at Inishcarra, between the rivers Lee and Bandon, about eight miles from Cork; where he remained twenty days, during which Florence MacCarthy, of Carberry, together with the O'Donohoes, O'Donovans, Donnell O'Sullevan Beare, the O'Mahonys, and others, either submitted and paid homage to him in person, as our annalists say, or sent tokens of submission and presents.

While O'Neill was thus encamped at Inishcarra it happened that one of his most valiant warriors, Hugh Maguire, while exploring the country, accompanied only by a priest and two horsemen named MacCaffry and O'Durneen, met Sir Warham Sentleger, president of Munster, riding in advance of a party of sixty horse. Maguire was renowned among the Irish for his prowess and skill as a champion, and Sir Warham enjoyed the same reputation among the English. Not dismayed by the number of the enemy, the Irish chief, poising his spear, spurred his horse towards

Lee, who wrote in 1594 "a brief declaration of the government of Ireland, &c.," became a devoted partisan of the earl of Essex, and was implicated in some of the insane plots of that nobleman after his departure from Ireland, for which he was arrested in the palace, tried, and hanged at Tyourn.

Sentleger, but the latter fired a pistol and wounded him mortally as he approached. Maguire still urged his horse onward, and transfixed Sentleger with his spear, while the latter exposed himself by turning his head to avoid the blow. Then, leaving the weapon in the body of his antagonist, he drew his sword and fought his way through the English cavalry, returning to the camp of O'Neill, where he expired, after receiving the last sacraments from the intrepid priest who had witnessed the struggle. Sentleger survived the combat only a few days.*

The death of Maguire, and the news that a new viceroy was marching against him from Dublin, determined O'Neill to withdraw rather precipitately from Munster. The new English governor was Sir Charles Blunt, lord Mountjoy, who arrived at Howth, with the title of lord deputy, on the 24th of February. He was known to Elizabeth as a man of prudence and experience, and had been designed by her for the office before she made the imprudent choice of her favorite Essex. Mountjoy was accompanied by Sir George Carew, or Carey, soon after appointed to succeed Sir Warham Sentleger as president of Munster; and, while the earls of Ormond and Thomond guarded the passes near Limerick and west of the Shannon, he thought he should find it easy to cut off O'Neill's retreat to Ulster. In this, however, he was mistaken. Notwithstanding the precautions taken to intercept his march, O'Neill arrived in Tyrone without meeting the slightest obstacle, having left some forces with Dermot O'Conor Don and Redmond Burke to aid the earl of Desmond in carrying on the war in Munster. O'Neill's position was now, in some respects, that of uncrowned king of Ireland. The fame of his victory at the Blackwater had spread throughout the continent, and had given the best contradiction to the false reports industriously circulated by the English government, of the total subjugation of the Irish. Mathew of Oviedo, a Spaniard, who had been named archbishop of Dublin by the Pope, brought from the holy father indulgences to all those who had fought for the Catholic faith in Ireland, and to O'Neill himself a crown of phœnix feathers: while from Philip III., who had succeeded Philip II., as king of Spain, in 1598, he brought a sum of 22,000 golden pieces to pay the Irish soldiers.†

* Such is the account given by O'Sullevan Beare of this encounter. The English say the meeting was accidental; but the Irish assert that Sentleger had information that Maguire was attended only by a small party, and, therefore, had came out from Cork with the design of cutting off the Irish warrior. Compare the *Pacata Hibernia* with the *Four Masters*, and O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.*

† The letter of Clement VIII. to O'Neill is dated Rome, April 16th, 1600, and could not have been conveyed to him by Mathew of Oviedo until some time after his return from the Munster expedition; but a Spanish captain had arrived, with two ships, immediately after O'Neill's conference

Meantime Owny O'More fought with great bravery and frequent success, against the royal troops, in defence of his ancestral territory of Leix. Ormond came to a conference with him a few miles from Kilkenny, and was attended, at the interview, by the earl of Thomond and Sir George Carew. Father James Archer, an Irish jesuit, famous for his heroic zeal in the cause of religion and his country, accompanied O'More, and entered into an animated discussion with Ormond. They spoke in English, and, as their words were warm, the earl calling the father a traitor, while the latter, who was old and unarmed, emphatically raised his cane, a young man named Melaghlin O'More, dreading, perhaps, some violence to the priest, rushed forward and seized the reins of the earl's horse, and, almost at the same moment, one or two other Irishmen pulled the earl from his saddle. The earl of Thomond and Sir George Carew immediately put spurs to their steeds, and getting clear of the throng which gathered around, escaped to Kilkenny; but, in the melée which took place one man was slain on each side, and fourteen of Ormond's people made prisoners. The Irish accounts do not intimate that the affair was premeditated, while the English not only assert that it was, but would lead us to suppose that it was pre-arranged with Ormond himself. The earl appears to have acted rashly, but it is impossible to suggest any reasonable object he could have had in surrendering himself to the Irish. He remained in their hands from the 10th of April, the day of the meeting, until the 12th of June, when he was set at liberty at the desire of O'Neill, to whom the countess of Ormond applied for his liberation; and Mountjoy, who was jealous that the military command had not been withdrawn from Ormond, would, probably, have been well pleased had he remained a captive.*

Sir George Carew prided himself on his powers of "witt and cunning." In the "Pacata Hibernia" he, or his secretary, Stafford, has left us many curious and frightful examples of his subtlety. Indeed, craft and treachery seem to have been in such constant requisition on the royal side in these wars, that we can set but little value on any charges made against the Irish of employing the same unworthy weapons.

with Essex. Cerda, or Lerda, another envoy from the king of Spain, arrived in the beginning of 1602.—*Lombard*, p. 452; *O'Sullivan*, p. 212, *n.* It is possible that the present called the phœnix feather was similar to that sent by a former pontiff to prince John, on his being made nominal king of Ireland.—*Vide supra*, p. 230, n.

* The *Four Masters* say the capture of Ormond took place at Ballyragget, (Bel-atha-Raghat); and, in the *Pacata Hibernia*, the place is called Corronneduffe.—See, in the latter work, lib. i., c. iii., the joint account of the affair given by Carew and the earl of Thomond; also, O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.*, tom. iii. lib. v. c. viii., p.; Lombard's *Comment.*, pp. 436, &c.; and Ledwich, p. 275, 2nd ed. Ormond gave sixteen hostages for the payment of £3,000, should he seek any retaliation.

Some of Carew's refined strokes of policy now present themselves. Dermot O'Conor, who has been already mentioned, and who commanded 1,400 bonnaught-men, or mercenary soldiers, chiefly from Connaught, in the service of James FitzThomas, whom we may here designate by his popular though derisive title of the "sugane earl," was married to Margaret, daughter of the late unfortunate earl of Desmond. This lady naturally disliked the sugane earl as the usurper of her brother's rights. To her, therefore, the lord president proposed, chiefly through the agency of Miler Magrath, the Protestant archbishop of Cashel, that her husband should take the sugane earl prisoner, and deliver him into his (the president's) hands, for which act a sum of £1,000 and a commission in the queen's pay would be his reward. Other conditions flattering to her and to her brother, who from his childhood had been in the queen's custody in London, were added, and the lady Margaret prevailed upon her husband to accept the lord president's proposition. About the same time a miscreant named Nugent, who had first been servant to Sir Thomas Norris, and had then turned over to the insurgents, presented himself to Carew, and offered, as the price of his pardon, to assassinate either the sugane earl or his brother John. A plot having been already laid against the former, Nugent was instructed to murder John; but when in the act of levelling his pistol at John's back he was seized, and being sentenced by the Irish leaders to die, he confessed his design, adding that the president had hired several others, who were sworn to commit the deed. Carew then proceeded to carry out his scheme against the sugane earl. He dispersed his troops among different garrisons, to give the Irish confidence, and then wrote a feigned letter to his intended victim, implying that an understanding existed between them, and that there was a plan which he urged him to execute for delivering up Dermot O'Conor dead or alive! This letter was conveyed to Dermot, who pretended that he had intercepted it, and made it a pretext to seize the sugane earl, after employing some ingenious excuses to separate him from his followers. This was effected on the 18th of June. Dermot arrested the sugane earl in the name of O'Neill; produced the counterfeit correspondence; and charged the earl and his brother John with treason to the Catholic cause. He then imprisoned his captive in Castlelishin,* and sent intelligence of his success to Carew, adding that he was ready to deliver to him James FitzThomas as soon as he was paid the stipulated reward. However, before this part of the dastardly scheme

* In the townland of Castle-Ishin, parish of Knocktemple, county of Cork, not far from the borders of the county of Limerick. *Four Masters*, p. 2173, note

could be executed, John FitzThomas and Pierce Lacy, penetrating O'Conor's baseness, mustered 4,000 men and rescued the sugane earl; whereupon O'Conor was obliged to withdraw with his provincials into his own country. Thus the plan failed in its primary object, but it had the effect of breaking up the confederacy which O'Neill had established in Munster.*

Early in July the castle of Glin, on the banks of the Shannon, was taken after an obstinate defence, and the garrison put to the sword, by Sir George Carew and the earl of Thomond, who marched on the Clare side of the river from Limerick, and crossing at a convenient point attacked the castle with ordnance conveyed by shipping. O'Conor Kerry then surrendered his castle of Carrigafoyle, and the population of Desmond in general having fled to the woods and mountains, the president planted garrisons in their castles and returned with the earl of Thomond to Limerick; while in a short time the sugane earl found himself abandoned by the great bulk of his followers, who made their submission to government.

During this time lord Mountjoy was engaged in making some incursions to the borders of Tyrone, and in carrying on a war of extermination against the people of Leix, who, under their brave chieftain, Owny O'More, had recovered all their ancestral possessions except Port-Leix, or Maryborough; but the intrepid Owny, having exposed himself incautiously, was killed by a musket shot, on the 17th of August, and Leix fell once more into the hands of the invaders.†

Elizabeth's wily secretary, Cecil, bethought himself of a plan to render the youthful James, son of Gerald, earl of Desmond, useful in the present Irish war. For this purpose it was resolved that he should be released from his captivity for a space, and sent over to Ireland, apparently, but not really, restored to his title and inheritance.

* See all the details of these base plans related with shameless parade in the *Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 65, 91, 97, 193, ed. 1810.

† We are told by Fynes Moryson, who was Mountjoy's secretary, that when the government troops penetrated into Leix, on this occasion, they found the land well manured, the fields well fenced, the towns populous, and the roads and pathways well beaten, so that it seemed incredible, as he insolently observes, that this should have been done "by so barbarous inhabitants"; and he adds, "the reason whereof was, that the queen's forces, during these wars, never, till then, came amongst them." They came, alas! soon enough, for the same historian tells us, "our captains, and, by their example, the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upwards, the only means by which they were to live." Who were the "barbarians" in this instance?—the men who, in a few short years of precarious security, gave such evidence of industry and progress, or Mountjoy's soldiers? About this time the same viceroy invaded Offaly, and, with a kind of harrows called *pracas*, constructed with long pins, tore up from the roots all the unripe corn, and thus prepared the way for one of the most horrible famines which ever visited this unhappy country.—See *Four Masters*, vol. vi., p. 2187

in order to draw off the followers of his house from the usurper, James FitzThomas. Great precaution was employed. A letter was written in the queen's name to Sir George Carew, to whom also were sent the patents for the young earl's restoration, to be used only as might be found expedient. Reports of the expected arrival of the Geraldine were industriously circulated; a servant wearing the well-known livery of the family was sent through the country with the news; and at length, on the 14th of October, the young earl landed at Youghal, attended by a captain Price, who was directed to watch all his movements, and to report carefully every circumstance to government. From Youghal he proceeded to Mallow, where he was met by the lord president, Carew; and thence, accompanied by Miler Magrath and Master Boyle—then clerk of the council, and afterwards the great earl of Cork—he went to Kilmallock, whither the people flocked in great multitudes, not only filling the streets and the windows, but the very roofs of the houses, to greet the heir of ancient Desmond. It required the efforts of a guard of soldiers to make a passage for him through the crowd; but this popular enthusiasm was soon rudely checked. The next morning being Sunday, the young earl, who was educated in the religion of the state, went to the Protestant service; numbers, who met him on the way, implored of him, in Irish, not to desert the faith of his fathers; but the sad truth now broke upon them—the son of the earl of Desmond was a renegade, and those who saluted him with reverence and affection the day before, groaned and reviled him as he returned from the Protestant church. Shunned by the people, the unhappy youth, being useless to his employers, was recalled to his London exile, where he sunk into the grave a few months after.*

We have now to go back a little, in point of time, in order to trace the

* The young earl of Desmond got possession of Castlemaine for the President through his influence with the warders, but this was the only service which he was able to perform; and Listowel, the last castle held for the sugane earl, was taken by Sir Charles Wilmot in November. See *Pacata Hib* b. i. c. xvi. Connected with this visit of the young earl to Ireland, we find a remarkable instance of retribution in the case of the traitor Dermot O'Conor Don. O'Conor being married to the sister of the young earl of Desmond, wished to visit his brother-in-law on his arrival in Munster, and for this purpose procured safe-conducts from the lord-deputy and from Sir George Carew. Thus prepared, and accompanied by an escort of armed men, he set out from the country of O'Conor Roe; but in his route towards Thomond, he was attacked near Gort, in the county of Galway, by Theobald-na-long, who had the command of a hundred men in the Queen's pay. Dermot and his party sought refuge in a church, but Theobald set fire to the building, slew about forty of Dermot's men as they issued from the burning pile, and having taken the traitor himself prisoner, had him beheaded the following day. Theobald may have been actuated by some patriotic motive in this proceeding, but he excused himself on the plea that he only avenged the death of a kinsman, lord Burke, who was slain by O'Conor in Munster. The act greatly annoyed the government, and he was deprived of the queen's commission. See *Pacata Hib.* b, i. c. xvii.

progress of events in Ulster. On the 16th of May a fleet arrived in Lough Foyle from England, having touched, in its passage, at Carrickfergus, to take up some troops that had marched from Dublin. This fleet conveyed an army of 4,000 foot and 200 horse, under the command of Sir Henry Docwra, together with large supplies of military stores, building materials, and other necessaries. The troops disembarked at Culmore, on the Donegal side of the Bay, and constructed a fort there, in which captain Lancelot Atford was left with six hundred men; and, after visiting Ellogh, or Aileach, where captain Ellis Flood was placed with 150 men, Sir Henry marched on the 22nd to Derry, where he resolved to erect two forts, and to make a chief plantation. His buildings were constructed chiefly from the materials of the ancient churches which he found there, and of the monastery of St. Columbkille. Lord Mountjoy made a feint of entering Tyrone by the Blackwater, and thus drew off the attention of O'Neill and O'Donnell, until Docwra's expedition had secured the required ground, when the deputy returned to Dublin,* and the Irish chiefs hastened to attack the invaders at Lough Foyle. The latter only stood on the defensive, and, having entrenched themselves behind strong works, were able to resist the assaults of the Irish with little loss. A part of the original plan was, that one thousand foot and fifty horse, under the command of captain Mathew Morgan, should be detached from the expedition and sail to Ballyshannon, to form another fort there; but this idea was abandoned, and all the troops were found few enough for Docwra's enterprise. Their ranks were soon greatly strengthened by the accession of some renegade Irish, the first to come in being Art O'Neill, son of Turlough Luineach, who joined Docwra, with a few followers, on the first of June.

Red Hugh O'Donnell soon grew weary of the slow work of besieging the English in their forts at Lough Foyle. His taste was for a more active and desultory warfare, and leaving the task of watching the movements of Docwra to Niall Garv O'Donnell and O'Doherty of Inishowen, he set out himself, with the hosting of north Connaught, and such men as could be spared from Tirconnell, and marched into the territories of Clanrickard and Thomond. His plundering parties visited almost the whole of Clare, and the work of pillage having been completed, without

* The lord deputy marched to the confines of Tyrone, in May, July, and September, this year. On the last of these occasions he was repulsed by O'Neill, at the Moyry Pass, between Dundalk and Newry; but, owing to some remissness on the side of the Irish, he penetrated soon after beyond the pass. Here, however, he was vigorously attacked by O'Neill, and returned to Dublin without effecting any object for that time.

any opposition, by the 24th of June, he returned home. On the 28th of that month some English troops were defeated, and their leader, sir John Chamberlaine, slain in an attack on O'Doherty; and, on the 29th of July, O'Donnell drove off, from their pasture before Derry, a great number of the English horses, and repulsed sir Henry Docwra, who went in pursuit with a strong force; Docwra himself receiving a wound in the forehead, which obliged him to return to his fortress.

In October O'Donnell set out on another plundering excursion to Thomond, leaving the command at home to his kinsman and brother-in-law, Niall Garv; but Niall, who was the son of Con, son of Calvagh O'Donnell, turned traitor and went over to the English, with his three brothers, Hugh Boy, Donnell, and Con. Niall marched with one thousand men to Lifford, which he took for the English, who set about constructing a fort there; and Red Hugh, hearing of this defection before he had passed Ballymote, hastened back and besieged his false cousin in Lifford. Thus he remained thirty days, when he thought it time to secure his army in winter quarters. Two Spanish ships arrived off the Connaught coast, about Christmas, and put into the harbour of Killibegs, at the desire of O'Donnell, who sent immediate notice to O'Neill. The latter hastened to Donegal, where the treasure and military stores sent to them from Spain were divided among the two chiefs and their adherents.* During the winter various services were rendered to the English by their new adherents, Niall Garv O'Donnell and Art O'Neill; so that Docwra confesses that but for the "intelligence and guidance" of these Irish allies little or nothing could have been done by the English troops at Lough Foyle.†

A.D. 1601.—Disasters now began to rain thickly upon the Irish in every part of the country. Mountjoy once more crossed the pass of Moyry, in June, this year, through the negligence of the Irish, and erected a strong castle on the northern side. He next marched beyond Slieve Fuaid and the Blackwater, burning and destroying the crops as he passed. From this he threatened O'Neill's castle of Benburb, but encountering a desperate resistance on his march, he returned to Dublin in August, after placing garrisons at several strong points. Twice did Mountjoy proclaim O'Neill. He offered a reward of £2,000 to any one who would capture him alive, and £1,000 for his head; yet, the English writers complain that these promises did not induce a single Irishman to raise his hand against the sacred person of his chief. An

* Mageoghan says it was by these vessels that Mathew of Oviedo and Cerda arrived in Ireland

† See Docwra's *Narration*, published in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society.

Englishman, however, whose name is not mentioned, undertook to assassinate O'Neill, and obtained, for that purpose, from sir Charles Danvers, governor of Armagh, leave to pass the English sentinels, on his way to Tyrone's camp. The assassin subsequently boasted that he had drawn his sword to slay the chief. But he was pronounced to be of unsound mind, "although," says the lord deputy, "not the less fit on that account for such a purpose."

The wretched sugane earl sent his brother, John, and Pierce Lacy, to Ulster, to sue for aid from O'Neill, while he himself, deserted by all his followers, save a poor harper named Dermot O'Dugan, sought refuge in the wilds of Aherlow. He was chased from this place, and subsequently taken in a cave by his old adherent, the white knight, who delivered him to sir George Carew, for a reward of £1,000. He was then tried at Cork, and convicted of high treason, but his life was spared, lest his brother, John, should be set up as earl after him; and, about the end of August, he was sent in chains to London, along with Fineen, or Florence, MacCarthy, who had placed himself incautiously in the hands of the president. Both were confined in the tower until their death.

In Connaught, Ulick, earl of Clanrickard, who was such an exemplary loyalist from the time he murdered his brother, died, and was succeeded by his son, Rickard, who became a most active leader in the queen's service. Some of the smaller chieftains in Tirconnell went over to the English, and O'Donnell was kept in constant motion by enemies on every side. The young earl of Clanrickard marched against him, but was compelled to retire, and Niall Garv was next sent by Docwra, with five hundred English troops, to occupy the monastery of Donegal, where he was besieged by Red Hugh.* On the evening of the 29th of September, some gunpowder in the monastery having exploded, the building took fire, and this was a signal to O'Donnell to attack the garrison. A struggle, of which the horrors were intensified by the conflagration and the surrounding darkness, was kept up during the night, but Niall Garv held out with indomitable obstinacy. He was supported by an English

* F. Donatus Moony, who was the sacristan of the Donegal monastery, and afterwards provincial of his order for Ireland, gives, in his MS. history of the Irish Franciscans, compiled in 1617, some curious details of the arrival of the English soldiers at Donegal, and of the siege which followed. Up to that time there were forty brothers in the house, and the sacred ceremonies were performed there with great solemnity. He enumerates the suits of vestments, many of which were of cloth of gold or silver; and the sacred utensils, among which were sixteen large chalices of silver, only two of which were not gilt. Notice being received of the approach of the military, all these valuables were removed in a boat to a place of safety in the woods, but, in some time after, they fell into the hands of Oliver Lambert, when governor of Connaught, and were converted to profane uses.—See appendix to O'Sullivan's *Hist. Cath.*, ed. of 1850.

ship in the harbour, and retreated next morning, with the remnant of his troops, to the monastery of Magherabeg, which he fortified, and defended against the renewed attacks of Red Hugh.

The long-expected aid from Spain at length arrived. A Spanish fleet, conveying an army of about 3,000 infantry, under the command of Don Juan del Aguila, entered the harbour of Kinsale, on the 23rd of September, and the English garrison having retired to Cork on their approach, the Spaniards took possession of the town, and proceeded to fortify themselves there, and in two castles which defended the harbour; that of Rincorran, on the east, and Castle-ni-Park, on the west of the mouth. Lord Mountjoy was at Kilkenny when he received news of the invasion, and with sir George Carew, lord president of Munster, hastened to reconnoitre the enemy. The army, which Carew had under his command, consisted of 3,000 men, of whom, at least, 2,000 were Irish, and the entire royal army, at this time, mustered about 7,000 men. The Spaniards were not more than about half the number originally destined for Ireland; but ill-luck seemed to attend this expedition from the beginning. Owing to the absence of the fleet at Terceira, its departure was retarded until the 6,000 men, originally composing the armament, were diminished to less than 4,000; and when the expedition did sail it encountered a storm that compelled seven of the ships, conveying a chief part of the artillery and military stores, and the arms intended for distribution to the Irish, to put back to Corunna. O'Neill and O'Donnell had besought king Philip to send his aid to Ulster, where they would be prepared to co-operate with their Spanish allies, and where a smaller force would thus suffice, while in Munster they could give no help; and yet this small army was thrown into an inconsiderable port of the southern province, long after the war there had been totally extinguished.

Mathew of Oviedo, who arrived in the Spanish fleet, as well as the general, del Aguila, sent notice to the northern chiefs, who, notwithstanding the distance and the difficulties of so long a journey in winter, prepared with devoted bravery to set out to join their allies. O'Donnell, with his habitual ardor, was first on the way. He was joined by Felim O'Doherty, MacSweeny-na-tuath, O'Boyle, O'Rourke, the brother of O'Conor Sligo, the O'Conor Roe, MacDermot, O'Kelly, some of the O'Flaherties, William and Redmond Burke, and others, and mustered about 2,500 hardy men. FitzMaurice of Kerry, and the Knight of Glin, who had been for some time with him, were also in this corps. He set out about the end of October, and had reached Ikerrin, in Tipperary,

where he purposed to await O'Neill, when he found that Sir George Carew was encamped in the plains of Cashel, to cut off his advance to the south, while St. Lawrence, with the army of the Pale, was approaching from Leinster, and the lofty mountains, which lay to the west, were impassable at that season for an army encumbered with baggage. Fortunately a frost of unusual intensity set in and opened a firm road over the bogs, of which O'Donnell availed himself; and by a circuitous route across Slieve Phelim, and by the abbey of Owney, he reached Croom, after a march of thirty-two Irish miles in one day, on the 23rd of November. Carew, still attempting to intercept him, only succeeded in reaching Kilmallock the same day, but despairing of being able to cope with "so swift-footed a general," he rejoined the lord deputy, then besieging Kinsale, and left O'Donnell to pursue his march.

The English carried on the siege with great activity during the month of November, and the Spaniards, on their side, behaved with admirable bravery. On the 1st of that month the besiegers took the castle of Rincorran, and made eighty-six Spaniards prisoners, besides a number of Irish "churls," and women and children; and on the 20th, Castle-ni-park fell into their hands. The Spaniards made several desperate sorties, in which great numbers were slain on both sides; but as the chief part of their artillery was in those ships which had put back to Spain, they had only three or four cannon to defend the fortifications, while the English had about twenty pieces of ordnance constantly playing on the walls of the town, and an army which amounted on the 20th, according to Moryson, to 11,800 foot and 857 horse, but which was probably in the gross nearer to 15,000 men.* On the 1st of December, a breach having been made practicable, the English sent forward a storming party of 2,000 men, who were repulsed with great gallantry by the Spaniards. On the 3rd, the missing portion of the Spanish fleet, under Don Pedro Zubiaur, arrived at Castlehaven, some twenty-five Irish miles west from Kinsale, and landed over 700 men, parties of whom were put in possession of Fineen O'Driscoll's castle of Baltimore, Donnell O'Sullevan Beare's castle of Dunboy, at Bearehaven, and the fort of Castlehaven. Part of the English fleet, under admiral sir Richard Levison, was sent from Kinsale to attack the Spaniards at Castlehaven, and a smart action ensued on the 6th, the English losing over 300 men,

* The English army was about this time considerably augmented. Sir Christopher St. Laurence arrived with the levy of the Pale; and the earl of Clanrickard, with his retainers; the earl of Thomond with 1,000 men from England; and 2,000 infantry, with some cavalry, which had been landed at Waterford, were all recent additions.

and being obliged to return to Kinsale next day, although Moryson, as usual, claims the victory for them.

O'Neill, who had tarried on his way to plunder Meath, at length arrived, and on the 21st of December showed himself, with all his forces, on a hill to the north of Kinsale, about a mile from the English camp, at a place called Belgoley. His own division must have been under 4,000 men, seeing that with O'Donnell's 2,500, O'Sullevan Beare's retainers, and the few others whom the shattered resources of Munster could supply, the whole Irish army amounted, even according to the English accounts, to only 6,000 foot and 500 horse, with 300 Spaniards from Castlehaven, under captain Alphonso Ocampo; while the English force at this time, allowing for losses, must have been at least 10,000 strong. The position of the English was now very critical. They were losing great numbers by sickness and desertion, and were so closely hemmed in between the Irish on one side and the town on the other, that they could procure no fodder for their horses, and were threatened with famine, so that Mountjoy thought seriously of raising the siege and retiring to Cork for the winter. But, on the other hand, the Spaniards in Kinsale had lost all patience. They had been in error as to the state of the country, and learned with chagrin on their arrival that Florence MacCarthy and the earl of Desmond were prisoners in London; that the Catholics of Munster could afford them no active co-operation; and that a large portion of the army arrayed against them consisted of Catholic Irish. Their own shipping had been sent back to Spain, and the harbour was blockaded by an English squadron, which cut off all hope of succour from abroad. Under these circumstances Don Juan del Aguila wrote pressing letters to the Irish chiefs, importuning them to come to his assistance without further delay. He was a brave soldier, but an incompetent general; and in his self-conceit and ignorance of their real circumstances had conceived a disgust and personal enmity for the Irish that unfitted him to act effectively with them. He urged them to attack the English camp on a certain night, and promised on his side to make a sortie in full force simultaneously; but when this plan was discussed in the council of the Irish chiefs, it was opposed by O'Neill, who well knew that with delay the destruction of the English army by disease and famine was certain. O'Donnell, however, took a different view, and thought they were bound in honor to meet the wishes of their allies, and the majority of the leaders agreeing with him, the immediate attack was resolved on.

It happened for the ill-luck of the Irish that Brian Mac Hugh Oge

MacMahon, whose son had been a page in England with the president, Carew, sent a boy, on the night of the 22nd of December, to the English camp to request captain William Taafe to procure for him from the president a bottle of aquavitæ, or usquebagh. The favor was granted, and next day MacMahon again sent the boy with a letter to thank Carew for his present, and to warn him of the attack which the Irish were to make on the English lines that night. This message, which was confirmed by a letter from Don Juan, which the English intercepted, was acted on, and thus the English were perfectly prepared against the intended surprise. After some dispute about the command—for it would appear that O'Neill and O'Donnell were not at all in accord on this ill-concerted enterprise—the Irish army set out under cover of the darkness on the night of the 23rd, in three divisions, captain Tyrrell leading the vanguard, O'Neill the centre, and O'Donnell the rear. The obscurity was broken by frequent flashes of lightning, but their lurid and fitful glare only rendered the way more doubtful. The guides missed their course, and after wandering throughout the night, O'Neill, accompanied by O'Sullevan and the Spanish captain, Ocampo, ascended a small hill at the dawn of day, and saw the English entrenchments close at hand, with the men under arms, the cavalry mounted and in advance of their quarters, and all in readiness for battle. His own men were at the time in the utmost disorder, and O'Donnell's division was at a considerable distance. It was therefore determined that the attack should, under the circumstances, be postponed, or, as others say, that the men should retire a little that they might be put into order; but this moment of hesitation was fatal. The English cavalry poured out upon them, and charged the broken masses. For an hour a portion of the Irish struggled to maintain their ground; but the scene was one of frightful carnage and confusion, and the retreat, which had actually commenced before the charge, was soon turned into a total rout. Ocampo's Spaniards made a gallant stand; but he himself was taken prisoner, and most of his men were cut to pieces. O'Donnell's division came at length into the field, and repulsed a wing of the English cavalry; but the panic became general, and in vain did Red Hugh strain his lungs to rally the flying multitude. O'Neill exerted his wonted bravery, but all his efforts were fruitless. At least a thousand of the Irish were slain in that disastrous overthrow, and all of them who were taken prisoners were hanged without mercy; while the loss of the English was very trifling, and the pursuit was only abandoned through fear of an ambuscade, or,

as Moryson says, through the fatigue of the horses, which had been exhausted for want of fodder.*

A.D. 1602.—The night after their defeat, the Irish army halted at Inishannon, near Bandon, and bitter was the anguish in which their leaders indulged for the misfortunes of that day. They attributed it, say the annalists, to the anger of God, and deemed the number of the slain a trifling loss compared with the irreparable injury inflicted on their cause. O'Neill, more especially, was plunged in the deepest dejection. He was already advanced in years, and seemed to have no hope of retrieving their lost fortunes; yet gloomy though the forebodings of the Irish chiefs must have been that night, darker far was the fate of their country than they could have foreseen. It was resolved that O'Donnell should proceed to Spain to explain their position to king Philip; and on the 6th of January, 1602 (new style), that is, three days after the battle of Kinsale, Red Hugh sailed in a Spanish ship from Castlehaven, accompanied by Redmond Burke, Hugh Mostian or Mostyn, and father Flaithry, or Florence, O'Mulconry; and followed by the loud wailings of his people.†

* This fatal conflict took place on the morning of the 24th of December, 1601, according to the old mode of computation, which was still in use among the English, but on that of the 3rd of January, 1602, according to the reformed calendar which the Irish and Spaniards had adopted. Fynes Moryson asserts that 1,200 of the Irish were left dead upon the field, besides those slain in the pursuit; while on the English side sir Richard Greame was killed, and captains Danvers and Godolphin wounded, but Camden says that several of the English were wounded. No reliance, however, can be placed on these numbers, and it is probable that the English loss was much greater than was thus assumed. The earl of Clanrickard distinguished himself by his zeal, killing twenty of the Irish kerne with his own hand, and crying out to "spare no rebel;" for which services the lord deputy knighted him on the field. That MacMahon, who betrayed to the enemy the secret of the intended attack, may have also hastened the disastrous flight is not improbable, but history is silent on this point. Carew, or his secretary, Stafford, states in the *Pacata Hibernia* that the earl of Thomond often mentioned an old prophecy, which foretold that the Irish would be defeated near Kinsale, and Moryson says an old manuscript, containing the prophecy, was shown to lord Mountjoy on the day of the battle. Both English and Irish accounts refer to some deception which led the Irish and Spaniards into error as to their respective movements; and the English horsemen, says the *Pacata*, imagined that they saw "lamps at the points of their spears" that night. For the details of this unfortunate affair the reader may consult the *Hist. Cath. Compend.* of P. O'Sullevan Beare, Fynes Moryson's *History of Ireland*, the *Pacata Hibernia*, Camden, and the Four Masters.

† O'Donnell landed at Corunna on the 14th of January, and was received with great honor by the count Caraçena, governor of Galicia, who treated him as a prince, and with higher honor than would have been bestowed on any of the grandees of Spain. The count presented him at his departure, on the 27th, with a sum of a thousand ducats, and accompanied him as far as Santa Lucia. Next day O'Donnell proceeded to the city of Compostella, where the highest honor was paid to him by the archbishop, clergy, and citizens. The archbishop invited him to lodge in his own palace, but O'Donnell respectfully declined; and on the 29th the prelate celebrated mass with pontifical solemnity, and administered the Holy Sacrament to O'Donnell. He afterwards entertained the Irish chief at dinner with great magnificence, and presented him on his departure, as the count of Caraçena had done, with a thousand ducats. "The king," says F. Patrick Sinnot, an Irish priest (whose letter from Corunna, relat-

O'Neill returned by a rapid march to Ulster, and Rory O'Donnell, to whom the chieftaincy of Tirconnell had been delegated by his brother, Red Hugh, proceeded with his followers to North Connaught. In the mean time Don Juan del Aguila, after some other fruitless sallies, sent proposals of capitulation, which were accepted by Mountjoy on the 2nd of January, old style, or the 12th, new style. They were very honorable to the Spaniards, who evacuated Kinsale with their colors flying, and with their arms, ammunition, and valuables, and were to be conveyed back to Spain on giving up their other garrisons of Dunboy, Baltimore, and Castlehaven. The siege had lasted for more than ten weeks, from the 17th of October; and in it the Spaniards, who displayed great bravery, lost about 1,000 men; while the loss of the English, by fighting and by disease, must have been at least 4,000 men. Don Juan's chivalry was of the quixotic kind. He challenged lord Mountjoy to settle by single combat the questions at issue between king Philip and queen Elizabeth; but the offer was of course rejected; and after the surrender of Kinsale an intimate friendship grew up between him and sir George Carew. The Irish, for whom Don Juan expressed contempt, believed him to be guilty of perfidy or cowardice; and Donnell O'Sullevan Beare, acting on this impression, contrived to recover possession of his own castle of Dunboy, by causing an aperture to be made in the wall, and entering it with eighty men, at the dead of night, while the Spanish garrison were asleep; and then declaring that he held it for the king of Spain, to whom he had formally transferred his allegiance. Don Juan was enraged when he heard of this proceeding, which he considered a violation of the capitulation, and offered to go himself to dispossess

ing these circumstances, to F. Dominic Collins, a Jesuit in the castle of Dunboy, is published in the *Pacata Hibernia*), "understanding of O'Donnell's arrival, wrote unto the Earle of Caraçena concerning the reception of him, and the affaires of Ireland, which was one of the most gracious Letters that ever King directed; for by it plainly appeared that hee would endanger his kingdome to succour the Catholikes of Ireland, for the perfecting whereof great preparations were in hand." O'Donnell repaired to Zamora, where the king then was, and was graciously received by Philip III., by whose desire he returned to Corunna, to wait until the preparations for another armament for Ireland could be completed. Spring and summer wore away, and O'Donnell, whose impatience would let him wait no longer, set out for Valladolid, where the court was then held; but fell sick on the way and died at Simancas on the 10th of September, 1602, in the twenty-ninth year of his age. He was buried in the cathedral of Valladolid, where the king caused a suitable monument to be erected over him. Thus died one of the most illustrious heroes that Ireland had produced, and with him perished the last hope of succour for his country. In his last illness he was attended by his confessor, F. Florence O'Mulconry, or Conroy, and by F. Maurice Ultagh, or Donlevy, both Franciscan friars. The latter was from the convent of O'Donnell's town of Donegal; and the former, who was highly distinguished for his learning among the scholemen of Spain, was, in 1610, made archbishop of Tuam by the pope, and obtained, in 1616, from Philip III., the foundation of the college of S. Anthony of Padua, at Louvain, for Irish Franciscans. See his life in T. Darcy Magee's *Irish Writers*: also in the *Irish Writers* of Ware and of O'Reilly.

O'Sullevan; but Mountjoy was more desirous for his departure than his assistance, and the Spaniards re-embarked for their own country, some on the 20th of February, and the remainder on the 16th of March. Don Juan, on his return, was placed under arrest, and died of grief.

The castle of Dunboy (Dunbaoi) was deemed from its position to be almost impregnable. Situated on a point of land separated by a narrow channel from Bear Island, in Bantry Bay, it could only be approached on the land side through a vast extent of mountainous and boggy country, while by sea it was also difficult of access, owing to the extreme ruggedness of the coast. Its capture was therefore regarded as an enterprise full of danger and difficulties, and many were the arguments used with Sir George Carew to dissuade him from undertaking it. The lord president had resolved, however, upon the project, and set out from Cork on the 23rd of April, accompanied by the earl of Thomond, who had been sent a little before to reconnoitre the Irish position. Carew's army amounted to about 3,000 men, although he himself says the efficient men were not above half that number; and to these was soon after added a force with which Sir Charles Wilmot had been hunting down the scattered "rebels" in Kerry, and with which he had forced his way across Mangerton, in spite of the resistance of Tyrrell. Various causes protracted Carew's march and the preparations for the siege, but especially the delay in the arrival of the shipping which conveyed the ordnance; so that it was only on the 1st and 2nd of June that the army landed on Bear Island, and on the 6th that they crossed to the main land on the western shore of Bearehaven, and commenced the operations of the siege. The defence of the castle was entrusted by O'Sullevan to Richard Mageoghegan, while O'Sullevan himself and Tyrrell, with their forces, were encamped at some distance in the interior. There were a few Spanish gunners in the castle, and Carew contrived to have a letter in Spanish conveyed to them, tempting them to desert, but ineffectually. The earl of Thomond also, by Carew's directions, held a parley with Mageoghegan on Bear Island, on the 5th of June; but all the offers held out to him, and all the earl's "eloquence and artifice," failed to turn that brave and faithful soldier from his duty. The siege was now carried on with unrelenting vigor, but the heroism of the besieged could not be subdued. The garrison consisted at the commencement of only 143 chosen fighting men, who had but a few small canon, while the comparatively large army which assailed them were well supplied with artillery and all the means of attack. At length, on the 17th of June, when the castle had been nearly shattered to pieces, the garrison offered

to surrender if allowed to depart with their arms; but their messenger was immediately hanged, and the order for the assault was given. Although the proportion of the assailants in point of numbers was overwhelming, the storming party were resisted with the most desperate bravery. From turret to turret, and in every part of the crumbling ruins, the struggle was successively maintained throughout the live-long day; thirty of the gallant defenders attempted to escape by swimming, but soldiers had been posted in boats, who killed them in the water; and at length the surviving portion of the garrison retreated into a cellar, into which the only access was by a narrow, winding flight of stone steps. Their leader, Mageoghegan, being mortally wounded, the command was given to Thomas Taylor, the son of an Englishman, and the intimate friend of captain Tyrrell, to whose niece he was married. Nine barrels of gunpowder were stowed in the cellar, and with these Taylor declared that he would blow up all that remained of the castle, burying himself and his companions, with their enemies, in the ruins, unless they received a promise of life. This was refused by the savage Carew, who, placing a guard upon the entrance to the cellar, as it was then after sunset, returned to the work of slaughter next morning. Cannon balls were then discharged among the Irish in their last dark retreat, and Taylor was forced by his companions to surrender unconditionally; but when some of the English officers descended into the cellar, they found the wounded Mageoghegan with a lighted candle in his hand, staggering to throw it into the gunpowder. Captain Power thereupon seized him by the arms, and the others despatched him with their swords; but the work of death was not yet completed. Fifty-eight of those who had surrendered were hanged that day in the English camp, and some others who were then reserved were hanged a few days after; so that not one of the one hundred and forty-three heroic defenders of Dunboy survived. On the 22nd of June the remains of the castle were blown up by Carew with the gunpowder found there.*

* See minute details of the siege in the *Pacata Hibernia*, and in O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.* Among the prisoners taken in Dunboy was Father Dominic Collins, or O'Collane, who is called in the *Pacata* a friar, and by P. O'Sullevan Beare "a lay religious of the Society of Jesus." In his youth he was an officer in the French service, but abandoned the world and became a Jesuit. He was taken to Youghal, his native town, and executed there. Father Archer, another Irish Jesuit, was at that time in O'Sullevan's camp; and in one of the attacks made by Tyrrell on the English during the siege of Dunboy, had a narrow escape from falling into the hands of his bitter enemies. Among the incidents of the siege it should be stated that the sons and retainers of Owen O'Sullevan, who claimed the right of chieftaincy against Donnell O'Sullevan, were actively engaged on the English side. We may also take this opportunity to mention, with reference to the orthography of this name, that although the commonly received form be "O'Sullivan," it was written "O'Sullevan"

The fall of Dunboy was of fatal importance to the Irish cause. As soon as the news reached Spain the preparations for a new expedition to this country were suspended, and on the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell, a few months later, the project was wholly abandoned. The war was over in Munster, but the work of extermination was only well begun. Captain Roger Harvey was sent into Carberry to "purge the country of rebels" by marshal law, and Wilmot returned to Kerry with instructions to remove the whole population of certain districts. All suspected persons of the poorer class were to be executed without mercy;* and in one instance we find a number of sick and wounded, who were left behind on the removal of an Irish camp, massacred "to put them out of pain!"† The crops were destroyed, and in fact sir George Carew set about reducing the country to a desert. O'Sullevan's castle on Dursey island, which was intended as a last retreat, fell even before Dunboy, and its garrison were put to death; but Donnell O'Sullevan still continued to maintain his independence, surrounded at first by a numerous host of followers in the wild recesses of Glengariff. Encouraging promises, together with a large amount of gold—which had been brought this summer from Spain by Owen Mac Egan, vicar apostolic and bishop of Ross‡—had helped to sustain them; but Donnell's adherents gradually deserted him, and even the gallant Tyrrell separated from him. At length, on the 31st December, 1602, he set out from Glengariff with nearly 1,000 followers, of whom about 400 were fighting men, the rest being servants, women, and children; and after one of the most extraordinary retreats recorded in history, reached O'Rourke's castle in Leitrim. Along their entire route they were pursued and attacked by the population of the country, Irish as well as English; and what with fighting all day, and marching all night, there was scarcely any time for repose. They crossed the Shannon at Portland, in Tipperary, by means of curraghs, which they constructed of twigs, covered with the skins of their horses; and having been attacked near Aughrim by a considerable force, under the command of the earl

by the author of the *Historæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, the latter being also nearer to the Irish *Ua Suilleabhain*. Both spellings are used by Dr. O'Donovan in the *Four Masters*.

* *Pacata Hibernia*, p. 449 (ed. 1810).

† *Ibid*, p. 659.

‡ This prelate was slain by the English in a skirmish with some of the fugitive insurgents in Carberry, on the 15th of January, 1603, new style. He was clothed in his pontifical robes, and carried his breviary in one hand and his rosary in the other, at the time he was struck down by a soldier. He was regarded by the Catholics as a martyr, and his remains were interred in the abbey of Timoleague. A priest, who acted as his chaplain, was taken at the same time, and hanged soon after, at Cork. *Vide*, O'Sullevan's *Hist Cath.* p. 243, and *Pac. Hib.* p. 661.

of Clanrickard's brother, and of Henry Malby and others, they fought with such desperation that they routed the enemy, and slew Malby and several of the officers. A great many fell in the perpetual fight which they had to sustain; several who were wounded or exhausted by fatigue had to be abandoned along the way; and at length their number, on arriving in Leitrim, was reduced to thirty-five, of whom eighteen were fighting men, sixteen servants, and one woman.*

Words cannot adequately describe the state to which Ireland was reduced before the close of this eventful year. A horrible famine, brought on by the repeated destruction of the crops by Mountjoy, was wasting the country, and unnumbered carcases of its victims lay unburied by the way side. Sir Henry Docwra, governor of Derry, had been planting garrisons at all the points he choose without opposition; and Mountjoy traversed Ulster, during the summer, erecting forts, while O'Neill, driven into his last fastnesses, with a few followers, stood merely on the defensive. About the 10th of August Mountjoy's forces, augmented by those of Docwra from Derry, Chichester from Carrickfergus, Danvers from Armagh, and of some from the Mountjoy, Mountnorris, Blackwater, and Charlemont forts which he had erected, amounting, on the whole, to at least 8,000 men, were prepared to act against O'Neill. Their first exploit was to take a stronghold or cranoge called Inisloghlin, situated in a great bog on the borders of Down and Antrim, and which was defended by only a few men, but contained a great quantity of valuables belonging to O'Neill. Mountjoy then proceeded, as he states in a letter to Cecil, "by the grace of God, as near as he could, utterly to waste the country of Tyrone;" and his secretary, Fynes Moryson, tells us that on the 20th, hearing that O'Neill had passed from O'Kane's territory into Fermanagh, he was resolved to spoil the entire country, and to banish the inhabitants to the south side of the Blackwater, "so that if O'Neill returned he would find nothing in the country but the queen's garrisons." O'Neill had now retired to a great fastness near the extremity of Lough Erne, accompanied by his brother Cormac, Art O'Neill of Clannaboy, and MacMahon; with a muster of some six hundred foot and sixty horse; and Mountjoy followed him in the

* In the party who reached O'Rourke's castle, were the father and mother of the historian; Dermot, the father, being then nearly seventy years of age. Philip, the author of the *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, had been sent out to Spain, while a boy, in the beginning of 1602, and was then at Coruana, under the tuition of Father Sinnott. He was soon joined, in Spain, by his whole surviving family; his father, mother, brother, and two sisters, together with Donnell O'Sullevan Beare himself. When Philip grew up he entered the Spanish navy, and while thus serving wrote his invaluable Catholic history, which was published in 1621.

beginning of September with his army, but could get no nearer than twelve miles; besides which the confederates had a means of retreat into O'Rourke's country. Henry and Con, the sons of Shane O'Neill, who were in the English service, and were followed by some of the men of Tyrone, were permitted by Mountjoy to remain with their creaghts or herdsmen in the territory, which was otherwise wholly depopulated; and the lord deputy returned, on the 11th of September, to Newry. Describing this march, in his letters to Cecil and the privy council, he says—"We found everywhere men dead of famine, insomuch that O'Hagan protested to us, that between Tullaghoge and Toome there lay unburied 1,000 dead, and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were about 3,000 starved in Tyrone."*

Mountjoy proceeded to Connaught in the latter end of November, and at Athlone, on the 14th of the following month, received the submission of Rory, the brother of Red Hugh O'Donnell, and of O'Connor Sligo. With the news of Red Hugh's death in Spain, on the 10th of September, every vestige of hope was indeed destroyed, and none of the Irish chiefs now remained in arms except O'Neill, with his companions, and the chief of Leitrim, whom Moryson calls "the proud and insolent O'Rourke." At the close of January the lord deputy returned to Dublin, and from his correspondence with the queen and council in England, during that and the following month, it is evident that O'Neill was still considered formidable, and that unscrupulous means for his destruction were contemplated.

A.D. 1603.—At length negociations were entered into between O'Neill and Mountjoy, through the medium of sir Garrett Moore. Elizabeth was so exasperated against the Tyrone chief, whom she called "a most ungrateful viper," that she could with difficulty be induced to grant him any terms; but she died on the 24th of March, and Mountjoy receiving private intelligence of this event on the 27th, while at Garrett Moore's castle at Mellifont, hastened the arrangement with O'Neill, who repaired to Mellifont and made his submission there in the usual form, to the lord deputy, on the 31st of March. He abjured all foreign power and jurisdiction, es-

* Amongst other examples of the "unspeakable extremities" to which the population was driven by famine, Mountjoy's secretary, Fynes Moryson, relates how sir Arthur Chichester, sir Richard Moryson, and other English commanders in Ulster, witnessed "a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above ten years old) all eating and knawing with their teeth the entrals of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past." The details which follow in this horrible description are too disgusting in their minuteness for quotation. And he adds that "no spectacle was more frequent, in the ditches of townes, and especiallie in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of those poore people dead, with their mouthes all coloured greene, by eating nettles, docks, and all thin things they could rend up above ground."

pecially that of the king of Spain; renounced the title of O'Neill and all his lands, except such as should be granted to him under the crown; and promised future obedience, and to discover his correspondence with the Spaniards; but he received a full pardon, was restored in blood, and allowed the free exercise of his religion. It was only on the 5th of April that the queen's death was publicly announced, and that O'Neill discovered he had made his submission to a dead sovereign, and lost the opportunity of continuing the war against her weak successor, or of making more favorable terms for himself. Soon after O'Neill's submission Cerda arrived with two ships conveying ammunition and money, which were, however, returned to king Philip, as no longer available.*

* After his submission O'Neill wrote to the king of Spain, requesting him to send home his son, Henry, but the boy never returned. He was page to the archduke Albert, and was strangled at Brussels, in 1617, the year after his father's death. The murder was enveloped in the profoundest mystery, but there can be no doubt that it was contrived by English influence, as the youth's great ability gave reason to fear that he would yet be dangerous to Ireland. See Mooney's account, quoted by Dr. Kelly, in note to the *Hist. Cath.* p. 336, where the murdered youth is called Bernard. The last year of O'Neill's war cost the English treasury £290,733, besides "contingencies," which would appear from Cox to have been at least £50,000 more, making the last year's expenditure for this Irish war at least £340,733, while the revenue of England at this period was not more than £450,000 per annum.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

REIGN OF JAMES I.

The Irish submit to James, as a prince of the Milesian race, and suppose him to be friendly to their creed and country—They discover their mistake.—Revolt of the southern towns.—Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell accompany Mountjoy to England.—Title of Earl of Tirconnell created.—Religious character of the Irish wars.—Suspension of penal laws under Elizabeth.—Persecution of the Catholics by James.—Remonstrance of the Anglo-Irish Catholics.—Abolition of Irish laws and customs.—O'Neill persecuted—Inveigled into a sham plot.—Flight of Tyrone and Tirconnell to Rome.—Rising of Sir Cahir O'Doherty—His fate, and that of Niall Garv O'Donnell and others.—The Confiscation and Plantation of Ulster—The Corporation of London receives a large share of the spoils.—A Parliament convened after twenty-seven years.—Creation of boroughs.—Disgraceful scene in the election of Speaker.—Secession of the recusants.—Prototype of the Catholic Association.—Treatment of the Catholic Delegates by the King.—Concessions—Act of Pardon and Oblivion.—Unanimity of the new Session of Parliament.—Bill of Attainder against O'Neill and O'Donnell passed.—First general admission of the Irish under English law.—Renewed persecution of the Catholics.—The King's rapacity.—Wholesale Confiscations in Leinster.—Inquiry into defective titles—Extension of the Inquiry to Connaught.—Frightful system of legal oppression.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

Popes: Clement VIII., Leo XI., Paul V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII.—Kings of France: Henry IV., Louis XIII.—Kings of Spain: Philip III., Philip IV.

[FROM A.D. 1603 TO A.D. 1625.]

JAMES I. may be regarded as the first sovereign of England who was undisputed monarch of Ireland. The Irish willingly submitted to him as the direct descendant of their own ancient Milesian kings; they also believed him to be in secret friendly to the Catholic religion—an opinion which he had himself encouraged—and thus they hailed his accession as a new and happier era for their country and their creed.* It was generally supposed by Catholics that the ancient faith would be restored under him as it had been under Mary; and so strong was this delusion, that the people of the southern towns, who, although Anglo-Irish, and wholly free hitherto from any "taint of rebellion," were almost universally Catholic, thought they might resume

* It was the policy of James, before his accession, to gain the friendship of the Catholic potentates, and to weaken the power of England. "Lord Home—who was himself a Roman Catholic—was entrusted" says Robertson (*Hist. of Scot.*) "with a secret commission to the Pope. The arch-

with impunity the public exercise of their religious worship. In some places they took possession of their own ancient churches, which had been appropriated to the Protestant service, and once more celebrated in them the Divine Mysteries; and in others they thought of repairing the ruined abbeys and monasteries. Moreover, the mayors of Cork and Waterford, supposing the authority of Elizabeth's deputy to be no longer valid, delayed obeying his orders for the proclamation of the new king. The news of these proceedings came by surprise upon Mountjoy. He was provoked at such "simplicity," as he called it, and marching with a formidable army to the south speedily convinced the Catholic townspeople of their error. Cork first submitted. The citizens of Waterford closed their gates, pleading the privilege of an ancient charter which exempted them from receiving soldiers; but the lord deputy threatened to "cut in pieces the charter of king John with the sword of king James," and to "strew salt" on the ruins of their town. No further show of resistance was made; and the towns of Kilkenny, Wexford, Cashel, and Limerick were compelled in their turn to submit. To allay the ferment in the popular mind the king published an act of general indemnity and oblivion, and a brief period of profound tranquillity followed.

Mountjoy, on whom James conferred the higher dignity of lord lieutenant of Ireland, with the privilege of residing in England, left Sir George Carew as lord deputy, and proceeded to England in May, 1603, accompanied by Hugh O'Neill, Rory (or Roderick) O'Donnell, and other Irish gentlemen. The king received the two Ulster chieftains very graciously, and confirmed the former in his restored title of earl of Tyrone, while he granted to O'Donnell that of earl of Tirconnell. Niall Gary, it must be observed, had forfeited all claim to reward for his former services to the government against Red Hugh. Docwra had found his insolence and ambition intolerable; and on the submission and reconciliation of Rory to the state, Niall threw off all restraint and got himself proclaimed the O'Donnell. His revolt, however, was easily put down, and he was content to receive pardon and his own patrimonial inheritance. English law was now for the first time introduced into the territories of Tyrone and Tirconnell. The first sheriffs were appointed

bishop of Glasgow, another Roman Catholic, was very active with those of his own religion. Sir James Lindsay made great progress in gaining the English papists." As to his intrigues for facilitating his own approach to the throne by "wasting the vigour of the state of England," they were suspected by Elizabeth herself (*vide* Robertson); and Dr. Anderson (*Royal Genealogies*, p. 786), says, that during the reign of Elizabeth James "assisted the Irish privately more than Spain did publicly."

for them by Carew; and Sir Edward Pelham and Sir John Davis were the first to administer justice there according to the English forms.*

That the Irish fought for the freedom of the Catholic religion as well as for their national independence, in the reign of Elizabeth, there cannot be any reasonable doubt. All the cotemporary authorities show that the wars both of Ulster and Munster were essentially religious wars. The English writers pretend that they were chiefly fomented by the priests; and most of the Irish writers of that period expressly distinguish the national forces as the Catholic army. Nevertheless, a vast number of Catholics, Irish as well as Anglo-Irish, from one cause or another, fought under the royal standard, and their services could not be dispensed with by Elizabeth. Hence, while a sanguinary and unrelenting persecution was carried on against Catholics in England during her reign, it was necessary in Ireland to suspend to a great extent the operation of her persecuting laws. This did not amount to toleration. Simply, it was not convenient in many cases to put in force the existing laws against Catholicism. Under James, however, the case was different. Ireland had at length been conquered; a large portion of the Irish race had been exterminated; all was profound peace; the services of Catholics were no longer required; and, in fine, there was no reason, in the shape of expediency, why religious persecution should be longer delayed. The Puritan party was rising into power, and James, who, as a Stuart, was "ever forward in sacrificing his friend to the fear of his enemy,"† thought the time favorable for dissipating the illusions of the Irish Catholics about the public toleration of their faith.‡ Accordingly, on the 4th of July, 1605, he issued a proclamation, formally promulgating the Act of Uniformity (2 Eliz.), and commanding the "Popish clergy" to depart from the realm; and an insulting commission was issued to certain respectable Catholics, requiring them, under the title of inquisitors, to watch and inform against those of their own faith who did not

* Sir John Davis, who was king James's Attorney-General for Ireland, referring, in his *Historical Relations*, to his experience on these Irish circuits, says: "the truth is, that in time of peace the Irish are more fearful to offend the law than the English, or any other nation whatsoever;" and in concluding that tract, he observes:—"There is no nation of people, under the sun, that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish; or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves, so that they may have the protection and benefits of the law, when, upon just cause, they do desire it."

† Plowden, Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 338.

‡ Shortly after he came to the throne James sent orders to Dublin that the oath of supremacy should be administered to all Catholic lawyers and justices of the peace, and that the laws against recusants should be strictly enforced. Accordingly, sixteen Catholic aldermen and citizens of Dublin were summoned before the Privy Council, and six of them were fined £100 each, and three others £50 each, while all were committed prisoners to the castle during the pleasure of the court.

frequent the Protestant churches on the appointed days. The great Anglo-Irish families of the Pale remonstrated against this severity, and presented a petition for freedom of religious worship; but the leading petitioners were confined in the castle of Dublin, and their principal agent, sir Patrick Barnwell, was sent to England and committed to the tower. The same year the ancient Irish customs of tanistry and gavelkind were abolished by a judgment of the Court of King's Bench, and the inheritance of property was subjected to the rules of English law.

A.D. 1607.—While Irish feelings and institutions were thus trampled under foot, it was not to be expected that O'Neill and O'Donnell would be left in the quiet enjoyment of the vast tracts of country which they still continued to possess. The former illustrious chief was persecuted in a variety of ways. He himself complained that he was so watched by the spies of the government that the slightest of his actions could not escape their notice. His claims to portions of his ancestral lands were disputed under the English law, and he was harassed by legal inquiries into title, and processes issued from the courts in Dublin. George Montgomery, the Protestant bishop of Derry, was his chief persecutor in this way, and obtained against him the aid of O'Cahane, or O'Kane, with whom O'Neill had a dispute about certain boundaries. Finally, a conspiracy, devised most probably by Cecil himself, was resorted to. Christopher St. Laurence, baron of Howth, was employed to carry the scheme into execution, which he did by entrapping the earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell, the baron of Delvin, and O'Cahane, into a sham plot. Their meetings were held at Maynooth, the ancient seat of the earls of Kildare; but none of the Kildare family were cognizant of their proceedings. It is possible that the Irish chieftains may have entered seriously into the plans proposed to them, St. Laurence having kindled their anger by the statement, that he had private information of fresh persecution intended against their religion; but the plot was, nevertheless, a sham. On a certain day an anonymous letter, addressed to Sir William Ussher, clerk of the privy council, was dropped at the door of the council chamber, mentioning a design, then in contemplation, for seizing the castle of Dublin, murdering the lord deputy, and raising a general revolt, to be aided by Spanish forces. This letter came from lord Howth; and, although it mentioned no names, it was pretended that government was already in possession of information that fixed the guilt of the conspiracy on the earl of Tyrone.* Shortly after the country was startled by the

* Mr. Moore, who read the correspondence of lord Howth, and the depositions of lord Delvin, taken on the 6th of November, 1607, came to the conclusion that the earls of Tyrone and Tirconnell

news that O'Neill and O'Donnell, with their families, had fled privately from Ireland. They took shipping at Rathmullen, on Lough Swilly, in Donegal, on the 14th of September, and sailed to Normandy, whence they proceeded through Flanders to Rome, where they lived on a pension from the pope and the king of Spain. O'Donnell died the following year; but O'Neill survived until 1616, when he died at an advanced age, having become blind towards the close of his life. Less impulsive and enterprizing than Red Hugh O'Donnell, but equally valiant and devoted, Hugh O'Neill was a better strategist and commander. His tastes were enlightened; his manner dignified, polished, and agreeable; his habits temperate; his powers of endurance very great. He possessed an acute understanding and great prudence; and while he was generally an overmatch for English statesmen in council, he was decidedly the most formidable adversary in the field which the English power ever encountered in this country. With the heroic struggles of O'Neill and O'Donnell terminated the power of the Irish chiefs, and the national independence of the Milesian race.*

had really entered into the conspiracy. *Hist. of Irel.* vol. iv. pp. 453, &c. This, considering all the circumstances, is extremely probable, for the religious persecution, at that time, had become intolerable. See some of its features, set forth in a Latin letter dated May, 1607, and signed by a bishop, a vicar-general, six priests, and a knight. This document, published, for the first time, by Dr. Kelly, in his edition of O'Sullevan's *Catholic History*, p. 271, has the following passage:—"Even the illustrious earl of Tyrone, the Catholic Mardochai, already oppressed in various ways, is now coming to Dublin, under a citation from the viceroy. It is not pleasant to foretell evil; but the malice of the heretics towards him, and their inveterate guile, compel us, at least, to have some fear for him." The account of the so-called conspiracy, preserved by tradition in his time, is briefly mentioned by Dr. Anderson, an English Protestant divine, in his *Royal Genealogies*, a work printed in London in 1736, and dedicated to the Prince of Wales. In page 786 he says:—"Artful Cecil employed one St. Laurence to entrap the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, the lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot which had no evidence but his. But these chiefs being basely informed that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly fled from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, which was what their enemies wanted." That this Christopher St. Laurence, baron of Howth, who had embraced the new doctrines, was a fit person to carry out the nefarious plan, appears from the statement of Camden, who says (Eliz. p. 741), that he offered his services to the earl of Essex to murder lord Grey de Wilton and the Secretary, lest they should prejudice the queen against the earl, but that the latter declined availing himself of such means. Lord Delvin was arrested, but contrived to escape by means of a rope, conveyed to him by a friend, and was afterwards pardoned. Cormac, the brother of O'Neill, and O'Kane, were sent to the Tower of London.

* Some curious particulars about the departure of O'Neill from Ireland are given by Sir John Davis (*Hist. Rel.*), agreeing very nearly with those which appear in an Irish MS. at St. Isidore's, of which an extract has been published by Dr. O'Donovan, in the Four Masters, pp. 2352, &c. In the beginning of September, 1607, nearly four months after the pretended discovery of St. Laurence's plot by the anonymous letter, O'Neill was at Slane with the lord deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, and they conferred relative to a journey which the former was to make to London, before Michaelmas, in compliance with a summons from the king. While here, a letter was delivered to O'Neill from one John Bath, informing him that Maguire had arrived in a French ship in Lough Swilly. He then parted from the deputy in sadness, and was observed to weep bitterly on leaving the house of his old friend, Sir Garrett Moore, at Mellifont, where he took his leave even of the children and

A.D. 1608.—The slumber which followed these sad events was soon and rudely broken. Sir Cahir O'Doherty, chief of Inishowen, had hitherto lived on terms of friendship with the English authorities, but he was taunted with being privy to the escape of O'Neill; and sir George Paulett, who had succeeded sir Henry Docwra as governor of Derry, carried his insults so far as to strike him on the face. The blood of the young chieftain, who was only in his twenty-first year, boiled with rage at this indignity. The annalists say he was driven almost to madness, and rested not till he took fearful vengeance. He got possession of Culmore fort by stratagem at night, the 3rd of May. Cox adds that he put its garrison to the sword; and before morning he marched to Derry, which he took by surprise; he slew Paulett and some other leading persons, slaughtered the garrison, and sacked and burned the town. Thus, his revolt was kindled in a moment. He was joined by several of the northern chieftains, and expecting foreign aid through the intervention of the Irish princes abroad, held out until July, when he was killed by an accidental shot in a conflict with Wingfield, the marshal, and sir Oliver Lambert, and his head sent to Dublin. Niall Garv O'Donnell, his son Naughtan, and his brothers, were arrested as con-

the servants. On his way northward, he remained two days at his own residence in Dungannon, and proceeded thence hastily to Rathmullen, on the shore of Lough Swilly, where he found O'Donnell and several of his friends waiting and laying up stores in the French ship. The Four Masters enumerate the principal companions of his voyage. They were his countess, Catherine, daughter of Magennis (O'Neill's fourth wife); his three sons, Hugh, baron of Dungannon, John, and Brian; Art Oge, the son of his brother Cormac, and others of his relatives: Rory, or Roderic, O'Donnell, earl of Tirconnell; Caffar, or Cathbar, his brother, and his sister, Nuala, who was married to Niall Garv O'Donnell, but abandoned her husband when he became a traitor to his country; Hugh O'Donnell, the earl's son, and other members of his family; Cuconnaught Maguire; Owen Roe Mac Ward, chief bard of Tirconnell, &c. "Woe to the man that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on the project of their setting out on this voyage!" exclaim the annalists of Donegal, thus intimating that the flight of the Irish princes was, in the opinion of their cotemporaries, a rash proceeding, or that it was artfully prompted by their enemies. On the arrival of the earls in France the English minister demanded their surrender as rebels, but Henry IV. would not give them up. In passing thence through the Netherlands they were honorably received by the archduke Albert: and in Rome, "the common asylum of all Catholics," as it is called in the epitaph on young Hugh O'Neill's tomb, they met an affectionate and honorable welcome from Pope Pius V. The venerable pontiff regarded them as confessors, and, in conjunction with the king of Spain, afforded them liberal pensions for their support. But these illustrious exiles soon dropped into their foreign graves. O'Donnell died July 28th, 1608; his brother, Caffar, September 17th, the same year; Hugh, the baron, son of O'Neill, died the 23rd of September, the following year, in the 24th year of his age; and, lastly, the renowned Tyrone himself departed on the 20th of July, 1616. Their way to death was smoothed by all the consolations of religion, and their ashes repose together in the Franciscan church of St. Peter-in-Montorio, on the Janiculum. The murder of Henry (or Bernard), another son of O'Neill's, at Brussels, has been already mentioned. Maguire died at Genoa, on his way to Spain, August 12, 1608. Of the elogy composed for the earls by Mac Ward, a beautiful English version, by Clarence Mangan, will be found in the *Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, "Duffy's Library of Ireland."

federates of O'Doherty's, and the two former were sent to London and confined in the Tower, until their death in 1626. Felim MacDevit and others were executed.*

All this seemed to happen most opportunely for king James, who was now enabled to carry out his favorite scheme of colonization to his heart's content. Six counties of Ulster, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan, were confiscated to the crown, and were parcelled out among adventurers from England and Scotland. Various plans were proposed for the purpose, and among others, lord Bacon was consulted; but his plan was disapproved of. Sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy, was found to be more useful and practical in his views, and richly was he rewarded for the assistance which he rendered to his royal master. He received the wide lands of sir Cahir O'Doherty for his share in this wholesale spoliation. But the wealthy citizens of London were the largest participators in the plunder. They obtained 209,800 acres, and rebuilt the city, which, since then, has been called Londonderry. According to the plan finally adopted for the "plantation of Ulster," as this scheme was called, the lots into which the lands were divided were classified into those containing 2,000 acres, which were reserved for rich undertakers and the great servitors of the crown; those containing 1,500 acres, which were allotted to servitors of the crown in Ireland, with permission to take either English or Irish tenants; and thirdly, those containing 1,000 acres, which were to be distributed with still less restriction. The exclusion of the ancient inhabitants, and the proscription of the Catholic religion, were the fundamental principles which were to be acted on as far as practicable in this settlement.†

A.D. 1611.—The persecution of the Catholics was becoming daily more sanguinary and relentless, but the execution of the venerable Conor O'Devany, bishop of Down and Connor, which took place this year in Dublin, affords the most striking example of the extent to which it was carried at this time. This venerable prelate, who was then about eighty

* It is clear from statements in sir Henry Docwra's *Narration*, that sir Cahir O'Doherty had been goaded into resistance by acts of legal spoliation, under which he suffered before he was charged with rebellion or publicly insulted by Paulett. He had been induced to make some conveyances, probably during his minority, and endeavoured, in vain, to have them rescinded. According to tradition in the country, says Dr. O'Donovan, sir Cahir O'Doherty was killed under the rock of Doon, near Kilmacrenan. *Four Masters*, p. 2362, *n.*

† See Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*, and other original documents published in Harris's *Hibernica*, also, *The Confiscation of Ulster*, by Thomas MacNevin, in Duffy's *Library of Ireland*. Cox says that in the instructions, printed for the direction of the settlers, it was especially mentioned "tha they should not suffer any laborer, that would not take the oath of supremacy, to dwell upon their land."

years of age, was originally a Franciscan friar, and was condemned to death on the nominal charge of having been with O'Neill in Ulster; and at the same time a priest named Patrick O'Loughrane was tried and condemned for having sailed in the same ship with O'Neill and O'Donnell to France, although it appeared that he was only accidentally their fellow-passenger, the real offence of these pious men being the rank which they held in the Catholic Church. The sentence was that they be first hanged, then cut down alive, their bowels cast into the fire, and their bodies quartered. When the hangman, who was an Irishman, heard that the bishop was condemned, he fled from the city, and no other Irishman could be found to execute the atrocious sentence, so that it was necessary to release and forgive an English murderer, that he might hang the bishop. The old prelate, fearing that the horrible spectacle of his torments might cause the priest to waver, requested the executioner to put the latter to death first; but the priest said "he need not be in dread on his account, that he would follow him without fear; remarking, that it was not meet a bishop should be without a priest to attend him. This he fulfilled, for he suffered the like torture with fortitude, for the sake of the kingdom of Heaven for his soul."* These executions produced great excitement among the people. The Catholics collected the blood of the victims, whom they justly regarded as martyrs, and the next day they contrived to procure the mangled remains, and to inter them in a becoming manner.†

A.D. 1613.—Sir Arthur Chichester, who still held the reins of government in Ireland, was resolved to carry out his puritanical principles‡ to the utmost, and conceived a plan for erecting a "Protestant ascendancy" in this country. The plantation of Ulster with English Protestants and Scotch Presbyterians had paved the way for this project, but the work

* Four Masters.

† P. O'Sullevan Beare, who gives an interesting account of the trial of the bishop and priest, mentions several other cases of the execution of Catholics about this period, among others, that of the prior of Lough Derg, who was hanged and quartered. Vide *Hist. Cath.* p. 269.

‡ This sir Arthur Chichester was a pupil of the famous Puritan minister, Cartwright, who was in the habit of praying in his sermons: "O Lord, give us grace and power as one man to set ourselves against them," (the bishops). "At this time," says Plowden, (*History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 338.) "the general body of the reformed clergy in Ireland was Puritan; the most eminent of whom for learning was Ussher, then (1610) Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards (1624) Archbishop of Armagh, who by his management and contrivance procured the whole doctrine of Calvin to be received as the public belief of the Church of Ireland, and ratified by Chichester in the king's name. Not only the famous Lambeth articles concerning predestination, grace, and justifying faith, sent down as a standard of doctrine to Cambridge, but immediately suppressed by queen Elizabeth, and afterwards rejected by king James, but also several particular fancies and notions of his own were (in 1615) incorporated, says Carte (Orm. vol. i. p. 73.) into the articles of the Church of Ireland."

was as yet only half done. The deputy persuaded James that a parliament should be called. It was twenty-seven years since one had been held in Ireland; but the vast preponderance of population, property, and influence was still on the side of the Catholics, and to break that down a great deal was to be done in the shape of preliminary arrangements. The deputy demanded, and easily obtained from the king, ample powers for these preparations, with which he undertook to secure a sufficient majority in both houses. Seventeen new counties had been formed since the last parliament; but many of these would send Catholic representatives, and it was by the creation of new boroughs that Chichester proposed to overwhelm the Catholic rank and population of the country. Forty new boroughs were accordingly created, many of them paltry villages or scattered houses, inhabited only by some half dozen of the new Ulster settlers, and several of them not being incorporated until after the writs had been issued. No previous communication of the design to summon parliament, or of the laws intended to be enacted, had been made pursuant to Poyning's act and the Catholics justly apprehended a design to impose fresh grievances upon them. A letter signed by six Catholic lords of the Pale was accordingly addressed to the king, but he treated their remonstrance with contempt. He pronounced their memorial to be a rash and insolent interference with his authority, and the lord deputy was allowed to pack his parliament as he pleased.* The first trial of strength was in the election of a speaker. Sir John Everard, who had resigned his position as justice of the king's bench, rather than take the oath of supremacy, was proposed by the recusants, and Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, by the court party. The proceedings which ensued were scandalous. The recusants deemed the numerical majority of their opponents to be factious and illegal, as it really was, and in the absence of the court party in another room to be counted, according to the forms then in use, they placed their own candidate in the speaker's chair. On the return of the court party into the house a tumultuous scene took place. These placed sir John Davis in the lap of sir John Everard, and then pulled the latter out of the chair, tearing his garments in the act. The Catholic party thereupon seceded from parliament, and

* Of the 232 members returned, 125 were Protestants, 101 belonged to the "recusant" or Catholic party, and 6 were absent. The Upper House consisted of 16 temporal barons, 25 Protestant prelates, 5 viscounts, and 4 earls, of whom a considerable majority belonged to the court party. The wonder, observes Plowden, is, how so large a majority of Protestants was obtained, considering how very few of the Irish had adopted the new doctrines; not sixty, says the Abbé Mageoghegan, down to the reign of James.

sent a deputation to London to lay their complaints before the king, eight peers and about twice as many commoners being chosen for this purpose, parliament having in the meantime been prorogued.*

The reception given to the Catholic delegates was harsh and insulting. Two of the members, Talbot and Luttrell, were committed, one to the Tower, and the other to the Fleet prison; but ultimately James dismissed them after a severe rating in his own peculiar style,† and a commission of inquiry was granted; one of the concessions made being, that the members for boroughs incorporated after the writs were issued had no right to sit. In the subsequent sessions of this parliament, until it was dissolved in October, 1615, no further display of angry feelings between the two parties took place. There appeared, indeed, to have been mutual concessions. An intended penal law, of a very sweeping character, was not brought forward;‡ and while, on the other hand, large subsidies, which gratified the insatiable rapacity of the monarch, were voted, an act of oblivion and general pardon was passed in return; and the Irish in general were, for the first time, taken within the pale of the English law. But the measure which renders this parliament of James's most memorable was that for the attainder of Hugh O'Neill, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, sir Cahir O'Doherty, and several other Irish chiefs—an unjust and vindictive act for which the grounds were never proved, and which, as being sanctioned by the Catholic party in a suicidal spirit of compromise, assumed, remarks Mr. Moore, "a still more odious character, and left a stain upon the record of their proceedings during this reign."§

* "It may be here remarked," observes Mr. Moore, "as one of the proofs of the sad sameness of Irish history, that nearly 200 years after these events, when, by the descendants of these Catholic lords and gentry, the same wrongs were still suffered, the same righteous cause to be upheld, it was by expedients nearly similar that they contrived to resist peaceably their persecutors. In the separate assembly formed by the recusants we find the prototype of the Catholic Association; while the large fund so promptly raised to defray the cost of the deputation to England was, in its spirit and national purpose, a forerunner of the Catholic Rent."—*History of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 166.

† This silly, pedantic despot, whom his flatterers styled the "British Solomon," and who has been lauded by Hume and others for his Irish legislation, taunted the Irish agents as "a body without a head: a headless body; you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets: a body without a head to speak!" and he asked "what is it to you whether I make many or few boroughs. My council may consider the fitness if I require it; but if I made forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs—the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer." As to his Irish government, he told them, there was nothing faulty in it, "unless they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the Kingdom of Heaven!" See his curious incoherent speech, which was addressed to the lords of the council in presence of the Irish delegates, given in full by Cox.

‡ See O'Sullevan's *Hist. Cath.* pp. 310—312. Ed. 1850.

§ It has been argued that the Irish chieftains possessed only the *usufruct* and not the property of the soil; and that therefore the rights of their feudatories to the latter could not have been forfeited by the rebellion of the chiefs. See translator's note to *De Beaumont's Ireland*, p. 57. Mr. O'Connell, in his *Memoir of Ireland* (p. 172), argues that James undermined his own title to the

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A.D. 1616.*—Sir Arthur Chichester having completed his task, and received as his reward an additional grant of Irish lands, together with the title of baron of Belfast, withdrew from the Irish government, and was replaced by sir Oliver St. John, afterwards created viscount Grandison, whose instructions were to enforce with extreme rigor the fine inflicted on Catholics for absence from the Protestant service. This penal tax was not only most galling to the feelings of Catholics, but was most oppressive in a pecuniary point of view; for while the sum levied each time was only twelve pence according to the law, it was swelled up to ten shillings by the fees always exacted for clerks and officers, and the appropriation of the penalty to works of charity, as the act required, was shamefully evaded, as it was argued that the poor being Catholics themselves were not fit to receive the money, but "ought to pay the like penalty themselves."

In 1617 a proclamation was issued for the expulsion of the Catholic regular clergy, and the city of Waterford was deprived of its charter and liberties in consequence of the spirited and steadfast rejection of the oath of supremacy by its corporation. In 1622 Henry Carey, Viscount Faulkland, was sent over as lord deputy, and at the ceremony of his inauguration, the celebrated James Ussher, then Protestant bishop of Meath, and soon after made archbishop of Armagh, taking as his text the words of St. Paul: "He beareth not the sword in vain,"† delivered a fanatical harangue, which filled the Catholics with alarm; and finally, in the following year, another proclamation was issued for the banishment of all the "Popish clergy," regular and secular, ordering them to depart from the kingdom within forty days, and forbidding any one to hold intercourse with them after that period.‡ Thus was the penal code, although then only in its infancy, rapidly approaching that acme of cruelty which it afterwards reached.

six confiscated counties of Ulster by declaring that the exiled earls had no title whatever to the possessions forfeited. These, however, are but speculative objections. As to the Catholics who voted the attainder of O'Neill, they were chiefly Anglo-Irish.

* The Four Masters desert us at this date, under which they give their last entry: the death of Hugh O'Neill; and for the few preceding years, from the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell, the information they afford is very scanty.

† Rom. xiii. 4. For Ussher's Puritanism, see note, p. 501.

‡ P. O'Sullevan Beare, who wrote towards the close of the reign of James I., says, he did not know the number of ecclesiastics then in Ireland; but he was aware that government had, through its spies, ascertained the names of 1,160 priests, regular and secular: and Dr. Kelly, in his note on this passage (*Hist. Cath.* p. 298), says, he once saw a list of all the Catholic clergy in Ireland at this time, but that at present it is not easily accessible. F. Moony says, there were 120 Franciscan friars, of whom 35 were preachers in Ireland: besides 40 more engaged in their studies at Louvain when he wrote (about 1616). It is said in the *Hibernia Dominicana*

The systematic rapine called "plantation" was so successful in Ulster, that James was resolved to extend it into other parts of the kingdom. For this purpose he appointed a commission of inquiry to scrutinize the titles and determine the rights of all the lands in Leinster, that province being the next theatre of this iniquitous spoliation; and so rapid was the progress of the commissioners, that in a little time land to the extent of 385,000 acres more was placed at the king's disposal for distribution. Old and obsolete claims, some of them dating as far back as Henry II., were revived; advantage was taken of trivial flaws and minute informalities. The ordinary principles of justice were set at naught; perjury, fraud, and the most infamous arts of deceit were resorted to; and, as even Leland tells us, "there are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation employed to despoil the fair and unfortunate proprietor of his inheritance."* From Leinster the system was extended into Connaught, but its principal operation in the latter province was reserved for the next reign. James I. died on the 27th of March, 1625; and in consequence of his wholesale plunder, oppression, and persecution of the Irish, left a woeful legacy to his unfortunate successor.†

that there were but four Dominicans in Ireland at the time of Elizabeth's death. The Jesuits, though not numerous, were exceedingly active. F. Verdier reported that there were 53 Fathers, 3 coadjutors, and 11 novices of the Company of Jesus in Ireland in 1659. The affairs of the Irish Church were chiefly managed by the four Archbishops, the succession of whom was well kept up by the Pope. These appointed Vicars-General, with Apostolic authority in the suffragan dioceses, and these, again, appointed the parish priests. O'Sullevan gives the names of the four Archbishops when he wrote (1618) as, Eugene Magauran, of Dublin; David O'Carny, of Cashel; Peter Lombard, of Armagh; and Florence O'Mulconry, of Tuam. He mentions, as then established, the Irish seminaries of Salamanca, Compostella, and Seville, in Spain; Lisbon, in Portugal; Louvain, Antwerp, and Tournay, in Flanders; and Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Paris, in France. Irish students were also received in other colleges, but in some of the places just mentioned the seminaries for the Irish were not yet regularly founded.

* *History of Ireland*, B. iv. c. 8. See as an illustration of this scandalous plunder, and of the unprincipled ingenuity and perseverance of the "discoverers," as they were called, the account of the spoliation of the O'Byrnes of Ranelagh, in Wicklow, as given in Taylor's *History of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 243, 246, and quoted in full in O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*, pp. 161, &c. The native septs of the Queen's County were transplanted to Kerry; and in many instances proprietors, as in the case of the Farralls, were dispossessed without receiving any compensation.

† Some of the minor crimes of James's Government against the Irish, are thus summed up by Leland (B. iv. c. 8.): "Extortions and oppressions of the soldiers in various excursions from their quarters, for levying the king's rents, or supporting the civil power; a rigorous and tyrannical execution of martial law in time of peace; a dangerous and unconstitutional power assumed by the Privy Council in deciding causes determinable by common law; the severe treatment of witnesses and jurors in the Castle-chamber, whose evidence or verdicts had been displeasing to the State; the grievous exaction of the established clergy for the occasional duties of their functions; and the severity of the ecclesiastical courts." As to the punishment of jurors, it was laid down as a principle by Chichester that the proper tribunal to punish jurors, who would not find for the king on "sufficient evidence," was the Star-chamber; sometimes they were "pillored with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked on the forehead with a hot iron, &c."—*Commons' Journal*, vol. i. p. 507.

CHAPTER XXXVII

REIGN OF CHARLES I.

Hopes of the Catholics on the accession of Charles, and corresponding alarm of the Protestants—Intolerant declaration of the Protestant bishops.—The "graces."—The royal promise broken.—Renewed persecution of the Catholics.—Outrage on a Catholic congregation in Cook-street.—Confiscation of Catholic schools and chapels.—Government of Lord Wentworth or Strafford—He summons a Parliament—His shameful duplicity.—The Commission of "Defective Titles" for Connaught.—Atrocious spoliation in the name of law.—Jury-packing.—Noble conduct of a Galway jury—Their punishment.—Plantation of Ormond, &c.—Fresh subsidies by an Irish Parliament.—Strafford raises an army of Irish Catholics—He is impeached by Parliament—His execution.—Causes of the great insurrection of 1641.—Threats of the Puritans to extirpate the Catholic religion in Ireland.—The Irish abroad—Their numbers and influence.—First movements among the Irish gentry—Roger O'More—Lord Maguire—Sir Phelim O'Neill.—Promises from Cardinal Richelieu.—Officers in the King's interest combine with the Irish gentry—Discovery of the conspiracy.—Arrest of Lord Maguire and MacMahon.—Alarm in Dublin.—The outbreak in Ulster—Its first successes—Proclamation of Sir Phelim O'Neill—Feigned commission from the King—Gross exaggeration of the cruelties of the Irish.—Bishop Bedell and the remonstrance from Cavan.—The massacre of Island Magee.—The fable of a general massacre by the Catholics refuted.—Proclamations of the Lords Justices.—The Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale insulted and repulsed.—Scheme of a general confiscation.—Approach of the northern Irish to the Pale—They take Mellifont and lay siege to Drogheda.—Sir Charles Coote's atrocities in Wicklow.—Efforts of the Catholic gentry to communicate with the King.—Outrages of troopers—The gentry of the Pale compelled to stand on their defence.—Meeting on the Hill of Crofty.—The lords of the Pale take up arms.—The insurrection spreads into Munster and Connaught.—Royal proclamation.—Conduct of the English Parliament.—The insurrection general—Siege of Drogheda raised.—The battle of Kilrush.—The general assembly, &c.

[FROM A.D. 1626 TO A.D. 1642.]

THE well-known moderation of Charles I. inspired the Irish Catholics with hope of a mitigation of the intolerance under which they groaned, but a corresponding alarm was manifested by the Protestants lest any such mercy should be extended to their opponents. In 1626 Faulkland, who was still lord deputy, advised the Catholics to send agents to the king, encouraging them to expect some favor in return for pecuniary support; and taking this implied promise for a reality, they are said to have boasted too readily of the relief which they anticipated. This kindled the zeal of all classes of Protestants. The Protestant pulpits resounded with declamations on the subject; and archbishop Ussher, with all the prelates of the state church, joined in a protest, declaring that "to grant the

papists a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrines, was a grievous sin," and "a matter of most dangerous consequence;" wherefore they prayed God "to make those in authority zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry." No political, or any other than theological grounds, were put forward for this ebullition of bigotry; but in the meantime the Catholic agents persevered in their negociations with the king, whose exigencies were well understood. The prodigality of his father had burdened him with a heavy debt, and foreign wars demanded supplies which his parliament refused to grant, except on hard and dishonorable terms. He was therefore glad to accept from the Irish Catholics the offer of a voluntary subsidy of £120,000, to be paid in three annual instalments, and in return he undertook to grant them certain concessions or immunities which are known in the history of the period as the "graces." Many of these "graces" applied to others in Ireland besides Catholics. The more important were those which provided "that recusants should be allowed to practise in the courts of law, and to sue out the livery of their lands on taking an oath of civil allegiance in lieu of the oath of supremacy; that the undertakers in the several plantations should have time allowed them to fulfil the conditions of their tenures; that the claims of the crown should be limited to the last sixty years; and that the inhabitants of Connaught should be permitted to make a new enrolment of their estates." The contract was duly ratified by a royal proclamation, in which the concessions were accompanied by a promise that a parliament should be held to confirm them. The first instalment of the money was paid, and the Irish agents returned home, but only to learn that an order had been issued against "the popish regular clergy," and that the royal promise was to be evaded in the most shameful manner. When the Catholics pressed for the fulfilment of the compact, the essential formalities for calling an Irish parliament were found to have been omitted by the officials, and thus the matter fell to the ground for the present. Lord Faulkland was recalled at the representation of the Puritans; and viscount Ely (the chancellor) and the earl of Cork (lord high treasurer) having been appointed lords justices, the penalties against recusants, under the 2nd of Elizabeth, were, without any instructions from the king, put in force with extreme rigor, and a system of frightful terrorism carried out.*

* Sir Richard Boyle, commonly called the "great" earl of Cork, one of the lords justices mentioned above, and one of the most fortunate of all English adventurers in Ireland, left an auto-

A single fact will shew the nature of the persecution to which the Catholics were subjected at this time in Dublin. The protestant archbishop, doctor Launcelot Bulkeley, being informed that a fraternity of Carmelites had the temerity to celebrate mass publicly in their chapel in Cook-street, proceeded thither with the mayor and a file of soldiers, during the celebration of High Mass, on St. Stephen's Day, December, 1629, dispersed the congregation, profaned the altar, hewed down the statue of St. Francis, and arrested some of the friars. These were, however, rescued by the people, who did not hesitate to pursue even the archbishop himself and compel him to seek shelter in a house. A few days after an order arrived from the English council to have the chapel demolished, and three other chapels and a Catholic seminary in Dublin seized and converted to the king's use.* Eight Catholic aldermen of Dublin were arrested for not assisting the mayor, and the persecution was afterwards extended over the kingdom; yet at this time the Catholics formed a majority of at least a hundred to one of the population of Ireland.

In July, 1633, viscount Wentworth, whose hateful memory is better preserved by his subsequent title of earl of Strafford, commenced his duties as lord deputy of Ireland. He had recently abandoned the popular cause in England, and attached himself to the king, to whom he became a most devoted, but most unprincipled, minister. He came to Ireland with feelings of thorough contempt for all classes here, and his supercilious bearing gave great offence to the council and the nobility.

biography which he called his "True Remembrances," and of which a portion has been printed in *Lodge's Irish Peerage* (Archdall's *Lodge*, vol. i., pp. 150, &c.) It happens, however, that his account of himself is by no means reliable. Cotemporary documents have turned up which charge him with having commenced his career with "forgeries, raisings (erasings), and perjuries," by which "he thrust many a man out of his land." He is said to have acquired his enormous possessions by most dishonest means—by falsifications, counterfeit letters, intimidation, mis-application of official power, &c. See Transactions of Brit. Archæol. Association for 1844, where his real character was exposed by the late Mr. Crofton Croker; also Wright's *Hist. of Ir.* vol. i. pp. 618, &c. He tells us himself how he purchased the Irish estates of sir Walter Raleigh, amounting to many thousand acres in Cork and Waterford, for £1,500; married as his second wife (his first being a Mrs. Apsley, a Limerick lady, who brought him £500 a-year) the daughter of sir Geoffrey Fenton, the potent and despotic secretary of state for Ireland; and obtained a variety of titles, until he became earl of Cork, lord high treasurer, and lord justice of Ireland. "At great expense," says the memoir, "he encouraged the settlement of protestants, the suppression of popery, the regulation of the army, the increase of the public revenue, and the transplantation of many septs and barbarous clans from the fruitful province of Leinster into the wilds of Kerry." Robert Boyle, the philosopher, was the youngest of his sons.

* The circumstances are thus related by Harris and others on the authority of a publication called *Foxes and Firebrands;* but the Carmelite and Franciscan chapels were both at this time in Cook-street, and Mr. Gilbert (*Hist. of Dub.*, vol. i., p. 299) says it was in the latter this outrage was committed. He adds, that consequent upon this affair the Franciscan schools throughout Ireland were dissolved, and that F. Valentine Browne, the provincial, sent the novices to complete their studies in foreign countries.

In July, 1634, he assembled a parliament, the subserviency of which he endeavoured to secure by having a number of persons in the pay of the crown, chiefly military officers, returned as members. The question of the "graces" still agitated the public mind; and he gave the strongest assurances that these concessions would be confirmed, provided the supplies, demanded by the king, were readily voted. "Surely," said he, in his speech from the throne, "so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts, as once to suspect his majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, where you affie yourselves upon his grace." The supplies were accordingly granted, and with so generous a hand, that six subsidies of £50,000 each were voted, although Wentworth tells us that "he never propounded more to the king than £30,000." But while parliament acted thus, relying on the promises of the king and his deputy, the latter had basely resolved that these promises never should be fulfilled, and contrived to evade them in such a way as to remove the odium of doing so from his royal master, who, however, unfortunately for his own fame, fully sanctioned the scandalous treachery of his servant.*

The "grace" to which Wentworth had the strongest objection was that which would make sixty years of undisputed possession a bar to the claims of the crown, in cases of landed property—and with good reason, as he showed; for as soon as parliament was dissolved in April, 1635, a commission of "defective titles" was issued for Connaught, with the design of confiscating the whole of that province to the crown by fictitious forms of law. James I. having extended the system of spoliation called "planting" wherever the native Irish continued to hold their own, first, in the six counties of Ulster, and then in the Irish parts of Leinster, as Longford, which was the O'Farrell's country; Wicklow, which was held by the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes; the north part of Wexford, which belonged to the Kavanaghs; Iregan, in the Queen's County, which belonged to the Mageoghegans; and Kilcoursey, in the King's County, belonging to the O'Molloys; and having also replanted Desmond, which had been desolated in the last war in Munster, it now remained, in order to find fresh ground for a Protestant colonization from England and

* The king writes thus to the deputy:—"Wentworth: Before I answer any of your particular letters to me I must tell you that your last public despatch has given me a great deal of contentment; and especially for keeping off the envy" (odium) "of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me." *Strafford's State Letters*, vol. i. p. 331. Wentworth describes how Sir John Radcliffe and two of the judges assisted him in his plan; and how, through the medium of a committee, a positive refusal to recommend the passing of the "graces" into law was conveyed to parliament at its next session." *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 279, &c.

Scotland, to hunt out old claims, or supposed claims, of the crown, and thus to reach lands long held under the security of the English law.* Wentworth commenced the work of plunder with Roscommon, and, as a preliminary step, directed the sheriff to select such jurors as might be made amenable, "in case they should prevaricate," or, in other words, such as might be ruined, by enormous fines, if they refused to find a verdict for the king.† The jurors were told that the object of the commission was to find "a clear and undoubted title in the crown to the province of Connaught," and to make them "a civil and rich people" by means of a plantation; for which purpose his majesty should, of course, have the land in his own hands to distribute to fit and proper persons. Under threats which could not be misunderstood the jury found for the king, whereupon Wentworth commended the foreman, sir Lucas Dillon, to his majesty, that "he might be remembered upon the dividing of the lands," and also obtained a competent reward for the judges.‡

Similar means had a like success in Mayo and Sligo; but when it came to the turn of the more wealthy and populous county of Galway, the jury refused to sanction the nefarious robbery by their verdict. Wentworth was furious at this rebuff, and the unhappy jurors were punished without mercy for their "contumacy." They were compelled to appear in the castle chamber, where each of them was fined £4,000, and their estates were seized and they themselves imprisoned until these fines should be paid; while the sheriff was fined £1,000, and being unable to pay that sum, died in prison. Wentworth proposed to seize the lands, not only of the jurors, but of all the gentry who neglected "to

* Leland describes Wentworth's scheme in the following words:—"His project was nothing less than to subvert the title to every estate in every part of Connaught, and to establish a new plantation through this whole province; a project which, when first proposed in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement, but which suited the undismayed and enterprising genius of lord Wentworth. For this he had opposed the confirmation of the royal graces, and taken to himself the odium of so flagrant a violation of the royal promise. The parliament was at an end, and the deputy at leisure to execute a scheme, which, as it was offensive and alarming, required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of state and the memorials of ancient monasteries were ransacked to ascertain the king's original title to Connaught. It was soon discovered, that in the grant of Henry III. to Richard de Burgo, five cantreds were reserved to the crown, adjacent to the castle of Athlone; that this grant included the whole remainder of the province, which was now alleged to have been forfeited by Aedh O'Connor, the Irish provincial chieftain; that the land and lordship of De Burgo descended, lineally, to Edward IV., and were confirmed to the crown by a statute of Henry VII. The ingenuity of court lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the possessors of these lands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth." Hist. of Ireland, B. iv. c. i.

† *Strafford's Letters*, i. p. 442.

‡ Sir Lucas Dillon received a large estate, probably out of his own lands; and we are told by Strafford (*Letters*, ii. p. 241) that Sir Gerard Lowther, chief justice of the Common Pleas, and the chief baron, got four shillings in the pound of the first year's rent raised under the Commission of "Defective Titles." Never was justice more disgraced.

lay hold on his majesty's grace;" he called for an increase of the army "until the intended plantation should be settled;" and recommended that the counsel who argued the cases against the king before the commissioners should be silenced until they took the oath of supremacy, which was accordingly done.* A title in the crown to the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary, and to some adjacent territories, all belonging to the earls of Ormond, was also set up, and an inquisition for trying the claim ordered; but lord Ormond prudently compromised the matter, although he knew that his own case was perfectly good, and that the crown would have an insuperable difficulty in the production of the ancient title-deeds. He thus secured a large proportion of the lands for himself and his friends.† Besides this scandalous system of spoliation, other modes of legal persecution were resorted to. A Court of Wards, by which the heirs of estates were reared up in the Protestant religion, was instituted; also a high commission court, which exercised a fearful tyranny over all classes; and the extortions practised by the ecclesiastical courts were wholly intolerable.

Matters proceeded thus for a few years, and in 1640 we find another Irish parliament appealed to for subsidies under the pressure of the Scottish rebellion, and a voluntary contribution, headed by £20,000 from Wentworth himself, raised to meet the immediate wants of the monarch. Though not a warm nor generous patron, Charles could not fail to recognise so much devotedness on the part of the deputy, who was accordingly rewarded with the titles of earl of Strafford and baron of Raby, and with the dignity of lord lieutenant of Ireland. As on the last occasion, the Irish parliament was loyal and liberal in the extreme, and voted four entire subsidies; some of the members protesting, with characteristic warmth, that six or seven more ought to be given, and others declaring that "their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his majesty." The annual revenue of Ireland had been increased under Strafford's management to over £80,000. The trade of the country had considerably improved; and although he destroyed the Irish woollen

* "The gentlemen of Connaught," says Carte (*Life of Ormond*, vol. i.), "laboured under a particular hardship on this occasion; for their not having enrolled their patents and surrenders of the 13th Jacobi (which was what alone rendered their titles defective) was not their fault, but the neglect of a clerk entrusted by them. For they had paid near £3,000 to the offices at Dublin for the enrolment of these surrenders and patents, which was never made." The same authority tells us that all these proceedings of Wentworth were sanctioned by the king; his majesty having assured the deputy before the English council in 1636 that his treatment of the Galway jurors "was no severity," and wished him "to go on in that way;" adding "that if he served him otherwise he would not serve him as he expected." (Carte's *Ormond*, vol. iii., p. 11.)

† Carte, vol. i., p. 59.

manufacture, which had threatened to affect the staple of England, he attempted to give a substitute by encouraging the growth of flax and the manufacture of linen, for which purpose he expended large sums of money. He raised an army of 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse in Ireland, at least nine-tenths of this force being Catholic, and committing the government to his friend Sir Christopher Wandesford, as his deputy, he went to England, and took the command of the army sent against the Scots. Fortune now turned against him; he was unsuccessful as a commander, and had incurred the hatred of the Scots and English to even a greater extent than that of the Irish. The long parliament was opened on the 3rd November, 1640, and one of its first acts was the impeachment of Strafford. Many of the charges against him related to his Irish administration, but the most serious of them in the eyes of the Puritans were his attempts to establish the arbitrary power of the crown, and his enrolment of an army of "Irish Papists," which he was accused of intending to bring over to support the king against his subjects in England. A deputation from the Irish parliament arrived with a "remonstrance of grievances" against him; and he was convicted of offences amounting in the aggregate to constructive treason. The wretched king was compelled to sign his death-warrant, and on the 12th of May, 1641, Strafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, a fate which he deserved, if not for the charges laid against him, at least for the horrible injustice that he exercised during the eight years of his administration in Ireland.*

A.D. 1641.—With the forty preceding years' continuity of wholesale spoliation, galling oppression, terrorism, religious proscription, and national degradation still present to us, and with a due consideration of the traditions of the people on the one side, and of the passing events in surrounding countries on the other, the reader will not be at a loss to account for the events which it now becomes our duty to relate. The royalist earl of Castlehaven, who writes as an eye-witness, and was not prejudiced in favor of the native Irish, tells us that these latter assigned as the causes of the civil war of 1641, first, that "they were generally looked upon as a conquered nation, seldom or never treated like natural or free-born subjects;" secondly, "that six whole counties in Ulster were escheated to the crown, and little or nothing restored to the natives, but a great part bestowed by king James on his countrymen;" thirdly,

* It should be mentioned as a redeeming feature in Strafford's character that he persecuted no man solely on account of his religion, and that he disliked the Puritans quite as much as he did the Catholics.

"that in Strafford's time the crown laid claim also to the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Cork, with some parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow, and others;" fourthly, that "great severities were used against the Roman Catholics in England, and that both houses (of the Irish parliament) solicited by several petitions out of Ireland to have those of that kingdom treated with the like rigor; which," he adds, "to a people so fond of their religion as the Irish, was no small inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to stand upon their guard;" fifthly, "that they saw how the Scots, by pretending grievances, and taking up arms to get them redressed, had not only gained divers privileges and immunities, but got £300,000 for their visit (to England), besides £850 a day for several months together;" and lastly, "that they saw a storm draw on, and such misunderstandings daily arise between the king and parliament as portended no less than a sudden rupture between them," and therefore they believed that "the king thus engaged, partly at home and partly with the Scotch, could not be able to suppress them so far off," but "would grant them anything they could in reason demand, at least more than otherwise they could expect."*

One point, put only obscurely among the preceding reasons was, in reality, of considerable importance, namely, the dread which the Irish Catholics at this time entertained of the extirpation of their religion. This appears from a multitude of authorities. Petitions which tended to nothing less than the destruction of the Catholic religion, and of the lives and estates of Catholics, were privately circulated among the Protestants, and were countenanced by the very men who had the government of Ireland then in their hands; it was confidently reported that the Scottish army had threatened never to lay down their arms until the Catholic religion had been suppressed, and a uniformity of worship established in the three kingdoms. Letters to that effect were intercepted; and it cannot be denied that the course which events were then taking beyond the channel rendered the very worst of these apprehensions probable.†

* *Castlehaven's Memoirs*, pp. 8, 11; ed. 1819. An English cotemporary Protestant writer represents the motives of the Irish much in the same way, and particularly observes that they considered "that they also had sundry grievances and grounds of complaint, both touching their estates and consciences, which they pretended to be far greater than those of the Scotch. For they fell to think that if the Scotch were suffered to introduce a new religion, it was reason they should not be punished in the exercise of their old, which they glory never to have altered."—*Howel's Mercurius Hibernicus for* 1643.

† See some of the authorities on this point, collected by Dr. Curry in his *Review of the Civil Wars*, pp. 147, 148; ed. 1810. "Some time before the rebellion broke out," says Carte, "it was

Another circumstance that presents itself in a strong light to us, while investigating the causes of the great outbreak which renders this year so memorable in our history, is the position, in point of numbers and influence, which Irishmen then occupied on the continent. In their struggles for national and religious independence, during the reign of Elizabeth, the Irish looked for help to the great Catholic powers; but now their own countrymen in Spain, France, and the Low Countries, many of whom had acquired great military eminence, were able, of themselves, to furnish armies and money. These friends abroad were not unmindful of their suffering fatherland, and during the whole of 1640 and 1641 the prospect of an invasion of Ireland seems to have agitated their minds.*

confidently reported that Sir John Clotworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the house of commons in England, had declared there in a speech that the conversion of the papists in Ireland was only to be effected by the Bible in one hand, and the sword in the other; and Mr. Pyne gave out that they would not leave a priest in Ireland. To the like effect sir William Parsons, (one of the lords justices of Ireland,) out of a strange weakness, or detestable policy, positively asserted before so many witnesses at a public entertainment, that within a twelvemonth no Catholic should be seen in Ireland. He had sense enough to know the consequences that would naturally arise from such a declaration; which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would hardly have ventured to make so openly and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the politics and measures of the English faction whose party he espoused."—*Carte's Ormond,* vol. i. p. 235. Dr. Warner, a Protestant writer, observes (*Hist. of the Irish Rebel.*) that it was evident from a letter of the lord justice to the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant, "that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the mere Irish only, but of all the old English families also, that were Roman Catholics."

* Early in the reign of James I. the Irish began to seek refuge in foreign countries from the ruin and desolation which had overspread their own. A great many, says O'Sullivan, speaking of his own times, went to France, but by far the greater number flocked to Spain; and every where, he adds, these exiles for their faith were received most hospitably and courteously by Catholics. The king of Spain, in particular, was most generous to them, assigning monthly pensions to their principal men, according to their rank, and putting others under military pay. He formed an Irish legion, which served with great bravery in Belgium, first [illegible] Henry O'Neill, and, after his death, under his brother, John—both sons of the illustrious H[illegible] O'Neill. (*Hist. Cath.*, p. 262) The number of Irish soldiers abroad was very much increased by the licence which James I. granted in 1623 for the enlistment of Irish for the Spanish service; and on that occasion great terror was excited in the Pale by the assembling of bands of Irishmen, preparatory to their embarkation, under the sons of their ancient chieftains then acknowledging allegiance to a foreign king. Such was the origin of the Irish Brigades, afterwards so celebrated in the history of Europe. It was a little before the date at which we have now arrived, namely in June, 1635, that an Irish regiment in the Spanish service, under their colonel, Preston, immortalized themselves by their heroic defence of Louvain, one of the most remarkable incidents in the history of the time. (See it related in *O'Conor's Military Memoirs of the Irish*, and in the introduction of Dr. French's works in *Duffy's Library of Ireland.*) The great Irish Franciscan, Father Luke Wadding, was at this time a centre of intellectual attraction among the learned and the pious in Rome; but not to dwell on those children of the Green Isle, who, by attaining to distinction in the church and the court, among the most enlightened nations of the world, vindicated in that age the character of their country as the missionary Irish saints and scholars on the continent had done a thousand years before; we come to an important and significant list of "Irishmen Abroad," made out, about the very time referred to in the text, by some industrious spy of the English government. The compiler of this list, after observing that the dangers of Ireland "doe depend most on the practices

Early in the latter of these years we find a few of the native Irish gentry at home, meeting together to talk over a plan for redressing their grievances by insurrection. The first movement is traced to Mr. Roger O'More, or Moore, a member of the ancient family of the chiefs of Leix; and with him we find associated by degrees, lord Maguire, an Irish nobleman who retained a small fragment of the ancient patrimony of his family in Fermanagh, and who was overwhelmed with debt; his brother, Roger Maguire; sir Phelim O'Neill of Kinnard, of the illustrious stock of Tyrone;* Turlough O'Neill, brother of the last-named;

of their Romish priests, the plots and purposes of Irish commanders serving foreign princes, and the discontentment of the people, especially the Irish natives;" and stating that "the Romish priests were much multiplied of late years in number, power, and countenance," proceeds to enumerate the chief men of Irish and Anglo-Irish extraction then serving foreign princes, in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and the Low Countries. The list begins with don Richardo Burke, "a man much experienced in martial affairs," and "a good inginiere." He served many years under the Spaniards in Naples and the West Indies, and was the governor of Leghorn for the duke of Florence. Next, "Phellomy O'Neill, nephew unto old Tyrone, liveth in great respect (in Milan), and is a captaine of a troop of horse." Then comes James Rowthe or Rothe, an alfaros, or standard-bearer in the Spanish army, and his brother, Captain John Rothe, "a pensioner in Naples, who carried Tyrone out of Ireland." One Captain Soloman Mac Da, a Geraldine, resided at Florence, and Sir Thomas Talbot, a knight of Malta, and "a resolute and well-beloved man," lived at Naples, in which latter city "there were some other Irish captaines and officers." The list then proceeds: "In Spain, captain Phellomy Cavanagh, son-in-law to Donell Spaniagh, serveth under the king by sea. Captain Soulevayne (O'Sullivan), a man of noted courage. These live commonly at Lisbonne, and are sea-captaines. Besides others of the Irish, Captain Driscoll, the younger, sonne to old Captain Driscoll, both men reckoned valourous. In the court of Spaine liveth the sonne of Richard Bourke, which was nephew untoe William, who died at Valladolid . . . . . he is in high favour with the king, and (as it is reported) is to be made a marquis. Captain Toby Bourke, a pensioner in the court of Spain, another nephew of the said William, deceased, captain John Bourke M'Shane, who served long time in Flanders, and now liveth on his pension, assigned on the Groyne. Captain Daniell, a pensioner at Antwerp. In the Low Countries, under the Archduke: John O'Neill, sonne of the archtraitor, Tyrone, colonel of the Irish regiment. Young O'Donnel, sonne of the late traitorous earl of Tirconnel. Owen O'Neill (Owen Roe), sergeant-major (equivalent to the present lieutenant-colonel) of the Irish regiment. Captain Art O'Neill, Captain Cormack O'Neill, Captain Donel O'Donel, Captain Thady O'Sullevane, Captain Preston, Captain Fitz Gerrott; old Captain Fitz Gerrott continues sergeant-major, now a pensioner; Captain Edmond O'Mor, Captain Bryan O'Kelly, Captain Stanihurst, Captain Gorton, Captain Daniell, Captain Walshe. There are diverse other Captaines and officers of the Irish under the Archduchess (Isabella), some of whose companies are cast, and they made pensioners. Of these serving under the Archduchess there are about 100 able to command companies, and 20 fitt to be colonels. Many of them are descended of gentlemen's families and sonne of noblemen. These Irish soldiers and pensioners doe stay their resolutions until they see whether England makes peace or war with Spaine. If peace, they have practised already with other soveraine princes, from whom they have received hopes of assistance: if war doe ensue they are confident of greater ayde. They have been long providing of arms for any attempt against Ireland, and had in readiness five or six thousand arms laid up in Antwerp for that purpose, bought out of the deduction of their monthly pay, as will be proved, and it is thought they have now doubled that proportion by these means." This extremely curious document, which is preserved in the State-paper Office, and was first brought to light in the *Nation* of February 5th, 1859, would appear to have been prepared very shortly before 1610, and throws considerable light on some facts in the sequel of our history.

* He was fourth in descent from John of Kinnard, or Caledon, youngest brother of Con Baccagh O'Neill, first earl of Tyrone.

sir Con Magennis; Philip MacHugh O'Reilly; colonel Hugh Oge Mac Mahon; Collo MacBrian MacMahon; Evar MacMahon, vicar-general of Clogher, and others. To enforce his views, O'More employed arguments similar to those which we have quoted from lord Castlehaven. He spoke of the afflictions and sufferings of the native Irish, and of the general discontent which prevailed among the new as well as the old Irish. He dwelt particularly on the injury done to the Catholic Church, and alluded to the well-grounded rumor that parliament intended the utter subversion of their religion. He had already, he said, ascertained that the principal Irish gentry of Leinster and Connaught were favorable to the design of taking up arms; and urged that they never would have a better opportunity of improving their condition and recovering at least a portion of their ancient estates than during the present Scottish troubles. O'More was a man of handsome person and fascinating manners, as well as of great bravery and undoubted honor, and we need not wonder that he became one of the most popular leaders of the exciting time which followed. Lord Maguire was active as a medium of communication between the confederates; but among those we have yet mentioned Sir Phelim O'Neill was destined to play the most important part in their future proceedings.

About May, 1641, Nial O'Neill arrived in Ireland as a messenger from the titular earl of Tyrone (John, son of Hugh O'Neill) in Spain, to inform his friends that he had obtained from cardinal Richelieu, prime minister of France, a promise of arms, ammunition, and money for Ireland, when required, and desiring them to hold themselves in readiness. The confederates sent back the messenger with information as to their proceedings, and announcing that they would be prepared to rise a few days before or after All-hallow-tide, according as the opportunity answered; but scarcely was the messenger despatched when news was received that the earl of Tyrone was killed, and another messenger was sent with all speed into the Low Countries to colonel Owen O'Neill, who was the next entitled to be their leader.* Orders had been issued by the English parliament to disband the "popish" army raised by Strafford in Ireland, and that the men might be removed from the

* Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill was son of Art, the youngest brother of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and was, therefore, first cousin of the titular earl, John, whose death has been just mentioned. Some have erroneously called him the grand-nephew of Tyrone, and others, without any authority, make him illegitimate for three successive generations. See the Rev. J. Wills's *Life of Owen Roe*, and a paper by H. F. Hore, Esq., in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*. This is decidedly erroneous, the only case of illegitimacy in his pedigree being that of Ferdoragh. The name of colonel Owen O'Neill appears in the list given in the note in the last page.

country, license was given that they might enter into foreign service. Certain officers were ostensibly commissioned to enrol them for that purpose. But here we have a double plot; for the real object of these officers was to keep the men collected at home ready to be employed in the king's interest. Among those sent to Ireland for this purpose were colonels Plunket, Bourn, or Byrne, and Sir James Dillon, and captain Brian O'Neill, and it required little ingenuity to bring about a common understanding between the gentlemen thus interested for the king and the Irish associates of Roger O'More. Conferences were held between a few of either side, and colonel Plunket and his friends were the first to suggest that Dublin Castle should be seized by surprise, and the arms, of which a large quantity were stored there, distributed among the insurgents. In the course of September their plans were matured, and after some changes as to the day, the 23rd of October was finally fixed on for the execution of them. There was to be a simultaneous movement throughout the country, and at the same time that Dublin castle was to be taken, by two hundred men counted off for that purpose, all the strong places in the kingdom were to be attacked or surprised. They were to seize on the forts and arms, and to make the gentry prisoners, but it was particularly directed that none should be killed "but where of necessity they must be forced thereunto by opposition."* It was also resolved that nothing should be done to attract the animosity of the Scots. Encouraging news was received from colonel Owen O'Neill, holding out hopes of aid from cardinal Richelieu, and desiring that the rising should take place as speedily as possible.

Sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase, who were at this time lords justices, were violent partisans of the English parliament.† They were men of narrow minds, violent prejudices, and the meanest intellect, and were capable of acting for the basest motives. They received sundry intimations of the approach of danger, but treated them with stolid indifference; and it soon became apparent that nothing could have gratified them more than a movement which would place the Catholic landed gentry at their mercy.‡ In compliance with a petition of grievances from the Irish parliament, the king ordered the

* See *Relation of Lord Maguire*, from which the above particulars of the conspiracy are taken. *Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Rebell. Appendix.*

† The earl of Leicester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, after Strafford, also became a partisan of the parliamentary faction. He was grandson of sir Henry Sidney, and never came to Ireland.

‡ So early as the 16th of March, 1641, the king ordered secretary Vane to send notice to the lords justices of an intended rebellion in Ireland; his majesty having received advices to that effect from his minister in Spain, who had observed the movements among the Irish refugees. This, however, did not disturb the security of Parsons and Borlase.

lords justices to assure his Irish subjects that his former promises should be speedily performed, and to prepare for that purpose two bills for securing the titles of estates, and limiting the claims of the crown to sixty years. This was an effort on the part of the unfortunate Charles to recover the confidence and affection of the Irish people, but nothing could be farther from the intention of Parsons and Borlase than any such consummation. When it was known that the Irish agents were returning with the royal answer, the lords justices, notwithstanding entreaty and remonstrance, prorogued parliament for three months, and refused to issue a proclamation announcing the wishes of the king. This proceeding greatly exasperated the gentry of the pale, and helped to hasten and extend the subsequent outbreak.*

At length the eve of the 23rd of October arrived, and several of the confederates assembled in Dublin, according to appointment. Among these were lord Maguire, Roger O'More, colonels Plunket, Byrne, and Hugh MacMahon, captains Brian O'Neill, and Fox, and others; but it was found that some were not punctual in sending their contingents of men, and that of the two hundred who were to seize the Castle next day, only eighty were in town that afternoon. Still they resolved on carrying out their plan; but in an evil hour Hugh MacMahon revealed their project to one Owen O'Connolly, who had been reared a Protestant, and was a servant to the fanatical sir John Clotworthy. This infatuation of MacMahon's, at the last moment, has not been explained. O'Connolly hastened to denounce the conspiracy to sir William Parsons, who, perceiving that he was partly intoxicated, did not credit his story. On reflection, however, the lord justice went to consult with his colleague, sir John Borlase, who resided at Chichester House, in College Green. It was then ten o'clock at night, and O'Connolly having been brought before them, and repeating his statement, immediate steps were taken to arrest the conspirators. The city gates were closed, and search made for the confederates, but O'More and some of the others, having timely notice of the discovery, contrived to escape across the Liffey. MacMahon was taken in his lodgings near the King's Inns, but seemed to feel little concern at his position; for he passed the time during the night, in the hall of Chichester House, sketching with chalk the figures of men on gibbets, or slain in various postures, and observing that it was

* Such was the opinion of the king himself, who, in answer to a declaration of the English parliament, said: "If he had been obeyed in the Irish affairs before he went to Scotland, there had been no Irish rebellion: or after it had begun, it would have been in a few months suppressed."—*Reliq. Sac. Carolinæ.* p. 273.

too late to stop the rising, which had already taken place, and that he would be amply revenged. Lord Maguire was captured in the morning in a loft in Cook-street, and he and MacMahon were subsequently taken to London, where they were tried and hanged at Tyburn.

All was now alarm in the city. Early in the morning a proclamation was issued, announcing the discovery of a "detestable conspiracy, intended by some evil-affected Irish papists, against the lives of the lords justices and council, and many other of his majesty's faithful subjects, universally throughout the kingdom." The Castle was put into a state of defence, under sir Francis Willoughby, the governor of Galway, who had arrived the preceding night; sir Charles Coote was made governor of the city; the earl of Ormond, then at Carrick-on-Suir, received notice to repair to Dublin with his troop; arms were distributed among the Protestants, and also to some Catholics; commissions of martial law were issued; and all persons not residing in Dublin or the suburbs were ordered to depart under pain of death. The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, who were almost to a man Catholics, complained that the words "Irish papists" in the proclamation appeared to involve them in the charge of rebellion, and accordingly, on the 29th, another proclamation was published explaining these words as being only intended to designate "such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster as had plotted, contrived, and been actors in that treason, and others that adhered to them, and none of the old English of the Pale."

The failure of the plot in Dublin did not prevent its success in the north, where several important places were surprised or captured by the confederates before the news of the premature discovery in Dublin could penetrate so far. Sir Phelim O'Neill got possession by stratagem of Charlemont Fort, and of its commander, sir Tobias Caulfield, and took Dungannon the same night; Newry was seized by sir Con Magennis, and the arms and ammunition stored up there were distributed among the people; Roger Maguire overran Fermanagh; Castleblaney, Carrickmacross, Mountjoy Fort, and a great number of small stations fell into the hands of the insurgents, who so far contented themselves with plunder, stripping and turning out the English occupiers. Sir Phelim O'Neill issued the following proclamation:—

"These are to intimate and make known unto all persons whatsoever in and through the whole country, that the true intent and meaning of us whose names are hereunto subscribed, that the first assembling of us is nowise intended against our sovereign lord the king, nor hurt of any

of his subjects, either English or Scotch; but only for the defence and libertie of ourselves and the Irish natives of this kingdom. And we further declare that whatsoever hurt hitherto hath been done to any person shall be presently repaired, and we will that every person forthwith, after proclamation hereof, make their speedy repaire unto their own houses under paine of death, that no further hurt be done unto any one under the like paine, and that this be proclaimed in all places.—At Dungannon, the 23rd October, 1641.—PHELIM O'NEILL."*

A few days after, sir Phelim exhibited a commission which he pretended that he had received from the king; having taken for that purpose a seal from an old patent found in Charlemont Fort, and attached it to the fictitious royal commission. The *ruse* had the desired effect in inducing some royalists to join his standard; but it was also laid hold on by the king's enemies as a charge against that unfortunate prince. Sir Phelim afterwards declared in the most solemn manner that he never received any commission or other authorization from the king.†

There were few places of strength in Ulster which had not fallen by the end of the first week into the hands of the insurgents. Sir Phelim

* The subjoined unpublished letter, written by sir Con Magennis two days after the rising, shows the spirit in which the Irish took up arms. It is preserved in the Custom-house, Dublin, with some other papers of historical interest, in the same place with the Down survey:—

"To my loveinge friendes, Capt. Vaughan, Marcus Trevor, and other commanders of Down these be. Deere friendes,—My love to you all, although you thinke it as yet otherwise. Sure it is, I have broken sir Edward Trevor's letter, fearing that any thinge should be written against us. We are for our lives and liberties, as you may understand out of that letter. We desire no blood to be shed, but if you meane to shed our blood, be sure we will be as ready as you for the purpose. I rest your assured friende, CONNOR MAGNEISSE. Newry, 25th October, 1641."

† At the trial of sir Phelim O'Neill in February, 1652, an infamous attempt was made by the judges to blacken the memory of the late king by endeavouring to elicit from the prisoner that he really had a commission from the unfortunate Charles. They first in private, and afterwards publicly offered him his pardon and the restitution of his estates if he made a public confession to that effect, but he protested that he could not do so. At the conclusion of the trial the sentence was deferred to the next day, to give him an opportunity of considering the tempting offer. But sir Phelim persevered in asserting that the king had no hand in the matter, and he called witnesses to prove that he himself had attached the seal to the pretended document. Finally, on the scaffold, the offer was repeated to him by the order of Ludlow, and, raising his voice, sir Phelim said: "I declare, good people, before God and his angels, and all you that hear me, that I never had any commission from the king for what I have done in levying and prosecuting this war." (*Carte's Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 181. *Nalson's Historical Collections.*) We have thought it needless to allude in the text to the statement of the earl of Antrim, that before the breaking out of the rebellion, orders had been conveyed to him and to the earl of Ormond to seize the castle of Dublin, and to raise an army of 20,000 men in Ireland to make war against the parliament. The earl of Antrim (Randal Macdonnell, grandson of Sorley Boy, and second of that title) was notoriously a vain and frivolous man, and was either deceived by a Mr. Burke, a relative of the earl of Clanrickard, who pretended to bring such a message from the king; or else, in order to increase his importance, magnified some silly circumstance into the story in question. See his statement and the remarks on it in Clarendon's *Vindication of Ormond.*

O'Neill already found himself at the head of some 30,000 men, as yet of course undisciplined, and but few of them efficiently armed; and it is not to be expected that such an irregular multitude, with wild passions let loose, and so many wrongs and insults to be avenged, could have been engaged in scenes of war, even so long, without committing some deeds of blood which the laws of regular warfare would not sanction. In some cases resistance was punished by them with little humanity; they had little compassion for the English settlers and undertakers; and life was taken in some few instances where the act deserved the name of murder; but the cases of this nature, on the Irish side, at the commencement of the rebellion, were isolated ones; and nothing can be more unjust and false than to describe the outbreak of this war as a "massacre." A single murder is a disgrace to our nature, and it is most painful to have to refer to such a crime in a way that sounds like palliation; but the foul misrepresentation which has sought to blacken the character of the northern Irish by charging them with pre-arranged and systematic murder in this insurrection is no less a disgrace to history. The cruelties which may be objected to the Irish insurgents belong to a somewhat later period of the war. "It was as yet"—observes a recent writer, of undoubted learning and research, but of the strongest bias against the Irish Catholics—"an insurrection of lords and gentlemen; nor is there any reason to believe that anything more was designed by these than a partial transfer of property, and certain stipulations in favor of the Church of Rome."* But the successes of the Irish were soon interrupted by serious reverses, in which they were treated with barbarous severity; several strong places were retaken from them, and in their attacks on others they were repulsed; sir Charles Coote, the most truculent and merciless of the Puritan commanders, had very early commenced his work of carnage in the vicinity of Dublin; and a numerous body of the plundered English Protestants, uniting with the Scottish garrison of Carrickfergus, with whom they had sought shelter, wreaked their vengeance on the unprotected and unoffending peasantry of the neighbourhood by a fearful massacre. These circumstances and many local causes combined to exasperate the Irish, and to elicit retaliation at which the heart sickens. Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was somewhat volatile and was subject to violent fits of passion, was not the man to control, as he should have done, the irregular masses which he commanded; and at a later period he lamented the cruelties which he had tolerated or ordered, but

* The Rev. James Wills' *Illustrious and Distinguished Irishmen*, vol. ii., p. 137.

from the beginning, Roger O'More, and other leaders, set their faces against the commission of any act of unnecessary severity.*

It was about this time that the learned and amiable William Bedell, protestant bishop of Kilmore, drew up a remonstrance for the Catholic gentry and people of Cavan, among whom he continued to reside in safety; the respect and affection entertained for him by his Catholic neighbours rendering his house an inviolable sanctuary for all those who sought shelter in it.† Dr Bedell would not have sanctioned what he did not believe to be the truth, yet this remonstrance, prepared by him, after alluding to the causes of fear which the Catholics believed themselves justified in entertaining, namely, "of invasion from other parts (Scotland) to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several subjects of the kingdom," thus continues:—"For the preventing of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom we have, for the preservation of his majesty's honor and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our own hands, for his highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength as coming into the possession of others, might prove disadvantageous and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom." And it thus refers to the acts of violence already committed, in terms that would not seem to imply that any "massacre" was among the number;—"as for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people against the English inhabitants, or any other, we, with the nobility and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have already done."‡

There appears to be good reason for the assertion that the outrage near Carrickfergus, already alluded to, was the "first massacre" perpetrated at this dismal period. The statement is, that about the beginning of

* A cotemporary writer, unfriendly to the native Irish, says:—"The truth is, they were very bloody on both sides, and though some will throw all on the Irish, yet 'tis well known who they were that used to give orders to their parties, sent into enemies' quarters, to spare neither man, woman, or child. And the leading men among the Irish have this to say for themselves, that they were all along so far from favoring any of the murderers, that not only by their agents, soon after the king's restoration, but even in their remonstrance, presented by the lord viscount Gormanston and sir Robert Talbot, on the 17th of March, 1642, the nobility and gentry of the nation desired, that the murders on both sides committed should be strictly examined, and the authors of them punished, according to the utmost severity of the law; which proposal, certainly, their adversaries could never have rejected, but that they were conscious to themselves of being deeper in the mire than they would have the world believe."—*Castlehaven's Memoirs*, p. 21, ed. 1815

† He, and all those within his walls, says his biographer, bishop Burnet, "enjoyed, to a miracle, perfect quiet."

‡ Burnet's *Life of Bedell*. The remonstrance from Cavan is dated November 6th, 1641.

November, 1641, the English settlers, who, being plundered by the Irish, sought refuge in Carrickfergus, sallied forth at night with the Scotch garrison, and murdered all the people whom they found in the neighbouring peninsula called Island Magee, to the number of about 3,000, men, women, and children, all innocent persons, as none of the Catholics of the county of Antrim had yet taken up arms. As to the fact of this massacre there is no doubt, but some question has been raised as to the time and the number. Protestant historians would make it appear that it took place a few months later, and they also argue on the improbability of so many persons residing in so small a district, the length of the peninsula being little more than five Irish miles, and its greatest width only a mile and a-half. Leland's statement is that only thirty families were butchered on the occasion; but the cotemporary authority which we have for the number and time first stated appears to be undeniable; the population of the place may have been increased at the moment by many persons flying to that remote locality from danger in other quarters; and it is expressly added, that "this was the first massacre committed in Ireland of either side."* The subject of these massacres is revolting to human nature, and we cordially agree with those who wish that it could be effaced from the page of Irish history: but as long as the calumnies of sir John Temple and Borlase remain in print, and as the character of Ireland is held up to execration for a "universal massacre of Protestants," which never took place, so long will it be necessary to discuss these horrible details.†

* See the "*Collection of some of the Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish in Ireland, since the 23d of Oct. 1641.*" appended to Clarendon's *Vindication of the Earl of Ormond*, and to Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*, p. 623. It was first published in London in 1662, and its truth has never been disproved, although it makes frequent appeals to the testimony of enemies then living.

† That there was no premeditated design of a general massacre, in the great Irish rebellion of 1641, and that no such massacre took place, are facts that by the closest investigation of the subject may be established. How the monstrous falsehoods and exaggerations on this matter first got into circulation is a curious subject of inquiry. Clarendon, in his history, loosely asserted that 40 or 50,000 Protestants were murdered at the commencement of this rebellion, before they suspected any danger, which must have been within the first three or four days, at the farthest. Sir John Temple exaggerates the number to 150,000! Sir William Petty made it a subject of statistical estimate, and fixed the number, more moderately, at upwards of 30,000. A writer named May has raised it to 200,000! The Rev. Dr. Warner, an English Protestant clergyman, in his *History of the Rebellion in Ireland*, took great pains to ascertain the truth out of "authentic documents," and the result of his minute inquiry was, "that the number of persons killed *out of war*, not at the beginning only, but in the course of the two first years of the rebellion, amounted, altogether, to 2,109; on the report of other Protestants, 1,619 more; and on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of 300; the whole making 4,028;" besides 8,000 more killed by ill usage; and he adds: "if we allow that the cruelties of the Irish out of war extended to these numbers, which, considering the nature of several of the depositions, I think, in my conscience, we cannot, yet, to be impartial, we must allow that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge." This account, he tells us, was corroborated by a letter which he copied out of the council books

The lords justices published a proclamation on the 30th of October, to contradict the statement that sir Phelim O'Neill held any commission from the king; and another on the first of November, offering pardon to such of the insurgents as would come in within two days, and were not freeholders; but the conditions were clearly intended to prevent the pardon from having any effect. The lords and gentlemen of the Pale, although not yet involved in any disloyalty, were treated with coldness and suspicion. Parliament met, according to adjournment, on the 16th of November, but was again prorogued, and the lords justices plainly intimated that they required neither the advice nor the co-operation of any beyond the small clique of Puritans who acted as their council. It was obviously the design of these men to urge the Catholic landed

Dublin, and which was written ten years after the beginning of the rebellion, from the parliament commissioners in Ireland to the English parliament. The commissioners expressly say in this letter "that it then appeared that besides 848 families, there were killed, hanged, and burnt 6,062." There is a great difference between these numbers and those quoted above, which vary from Petty's 30,000 to Mr. May's 200,000; but an examination of the "authentic documents," on which both Dr. Warner and the Parliamentary Commissioners grounded their calculations will show that little or no reliance can be placed upon them, and that the very lowest estimate is most probably a monstrous exaggeration. A commission was issued by the lords justices in 1644, to "enquire what lands had been seized; what murders committed by the rebels; what number of British Protestants had perished on the way to any place whither they fled, &c" and the commissioners continued from March till October to take depositions. Crowds came with their stories, but their evidence was nearly all a hearsay, and but few of them were sworn. Great numbers of them were poor women, and servants, illiterate persons unable to sign their names; and it may be suspected that the mere parole evidence of such persons, under the circumstances, could be of little value. They allowed free scope to their imagination: everyone wished to exceed his neighbour's story; and most of them could only tell what they heard others say while they were prisoners with the Papists. If a Protestant girl heard a Papist cow-boy boast of the number of murders that he and his friends committed—making no allowance at all for the grim waggery of such a person wishing to frighten the poor Protestant prisoners out of their wits—the horrible tale was brought to the commissioners, and a deposition taken to that effect. Sometimes the examinations related to the ghosts of the murdered Protestants who appeared walking on the water, brandishing spectre swords, and raising their hands to heaven. A great part of the deposition of the Rev. Robert Maxwell, afterwards Protestant bishop of Kilmore, is actually taken up with these dreadful apparitions! Many of the deponents described the same murders as if committed in different places; and many also deposed to numbers of persons who were known to be alive several years after. However, all the depositions were collected and carefully bound up in thirty-two folio volumes, which are still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and these are the precious documents on which, and on some official reports, Dr. Warner made his calculations. Sir John Temple collected from them the best extracts he could for his history, and these have been republished innumerable times as authentic evidence, but the whole together of little historic value except as a curious monument of the times. Dr. Lingard (vol. vii. note NNN. 6th ed.) quotes several despatches, letters, and commissions from the lords justices to the English parliament, privy council, &c., written within the first two months after the outbreak, which either make no allusion at all to murders, or do so in terms which plainly indicate that there was no general massacre; and that profound historian argues—"If we consider the language of these despatches, and at the same time recollect who were the writers, and what an interest they had in exaggerating the excesses of the insurgents, we must, I think, conclude that hitherto no general massacre had been made or attempted"—that is, the reader will observe, no massacre of the Protestants by the Catholics.

gentry into rebellion, for the purpose of confiscating their property, and "they were often heard to say," as we are told by one well acquainted with them, "that the more were in rebellion, the more lands should be forfeited to them."* This nefarious scheme of forfeiture was, indeed, scarcely concealed from the beginning. The greedy lords justices exulted openly at the rich harvest which they anticipated; and not later than two months after this time a company of adventurers was formed in London, who calculated on the confiscation of ten millions of acres in Ireland, as soon as the work of reduction could be completed.

The state of feeling thus produced in the Pale encouraged the northern Irish, who marched towards Drogheda, under the command of Sir Phelim O'Neill, now invested with the title of "lord general of the Catholic army in Ulster." On the 24th of November they took lord Moore's house at Mellifont, and put the foot soldiers who defended it to the sword, the cavalry having cut their way through to Drogheda. This latter town was now closely besieged, the garrison being under the command of Sir Henry Tichbourne, who was ably assisted by lord Moore. About this time the Irish were repulsed in an assault on Lisburn, then called Lismagarvy; but their loss was repaired soon after by a victory over an English detachment of six hundred or seven hundred men, who were sent from Dublin to relieve Drogheda, and were cut to pieces at the bridge of Gillianstown, near Julianstown, one hundred only, with three of the officers, making their escape to Drogheda. This success gave fresh courage to the insurgents, who levied contributions in the surrounding country, and caused no slight alarm to the government. Some of the nobility joined in an address to the lords justices, but their remonstrances were treated with contempt. Lords Dilon and Taaffe had been sent with letters to the king from the Irish parliament, but they were made prisoners at Ware, and their papers seized. The arms that had been given in the first alarm to the Catholic nobility and gentry were recalled, and they themselves were ordered to withdraw to their respective habitations, which were thus rendered defenceless.

The same day that the detachment was defeated by the Irish on the march to Drogheda, sir Charles Coote was sent into Wicklow, where it was said the people had risen, and seized several strong places. The sanguinary character of this officer has been already alluded to. In the town of Wicklow he cruelly put to death several innocent persons,

* *Castlehaven's Memoirs* p 28.

without distinction of age or sex, and is charged with saying, when he saw a soldier carrying an infant on the point of his pike, "that he liked such frolics."* On his return to Dublin, his conduct was highly approved by the lords justices; and a rumor was spread that he made a proposal at the council-board to execute a general massacre of the Catholics. "The character of the man," says Dr. Curry, "was such, that this report, whether true or not, was easily credited."† "All this while," says lord Castlehaven, "parties were sent out by the lords justices and council from Dublin, and most garrisons throughout the kingdom, to kill and destroy the rebels; but the officers and soldiers took little or no care to distinguish between rebels and subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously men, women, and children; which procedure not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like cruelties upon the English, but frightened the nobility and gentry about; who, seeing the harmless country people, without respect to age or sex, thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly threatened as favorers of the rebellion, for paying the contributions they could not possibly refuse, resolved to stand upon their guard."‡

These gentlemen, however, made another attempt to convey their loyal sentiments to the king, before they would commit themselves in any way with his majesty's Irish government. For that purpose they prevailed on sir John Read, a gentleman in the king's service, to take a memorial from them into his charge; but Read was arrested and imprisoned, and soon after put to the rack, one of the questions whichhe was pressed to answer being, whether the king and queen were privy to the Irish rebellion. About this time, also, Patrick Barnwell of Kibrew, a man of sixty-six years of age, was also put to the rack to extort similar information. At length, on the 3rd of December, the lords justices summoned several of the noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale to attend in Dublin on the 8th, on the pretence of holding a conference with

* *Carte's Ormond*, i. p. 243.

† "Sir Charles Coote," says Leland, "in revenge of the depredations of the Irish, committed such unprovoked, such ruthless and indiscriminate carnage in the town of Wicklow, as rivalled the utmost extravagancies of the northerns."—*Hist. of Ir.* vol. iii. p. 146. "He was a stranger to mercy," says Warner, "and committed many acts of cruelty, without distinction, equal in that respect to any of the rebels."—*Hist. of the Ir. Reb.* p. 135. Borlase tells us that he was "as terrible to the enemy, as his very name was formidable to them." Lord Castlehaven callshim 'a hot-headed and bloody man, and as such accounted even by the English Protestants, yet," he adds, "this was the man whom the lords justices picked out to entrust with a commission of martal law to put to death rebels or traitors, that is, all such as he should deem to be so; which he performed with delight, and with a wanton kind of cruelty."—Vide *Carte's Ormond*, i. pp. 279, 280. It was after his brutal massacre in Wicklow that he was made governor of Dublin.

‡ *Castlehaven's Memoirs*, p. 30.

them ; but suspecting that this was only an artifice to draw them within the clutches of those functionaries, and deprive them of their liberty, these gentlemen replied by a letter, which they agreed to at a meeting held at Swords, stating that they had cause to think that their loyalty was suspected by the lords justices, and "that they had received certain advertisement that sir Charles Coote, at the council board, had uttered certain speeches, tending to a purpose to execute upon those of their religion a general massacre, by which they were deterred from waiting on their lordships, not having any security for their safety." The same day this letter was despatched to the lords justices a party of troopers slaughtered four poor men at Santry, in the vicinity of Dublin, one of the four happening to be a Protestant. On the 15th Coote was sent with a troop of horse to Clontarf, Raheny, and Kilbarrack, where they burned the houses, and among others the house of Mr. King at Clontarf.

It was a few days previously that, on the invitation of lord Gormanston, a meeting of Catholic noblemen and gentry was held on the hill of Crofty, in Meath. Among those who attended were the earl of Fingal, lords Gormanston, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimleston, and Netterville; sir Patrick Barnwell, sir Christopher Bellew, Patrick Barnwell of Kilbrew, Nicholas Darcy of Platten, James Bath, Gerald Aylmer, Cusack of Gormanston, Malone of Lismullen, Segrave of Kileglan, &c. After being there a few hours a party of armed men on horseback, with a guard of musketeers, were seen to approach. The former were the insurgent leaders, Roger O'More, Philip O'Reilly, MacMahon, Captains Byrne and Fox, &c. The lords and gentry rode towards them, and lord Gormanston, as spokesman, demanded, "for what reason they came armed into the Pale?" O'More answered, "that the ground of their coming thither, and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects of this kingdom as free as those of England." Lord Gormanston then said—"Seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise join with you therein."* This is the first act of combination between the nobility and gentry of the Pale and the northern insurgents of which we have any authentic account. The meeting, which of course was pre-arranged, was one deeply interesting; and in a week after a more numerous meeting of the gentry was held on the hill of Tara.

* Examination of Edward Dowdall, one of the gentlemen who attended the meeting. *Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Insurr.* p. 39.

A.D. 1642.—On the 1st of January the king issued a proclamation against the "Irish rebels," and on several occasions, both before and after that date, he proposed to come to Ireland himself, to take the command against them. He complained of the negligence of the parliament to adopt proper measures to put down the insurrection; but that body was too much occupied with other views. On no account would the parliament suffer Charles to visit Ireland; and, notwithstanding all his protestations, and all his denunciations of his "rebellious Irish subjects," they pretended to believe that the unfortunate monarch was, himself, at the bottom of the Irish movement. He had committed the affairs of Ireland entirely to their charge, and on the 8th of the preceding month they had plainly indicated upon what principle they were resolved to act, by voting that "they would never consent to any toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other part of his Majesty's dominions."* They calculated, with confidence, on being able to crush the Irish when they chose, and, after a little while, proceeded to vote the confiscation of some millions of Irish acres, and to promise Irish estates for the pay of their troopers; but, although they sent over several large reinforcements to the lords justices, they were chiefly concerned, at present, in preparing for the war which they themselves were about to levy against their king, and throughout the progress of the Irish troubles they continued to make these a pretence for raising men and money to be employed in their own rebellion. For that purpose, also, they encouraged, by every means in their power, the most false and extravagant reports of "Popish massacres and outrages," which they turned to good account in appealing to the pockets and prejudices of the affrighted people of England.†

Meanwhile matters went on but indifferently with sir Phelim O'Neill and the northern Irish. They were repulsed in several assaults by the garrison of Drogheda, and some powerful reinforcements having reached that town, they finally raised the siege on the 3rd of March. On the 26th the English recovered possession of Dundalk. The lords justices, by a proclamation of the 8th of February, had offered large rewards for the heads of the Irish leaders: a thousand pounds being offered for that of sir Phelim; six hundred pounds each for several of the others; and

* Borlase, p. 34.

† The first commission to collect depositions on the subject of the crimes imputed to the Irish was issued on the 23rd of December, 1641, to Dr. Jones, dean of Kilmore and seven other Protestant clergymen; a fresh commission for the same purpose being issued in 1644. We have already seen what amount of credit is due to the information obtained, by the commissioners, on those occasions.

smaller sums for the men of less importance. Notwithstanding the numerous reinforcements which arrived to them from England, Parsons and Borlase were afraid to allow their army to pursue the Irish to any distance. Ormond had been sent to overawe the Irish force collected before Drogheda, but was strictly prohibited from crossing the Boyne; and Tichburn, who now found himself at the head of a very efficient force in Drogheda was ordered not to pursue the Irish so far that he could not return to that town in the evening. But the lords justices were fully as brutal as they were pusillanimous in their orders. The instructions to their commanders to pillage, burn, and slay were most imperative, and their lieutenant-general, the earl of Ormond, more than once incurred their displeasure for what was thought to be too much leniency in the execution of these horrible commands.* Ormond however, was generally accompanied by sir Charles Coote, whose thirst for blood could not be easily restrained, were the commander-in-chief even inclined to be merciful. This was instanced in the case of Father Higgins, of Naas, who, although under Ormond's protection, was executed, without trial, by Coote; and in that of Father White, to whom Ormond had also extended his protection, until he could be taken to Dublin to be imprisoned, but who was brutally put to death by the soldiers, who mutinously demanded the priest's life.†

* The earl of Ormond, so familiar to the reader as a captain and a statesman, during the wars of Elizabeth's reign, and who was known among the Irish as "Black Thomas," died in 1614, at the advanced age of 82 years, having been old enough to have been the playmate of Edward VI. At the close of his life he became blind, and died a Catholic, lamenting the part which he had taken against the Catholic religion and his country. (*O'Sul. Hist. Cath.* p. 290; and Lynch's *Alithonologia*). It was generally supposed that he was converted by Father Archer during his captivity with Owny O'More. This extraordinary man was succeeded by his nephew, sir Walter, the 11th earl of Ormond, who was a Catholic, and received the nick-name of "Walter of the Rosaries," from his piety (*Dr. French's Unkind Deserter, p.* 26). His vast estates were most unjustly sequestrated by James I. in favor of Preston, who had been made earl of Desmond; but they were restored to his gandson, James, who succeeded to the earldom on Walter's death in 1633, and had married the daughter of Preston, in 1629. This James, who was born in England 1607, was educated as a Protestant by the archbishop of Canterbury, to whose care he had been committed by the king, on the death of his father, sir Thomas, who was a Catholic, and was drowned at Skerries, returning from England in 1619; and it is to him—"the great duke of Ormond" of a subsequent date that we are introduced at the present epoch. He was a bitter enemy of the Irish, and of the Catholics. The able author of the *Confederation of Kilkenny*, describing his character, writes:—"With military talents of a superior order he was in every respect equal to many of the generals of his time. In diplomacy, however, he excelled them all. With the most fascinating and artful address, he easily worked himself into the confidence of friends and foes; but under the guise of simplicity and candour he covered a heart which was full of treachery and craft." (The Rev. C. P. Meehan's *Confed. of Kil.* p. 23.)

† The case of Father Higgins excited a great deal of interest. He had been extremely kind to the English and the Protestants, having, says Carte, saved many of them from the fury of the Irish,

It was some weeks before the insurrection penetrated into Munster; but about the middle of December sir William St. Leger, lord president, commenced a series of atrocities which soon kindled the flame of civil war in that province. In retaliation for some wanton outrage, the peasantry drove off in a tumultuous way a number of cattle from the lands of his brother-in-law; and to avenge this indignity sir William sallied forth with two troop of horse, and slaughtered a great number of men and women wholly innocent of the offence. Lord Muskerry and other noblemen, who had made thankless offers of their services to preserve the peace, respectfully remonstrated against these cruelties; but their friendly interference was treated with insult, and the lord president told them "that they were all rebels, that he would not trust one of them, and that he thought it most prudent to hang the best of them." These proceedings had the desired effect, and the people rose in arms.* They first took possession of Cashel, on which occasion Philip O'Dwyer and the other popular leaders acted in the most friendly manner towards the English, protecting them against the violence of those whom St. Leger's brutality had exasperated; but the humanity displayed by the Catholic clergy was particularly praiseworthy. Father James Saul, a Jesuit, sheltered several persons, and among others the Rev. Dr. Samuel Pullen, Protestant chancellor of Cashel and dean of Clonfert, with his family; Fathers Joseph Everard and Redmond English, Franciscan friars, concealed some of the Protestant fugitives in their chapel, and even under

and afforded them subsequent relief; and relying upon this conduct on his part, and on his own unblemished character, he presented himself before Ormond at Naas, instead of attempting to escape, and only besought his lordship to preserve him from the violence of the soldiery, for they might then try him in Dublin, on any charge they could bring against him. The historian tells us that "when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a papist, the officer in whose custody he was was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the earl could do to compose the mutiny . . . . . Within a few days after, when the earl did not suspect the poor man's being in danger, he heard that sir Charles Coote had taken him out of prison, and caused him to be put death in the morning before, or as soon as it was light." The earl complained of this barbarity, but the lords justices did not seem to think that the provost marshal had exceeded his duty.

* "The particular views for goading this province into rebellion," observes Plowden, "are fully laid open in lord Cork's letter to the speaker of the English House of Commons, which he sent, together with 1,100 indictments against persons of property in that province, to have them settled by crown lawyers and returned to him; 'and so,' says he, 'if the house please to direct to have them all proceeded against to outlawry, whereby his majesty may be entitled to their lands and possessions, which I dare boldly affirm was, at the beginning of this insurrection, not of so little yearly value as £200,000.' This earl of Cork was notorious for his rapacity, but this last effort he called 'the work of works.' In Dublin many were put to the rack, in order to extort confessions; and, in the short space of two days, upwards of 4,000 indictments were found against landholders and other men of property in Leinster."—*Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 375.

the altar; and others of the Catholic clergy exhibited the like generous compassion.*

In Connaught the exertions and influence of the earl of Clanrickard, who was a Catholic, but was devotedly attached to the cause of the king and to the English interests, stayed for a long time the progress of the insurrection; and even when the movement had reached Galway, he nevertheless procured the submission of the town without bloodshed. But all his active loyalty did not obtain for him the confidence of the lords justices, and he himself complained that these officials acted towards him "as if their design were to force him and his into resistance."†

The discordant elements of old and new Irish, nationalists and royalists, now involved in the insurrection, were at length about to be amalgamated, and organisation introduced into the movement. This was to be effected by the Catholic clergy, whose influence these various parties recognised; for whatever might have been their other principles of action, they had at least one in common, namely, a devoted attachment to the Catholic church. A provincial synod, convened by Hugh O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh, was the first step in this direction. It was held at Kells, on the 22nd of March, and was attended by all the bishops of the province, except Thomas Dease, bishop of Meath, who had opposed the rising as premature, and who, by preventing supplies of men and provisions from being sent to sir Phelim O'Neill, had, it was considered, caused the failure of the seige of Drogheda. The synod pronounced the war undertaken by the Catholics of Ireland lawful and pious; issued an address denouncing murders, and the usurpation of other men's estates; and took steps for convoking a national synod, to be held at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May.

* Various other instances are on record of the humanity displayed by the Catholic priests at this disastrous period, notwithstanding the persecution which then raged against themselves. Mr. Hardiman (*Iar-Connaught*, p. 406) quotes from the famous depositions in Trinity College extracts, which show the exertions of the clergy of Galway to save the Protestants when the O'Flaherties entered that town, in the beginning of 1642, with several hundred men, and laid siege to the fort. Among others, Mary Bowler, servant to lieutenant John Gell, who commanded in the fort, deposed "that she herself saw the priests of the towne and other priests, being about eight in number, going about the towne in their vestments, with tapers burning and the Sacrament borne before them, and exhorting the said Murrough-*na-mart* (O'Flaherty) and his company, for Christ's sake and our Lady's and St. Patricks, that they would shed no more blood, and if they did they would never have mercy."

† *Mem. of the Marq. of Clanricarde.* This earl was the son of him who fought against the Irish at Kinsale.

Reinforcements arrived, almost every week. of Scots in Ulster, or of English troops at Dublin; but the lords justices continued to call for more, and to appeal to the generosity of the English people on behalf of the numerous plundered English Protestants who crowded the streets of Dublin and other towns. On the 15th of April an additional detachment of 2,500 Scots arrived at Carrickfergus, under the command of general Monroe, a man of violent sectarian feelings, and of a savage, unrelenting nature, who now placed himself at the head of a numerous and powerful army, composed chiefly of Scots, with an admixture of the despoiled English settlers, who took the field with accumulated rancour against their Irish Catholic foes.

Meanwhile the Irish throughout the country acted without plan or co-operation, and were consequently defeated in detail. Lord Mountgarret, whose family and personal interest was very great, seized Kilkenny without any bloodshed, and through his exertions almost every place of strength in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary fell into the power of the Irish in the space of a week. He then marched to the south, and took several places in the county of Cork; but the people of that county preferred Gerald Barry as their leader, and for want of unanimity they failed in their attempts on Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale, and were successfully repulsed before Cork, by St. Leger and lord Inchiquin. Lord Mountgarret returned to Leinster, and having mustered a numerous, but ill-armed and undisciplined force, thought to intercept the earl of Ormond, who was returning to Dublin after some services in the south of the county of Kildare. The two armies were in view of each other at Athy, when Ormond wished to avoid a battle; but after a parallel march of both armies for a few miles, an action took place near Kilrush, about twenty miles from Dublin, when the Irish were totally routed, and driven into a bog at their rear, having lost about six hundred men, with all their ammunition, and twenty pair of colors. Among the killed on the Irish side were the sons of lord Dunboyne and lord Ikerrin, and after this the gallant Roger O'More ceased to appear on the scene.* Ormond, who was accompanied by sir Charles Coote, colonel Monck, sir Thomas Lucas, and other officers of note, was received with great triumph in Dublin, and the English parliament voted

* According to other accounts O'More retired, disappointed, to Flanders after the failure of the siege of Drogheda, but returned to Ireland at the time of the synod of Kilkenny, and died in the latter town.—See Wills' *Illust. Irishmen*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 433.

£500 to purchase a jewel to be presented to him as a mark of their esteem. Lord Mountgarret returned to Kilkenny.*

At length the 10th of May arrived, and the national synod met at Kilkenny. It was attended by the archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam; the bishops of Ossory, Elphin, Waterford and Lismore, Kildare, Clonfert, and Down and Connor; the proctors of the archbishop of Dublin, and of the bishops of Limerick, Emly, and Killaloe; and by sixteen other dignitaries and heads of religious orders. The occasion was most solemn, and the proceedings were characterized by calm dignity and an enlightened tone. An oath of association, which all Catholics throughout the land were enjoined to take, was framed; and those who were bound together by this solemn tie were called the "Confederate Catholics of Ireland." Such a bond of union and expression of opinion was essential where parties so different were to act in concert. A manifesto explanatory of their motives, and containing rules to guide the confederation, and an admirable plan of provisional government, was issued. It was ordained that a General Assembly, comprising all the lords, spiritual and temporal, and the gentry of their party, should be held; and that the Assembly should select members from its body to represent the different provinces and principal cities, and to be called the Supreme Council, which would sit from day to day, dispense justice, appoint to offices, and carry on, as it were, the executive government of the country. Severe penalties were pronounced against all who made the war an excuse for the commission of crime; and after three days' sittings this important conference brought its labors to a close.†

* The pedigrees of this nobleman (Richard, third viscount Mountgarret) and of James, twelfth earl (and afterwards duke) of Ormond, the commander of the English at the battle of Kilrush, meet in Pierce Butler, eighth earl of Ormond, who died in 1539; the former being the third and the latter fifth in descent from Pierce through his two sons. Lord Mountgarret, whose first wife was Margaret, eldest daughter of the great Hugh, earl of Tyrone, was always found on the Irish side, and distinguished himself in the last war of Elizabeth's reign.

† The Acts of the Synod decreed, among other things, that "whereas the war which now in Ireland the Catholics do maintain against sectaries, and chiefly against puritans, (is) for the defence of the Catholic religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of our gracious king, Charles—of our gracious queen, so unworthily abused by the puritans, ... and lastly, for the defence of their own lives, lands, and possessions, ... we, therefore, declare that war, openly Catholic, to be lawful and just: in which war, if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular (private) and unjust title—covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, or any such unlawful private intentions—we declare them therein grievously to sin, &c." That nothing be done to excite emulation or comparison between the different provinces, towns, families, &c. That a council, composed of the clergy, nobility, &c., be constituted in each province; the provincial councils to be subordinate to the general or national council. That an inventory be kept in each province "of the murders, burnings, and other cruelties which are committed by the puritan enemies, with

Although the war during this time was not carried on with much activity on either side, several incidents took place worthy of note Lord Lisle, son of the earl of Leicester, having arrived in Dublin a few days after the battle of Kilrush, with his own regiment of 600 horse carbiniers and 300 dragoons, went, with sir Charles Coote, to the relief of Letitia, baroness of Offaly, who was besieged, in her castle of Geashill, in the King's County, by the O'Dempseys. This lady, who was grand-daughter of Gerald, earl of Kildare, the brother of Silken Thomas, showed much heroism in defying the menaces of the assailants; and the siege having been raised, Coote and lord Lisle, burning the country as they proceeded, marched to Trim, of which they took possession, the Catholic army having retired at their approach. Lord Lisle now set out for Dublin, sir Charles Coote remaining to place Trim castle, of which the walls were quite dilapidated, in a state of defence; and the Irish returned, on the 7th May, and attempted to regain the place. They were unsuccessful in their effort, but Coote was killed on the occasion, as it was supposed by a shot from one of his own troopers, and the death of a foe so merciless and active was deemed in itself a sufficient triumph. Coote's son was appointed provost-marshal of Connaught.*

a quotation of the place, day, cause, &c., subscribed by one of public authority." That "all who forsake this union, fight for our enemies, and accompany them in their war, defend or in any way assist them, be excommunicated;" and also that "all those that murder, dismember, or grievously strike; all thieves, unlawful spoilers, &c., be excommunicated."

The following was the "oath of association," as given by lord Castlehaven, the form, according to Borlase, being substantially the same:—"I, A. B., do profess, swear, and protest before God, and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear true faith and allegiance to my sovereign lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors; and that I will, to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain all his and their just prerogatives, estates, and rights, the power and privilege of the parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout this land; and the lives, just liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken, or that shall take, this oath, and perform the contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the supreme council of the confederate Catholics of this kingdom, concerning the said public cause, and will not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done or to be done, touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council; and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, at the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same. Moreover, I do further swear that I will not accept of, or submit unto any peace made, or to be made, with the said confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said confederate Catholics. . . . . So help me God and his holy gospel."

* An incident mentioned by the earl of Castlehaven occurred probably a few weeks before this time. The earl gives it on the authority of his brother, who relates how, while accompanying a party sent out by the earl of Ormond, they met sir Arthur Loftus, governor of Naas, returning with a party of horse and dragoons after having killed such of the Irish as they met. "But the most considerable slaughter," he proceeds, "was in a great straight of furze, seated on a hill, where the

Limerick had opened its gates to general Barry and lord Muskerry long before this time, but captain Courtenay continued to defend himself, in the castle, with great bravery, and the protracted siege was not brought to a close until the 23rd of June, when the garrison capitulated. The cannon and ammunition taken by the confederates on this occasion were of great importance; and most of the neighbouring castles surrendered to them. One of the guns was a thirty-two pounder, and required 25 yoke of oxen to draw it. Sir William St. Leger died at his house near Cork on the 2nd of July; and his son-in-law, lord Inchiquin, was appointed to succeed him as lord president of Munster. This degenerate descendant of the great Brian rivalled the most sanguinary of the Puritan generals in the cruelties which he executed upon his Catholic countrymen, and, in the traditions of the peasantry, his name was long preserved as "Murrough of the burnings."

people of several villages, taking the alarm, had sheltered themselves. Now, sir Arthur, having invested the hill, set the furze on fire on all sides, where the people, being a considerable number, were all burnt or killed, men, women, and children. I saw the bodies and furze still burning" (*Castlehaven's Memoirs*, p. 38).

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

REIGN OF CHARLES I. CONCLUDED.

The Arrival of Owen Roe O'Neill—He assumes the Command of the Irish Army in Ulster.—Conduct of the Scots in Ulster.—Lord Lieven's Opinion of Owen Roe.—Colonel Preston's Arrival in Wexford with Officers and Arms.—Position of the Lords Justices.—State of the Belligerents in Connaught and Munster.—Opening of the General Assembly—Outline of their Proceedings.—Constitution of the Supreme Council—Appointment of Generals, &c.—Levy of Money and Soldiers—Remittances from the Continent—Establishment of a Mint.—Progress of the War.—Overture from the King to the Confederates.—Hostile Conduct of Ormond.—Gallant Defence of Ross.—Preston Defeated near Ross.—Conference with the Royal Commissioners at Trim—Remonstrance of Grievances—Obstacles to Negociation.—Success of the Confederates.—Death of Lord Moore.—Capture of Col. Vavasour.—Foreign Envoys.—Arrival of Father Scarampi.—Divisions in the Supreme Council.—Disgrace of Parsons.—Treaty of Cessation Signed—Its Rejection by the Puritans.—The Scots in Ulster take the Covenant.—Bravery of the Irish Soldiers sent into Scotland for the King.—Ormond Appointed Lord Lieutenant—His Negociations with the Confederates.—Catholic and Protestant Deputations to the King.—Infringement of the Cessation by the Scots.—Abortive Expedition of Castlehaven against Monroe.—The King's impatience for a Peace in Ireland.—Ormond's Prevarication.—Renewed Hostilities in the South and West.—Death of Archbishop O'Kealy.—Mission of Glamorgan—His Secret Treaty with the Confederates.—Mission of the Nuncio Rinuccini—His Arrival in Ireland—Reception at Kilkenny.—Renewed Discussion of the Peace Question.—Arrest of Glamorgan.—Division amongst the Confederates.—Treaty of Peace Signed by Ormond—Not Approved by the Nuncio.—Siege of Bunratty.—Battle of Benburb.—Increasing Opposition to the Peace.—Ormond's Visit to Munster.—Glamorgan joins the Nuncio's Party.—Dublin Besieged by the Confederates—Given up to the Parliamentarians.—Ormond leaves Ireland.—Dissensions in the Assembly.—Battles of Dungan Hill and Knocknonos.—O'Neill takes Arms against the Confederates.—Ormond Returns.—The Peace of 1649.—Departure of the Nuncio.—Prince Ruperts' Expedition.

[A.D. 1642 to A.D. 1649.]

THE position of the confederate Catholics at the time to which the preceding chapter has brought us was discouraging enough, but brighter prospects were about to dawn upon them. The organisation, of which they were yet destitute, was soon to be supplied by the general assembly, and their want of military leaders was about to be filled up by the arrival of colonel Owen Roe O'Neill and colonel Thomas Preston. The former of these distinguished commanders landed near castle Doe, in Donegal, about the middle of July, 1642, accompanied by a hundred officers, and having with him a quantity of arms and ammunition. Sir Phelim O'Neill went to receive him, and, at a meeting of the Irish gentry, resigned

to him the command of the Catholic army of Ulster.* Endowed with a high sense of honor, and inured to the strict discipline of the soldier, the gallant defender of Arras expressed the strongest disapprobation of the retaliatory cruelties which had been tolerated by sir Phelim; and hastened, with the assistance of the experienced officers whom he had brought with him, to strengthen Charlemont fort, and to organise a disciplined army.† The Scots, in Ulster, were, at this time, a sort of independent power, equally opposed to the king and to the Catholics. Left to their own resources by the English parliament, which was now too much occupied with its own war against its sovereign, they plundered both parties, and, according to Warner, "wasted Down and Antrim more than the rebels had done."‡ Lord Lieven arrived in August with fresh supplies from Scotland, which raised the Scottish army in Ulster to 10,000 men; the whole forces of Scots and English in that province amounting now to 20,000 foot and 1,000 horse. Lieven crossed the Bann at the head of a formidable army, but retired without performing any service, and soon after returned to Scotland, leaving to Monroe the sole command. Lieven entertained a high opinion of Owen Roe, to whom he wrote expressing his concern "that a man of his reputation should be engaged in so bad a cause;" but O'Neill justly replied that he had a better right to come to the relief of his country than his lordship could plead for marching into

* These occurrences are thus recorded in sir Phelim O'Neill's journal: "He (Owen Roe) came with a single ship, commanded by captain Antony Fleming, and one company of soldiers. He landed at the castle of Doe. A day of general meeting was appointed at Clones. The clan of the O'Neills came with the general (sir Phelim) and Owen; also, the O'Reillys, O'Kanes, MacRorys, O'Dalys, MacMahons, and the MacDonnells, with sir James MacAlister. Sir Phelim resigned the generalship, which was conferred on Owen; sir Phelim being nominated president of Ulster."

† Owen O'Neill, says Carte, who writes in no friendly spirit, "was a man of clear head and good judgment, sober, moderate, silent, excellent in disguising his sentiments, and well versed in the arts and intrigues of courts." As to the cruelty attributed to his predecessor in the command, sir Phelim, it has been grossly exaggerated, although his character was far from being faultless. One of the principle crimes laid to sir Phelim's charge was the murder of lord Charlemont, when removed from Charlemont fort to Kinard, on the 1st of March, 1641; yet it appears certain that this deed was done without his orders. The journal quoted in the last note tells us expressly that "he hanged and beheaded six persons for the murder of lord Caulfield," and that "this execution was done at Armagh." Sir Phelim's attempt to inflict punishment for the murder of this English nobleman is referred to in one of the depositions in Trinity College, quoted in Archdall's Lodge, (vol. iii. p. 141), but in a way evidently not intended to clear the character of the Irish leader. As to the stratagem by which sir Phelim got possession of the fort and its commander, we find the same artifice resorted to by Monroe to seize lord Antrim—namely, by inviting himself and a party to the intended victim's table to dinner—and yet we never hear of any odium thrown on the Scottish general on that account.

‡ Warner, vol. i. p. 227.

England against his king. Lieven warned Monroe that he might expect a total overthrow should Owen O'Neill once collect an army.

Colonel Preston, the brother of lord Gormanston, and ranking next to Owen Roe in military skill and reputation, landed early in autumn on the coast of Wexford. He came in a ship of war, attended by two frigates, and some transports bringing a few siege guns, field pieces, and other warlike stores, together with 500 officers and a number of engineers. Shortly after other ships arrived with further supplies of artillery, arms, and ammunition, and a considerable number of experienced Irish officers and veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by Cardinal Richelieu, with the obvious view of their coming to the aid of their countrymen at home. These important accessions of strength, if well applied, might have been made decisive of the war, but as yet the Irish leaders acted without unity of plan or purpose, and the whole work of organization was still to be effected. The lords justices were all this time cooped up in Dublin, trembling with fear, and incapable of making any effort which required manliness or wisdom. The earl of Clanrickard co-operated with lord Ranelagh, president of Connaught, against the Catholics of that province, and drew upon himself particular odium by countenancing the Puritan garrison of the fort of Galway, in their outrages against the people of the town and neighbourhood; while in the south lord Inchiquin, with an army of 2,000 foot and 400 horse, defeated the confederates, under general Barry, on the 3rd of September, near Liscarroll in the county of Cork; the Irish having only just before succeeded in capturing that strong castle after a siege of thirteen days.

The 24th of October, 1642, will ever be memorable in our history as the day on which the General Assembly, projected by the national synod of the 10th of May, commenced its sittings in the ancient city of Kilkenny. Eleven spiritual, and fourteen temporal peers, with two hundred and twenty-six commoners, representing the Catholic population of Ireland, of both races, assembled on this occasion. Patriotism and loyalty, religion and enlightened liberality, were the principles which drew together this national convention. Meeting in that old town where Clarence's parliament passed the infamous anti-Irish statute, with which the name of Kilkenny has thus been connected, this great national assembly, a true Irish parliament in all but name, must have suggested many strange associations; while its own existence, almost realising in its form and its object the fond dream of Irish independence, constitutes

one of the most interesting facts of our history.* The assembly is said to have held its first meeting in the house of sir Richard Shea, in the market-place of Kilkenny. Peers and commoners sat in the one hall, the forms of parliament being in this respect departed from; but an upper or private room was provided for the consultations of the lords. Those of the clergy who were not qualified to sit as prelates or abbots met in "convocation," in an adjoining house. Mr. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer, who had been persecuted by Strafford, sat bare-headed, representing the chancellor and the judges, and Mr. Nicholas Plunket acted as the speaker of the house of commons, both lords and commons addressing their speeches to him. The Rev. Thomas O'Quirke, an eloquent and learned Dominican friar of Tralee, was appointed chaplain to both houses.

One of the first acts of the assembly was to declare that they did not intend their body as a parliament, lest they might infringe on the prerogative of the crown; but as a provisional government "to consult of an order for their own affairs, till his majesty's wisdom had settled the present troubles." The preliminary arrangements and administration of the oath of association occupied the interval to the 1st of November, when a committee was appointed to draw up a form of the confederate government, and on the 4th the acts of the committee were formally sanctioned by the two houses. "Magna Charta and the common and statute laws of England, in all points not contrary to the Roman Catholic religion, or inconsistent with the liberty of Ireland, were," says Carte, "acknowledged as the basis of the new government;" "and," continues the same writer, "as the administrative authority was to be vested in the supreme council, it was decreed that at the end of every general assembly the supreme council should be confirmed or changed as the general body thought fit."†

The supreme council was then chosen, and having elected lord Mountgarret as its president,‡ it commenced the exercise of its executive

* For a vivid and detailed account of the first meeting of the assembly, and of its subsequent proceedings, as well as for a minute and accurate elucidation of this complicated and important epoch of our history, we must refer the reader to the Rev. C. P. Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*—by far the best work which we possess on the history of the period.

† See the orders of the Assembly, published in full in the appendix to Borlase.

‡ The supreme council was composed of the following members, there being six from each province, viz.:—For Leinster; the archbishop of Dublin, viscount Gormanston, viscount Mountgarret, Nicholas Plunket, Richard Belling, and James Cusack. For Ulster; the archbishop of Armagh, the bishop of Down, Philip O'Reilly, colonel MacMahon, Heber Magennis, and Turlogh O'Neill.

functions by the appointment of generals to take the command of the army. These were—Owen Roe O'Neill for the forces of Ulster; Thomas Preston for those of Leinster; Gerald Barry for Munster; and John Burke as lieutenant-general for Connaught, the chief command in that province being reserved for the earl of Clanrickard, in the hope that he might at some time be induced to join the confederation. Lord Castlehaven got the command of the Leinster horse, under general Preston. A great seal was ordered to be made; a press was set up to print the acts and proclamations of the assembly,—for everything was done openly before the world; and a mint was established, in which, in a very short time, half-crown pieces, of full sterling value, to the amount of £4,000 were coined, besides a large quantity of copper money.* It was ordained that corn might be imported duty free until the present exigencies were removed, and that lead, iron, arms, and ammunition might also be introduced free; the privileges of free citizens were granted to ship-builders and mariners from other countries, and various other encouragements to commerce were held out. One of the first acts passed under the new great seal was an order to raise a sum of £30,000 in Leinster, and a levy of 31,700 men, who were to be drilled with all possible expedition by the officers whom Preston had brought from the continent. A guard of 500 foot and 200 horse was appointed to attend upon the supreme council. The bishops and clergy agreed to pay a large sum out of the ecclesiastical revenues, and envoys were sent

For Munster; viscount Roche, sir Daniel O'Brien, Edmond FitzMaurice, Dr. Fennell, Robert Lambert, and George Comyn. For Connaught; the archbishop of Tuam, viscount Mayo, the bishop of Clonfert, sir Lucas Dillon, Geoffry Brown, and Patrick Darcy. To these twenty-four the earl of Castlehaven was added as a twenty-fifth member, not representing any particular province. He had just made his escape from Dublin, where he was imprisoned by the lords justices on suspicion of being concerned in the insurrection; and arriving in Kilkenny during the sitting of the assembly, he joined the confederates after a little hesitation, and took the oath of association.

* "The total absence of embellishment or legend on the silver coin," observes Mr. Meehan, "is evidence of the haste with which it was struck, for the half-crown piece bears no mark save that of the cross, and the figures indicating its value. The copper money subsequently produced and circulated is far more elaborate, and the legend 'Ecce Grex,' 'Floreat Rex,' together with the beautiful device, must be convincing proofs of a more prosperous moment in the affairs of the confederates."—*Confed. of Kil.* p. 45. The half-penny has on one side the figure of a king kneeling and playing on a harp, over which is a crown, with the inscription "Floreat Rex;" on the reverse the figure of St. Patrick, with a crozier in his right hand and a shamrock in his left, extended over the people; on his left are the arms of Dublin, with the inscription "Ecce Grex." The farthing was similar, except that behind St. Patrick, in the reverse, was a church, and a parcel of serpents as if driven from it, with the inscription "Quiescat Plebs" (See Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins*). The great seal of the confederation had in its centre a long cross, resting on a flaming heart; a dove with outspread wings above, a harp on the left hand, and a crown on the right; with the legend *Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hiberni Unanimes.*

to the Catholic courts of Europe to solicit aid. The learned and gifted Father Luke Wadding, who was appointed their agent for Rome, applied himself to their cause with all his heart and soul. He sent memorials on their behalf to all the Catholic courts, and was soon enabled to remit to Ireland 2,000 muskets and a sum of 26,000 dollars. Father James Talbot, their agent in Spain, collected in a short time 20,000 dollars in that country, and procured in France another large sum, together with two iron cannons carrying twenty-four pound balls. The assembly seemed at that time to appreciate the radical evil of Ireland, and prohibited, under severe penalties, all distinction and comparison between "old Irish, and old and new English, or between septs or families, &c." Finally, a remonstrance to the king was adopted, as a declaration of their loyalty and an exposition of their grievances; and the assembly broke up on the 9th of January, 1643, fixing the 20th of the following May for their next meeting.

A.D. 1643.—At the close of the last and the beginning of the present year there was fighting in every direction, and with various success on both sides; but with the discipline and experience gained in the war the Irish were improving rapidly as soldiers, and it was obvious that their resources in all that constitutes the sinews of war were vastly superior to those of the enemy. The strong places of the King's County, as Borris, Birr, Banagher, and others, fell in quick succession into the hands of Preston; some after a siege, and others without firing a shot. From Birr eight hundred English prisoners were escorted in safety by lord Castlehaven, and given up to their friends at Athy. On the other hand colonel Monck (afterwards duke of Albemarle) relieved Ballinakil, in the Queen's County, besieged by Preston, and defeated the latter when he attempted to intercept him at Timahoe, in the same county. At this time circumstances enabled Preston to distinguish himself by a great number of exploits; but as a general he was too volatile and impulsive, and was therefore often unfortunate; while Owen O'Neill, having the powerful army of Monroe to keep him in check, had enough to do to hold his ground in the north, and retired into Leitrim and Longford to train up soldiers for future victories. The general assembly committed many faults, and assuredly one of the most fatal was the division of the military command, resulting as, it did, in want of union and co-operation.

The very power of the confederates now became the root of their misfortunes. It led the king to desire to come to terms with them, not

from any intention to do them justice, but with the hope of deriving assistance from them in his difficulties; and it exposed them to all those assaults of diplomatic craft, and that policy of fomenting internal division, which ultimately proved their ruin. For some time Borlase and Parsons, for their own base purposes, contrived to counteract the king's designs. Any amicable arrangement with the Irish would have frustrated all their hopes of plunder;* but the delays thus caused only provoked Charles, who issued a commission to the (now) marquis of Ormond, the earl of St. Alban's and Canrickard, the earl of Roscommon, lord Moore, sir Thomas Lucas, sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, esq., to receive propositions from the confederates, to be transmitted for his majesty's consideration.

Goodwin and Reynolds, who had been sent over by the English parliament to watch the progress of affairs in Ireland, took alarm at this proceeding, and returned in haste to England; and the lords justices, as a further expedient for delay, sent the marquis of Ormond on an expedition against the confederates in Wexford. Whatever his apologists may say, Ormond was never either slow or merciful in the execution of his duties against the Catholics. On the 4th of March he took Timolin on his way to the south, and the brave garrison, after surrendering on promise of quarter, were inhumanly butchered. On the 11th he laid siege to Ross, and having made a breach stormed the place, but was gallantly repulsed by the inhabitants; and Purcell, coming up with a strong detachment of the confederates, compelled him to raise the siege. Chagrined beyond measure at the position in which he was placed by the lords justices, and at their failure to send him succour by sea, which they had promised, Ormond prepared to return to Dublin, when he found his march intercepted by Preston with a numerous army. In this strait Ormond owed his safety to the bad generalship of his antagonist. Preston, despising the small force which he saw arrayed against him, left a strong position which he had first taken up, and so exposed his raw levies to the concentrated attack of Ormond's veterans as to cause a total defeat and the loss of five hundred of his men. This

* So early as the 11th of May, 1642, consequent on the English vote for the confiscation of two and a-half millions of Irish acres, "the lords justices wrote a private letter to the speaker of the house of commons in England, without the rest of the council, beseeching the commons to assist them with a grant of some competent proportion of the rebels' lands. Here," says Warner, "the reader will find a key that unlocks the secret of their iniquitous proceedings." (*History of the Irish Rebellion.*)

conduct should have been fatal to Preston as a general, but he was only reprimanded by the supreme council.

This battle of Ross, as it is called, took place on the 18th of March, the very day on which Ormond's fellow-commissioners held a conference with the committee of the confederation at Trim. Those who represented the confederates on this occasion were lord Gormanston, sir Lucas Dillon, sir Robert Talbot, and John Walsh, esq., and the remonstrance of grievances which they presented in the name of the Catholics of Ireland was duly received and transmitted to the king.* A fresh commission was next issued by Charles to Ormond to conclude a cessation of arms for a year with the confederates; but various obstacles were thrown in the way of this arrangement, first by the lords justices, who tried every means which baseness and craft could suggest to prevent a pacification; next by Ormond, who was most reluctant to treat with the Catholics, except as a conquered people; and thirdly, by the Catholics themselves, who were divided into two parties—the old Irish, who were utterly opposed to any terms short of perfect religious liberty, and the old English or gentry of the Pale, who longed for peace with more moderate views, but felt themselves repelled by the insolence employed towards them by the government.

Meantime the arms of the confederates were prosperous in several quarters. Lord Castlehaven defeated colonel Lawrence Crawford at Monasterevan, and other successes were obtained by the Catholics in Leinster. In the beginning of May Monroe attempted to surprise Owen Roe at Charlemont, and so stealthily did he approach that he nearly succeeded; but O'Neill, who was out hunting when the advance guard of the Scots came upon him, repulsed them with slaughter in a narrow lane near the fort, and defeated them again the following day. O'Neill then marched towards Leitrim, but at Clones, on the borders of Fermanagh and Monaghan, he was defeated by sir Robert Stewart. His loss however, was not very serious, and soon after he gained an important victory over the English at Portlester Mill, about five miles from Trim, when lord Moore, the English commander, was killed by a cannon ball. In the west, the parliamentary general, Willoughby, after a long and obstinate defence, surrendered the forts of Galway and

* This document, which contains a clear and able statement of the principal grievances under which the Catholics of Ireland labored, and of the causes which led to the outbreak of 1641, as well as of the course which events had since taken, will be found in full in the Appendix to Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*.

Oranmore to the confederates on the 20th of June; and in the south an important victory was gained by the Catholics, near Fermoy, under lord Castlehaven, general Barry, and lieutenant-general Purcell. On this occasion sir Charles Vavasour, the English commander, was taken prisoner, and about 600 of his men slain, besides the loss of his cannon, colors, &c.; and it appears that the battle was decided by the impetuosity of a troop of young Irish boys mounted on fleet horses, who bore down on the forlorn hope of the English with a velocity that was irresistible.* At such a moment, with an army thus training up to victory, and abundantly supplied with money, arms, and provisions, while the English army was in want of everything—ragged, barefoot, and almost starving in the few garrisons which it held—negotiations for peace only tended to damp the ardor of the confederates. Peace could then only mean the ruin of the Irish cause.

In return for the envoys sent by the supreme council to the Catholic powers, the king of France sent in the first instance M. La Monarie, who was succeeded by M. Du Moulin, after whom came M. Talon; the king of Spain sent, first, M. Fuissot, a Burgundian, and then O'Sullivan, count of Beerhaven, who was succeeded by Don Diego de los Torres; but the most important of the foreign envoys at this time was Father Peter Francis Scarampi, a priest of the oratory, whom Pope Urban VIII. sent to report to him on the state of Irish affairs. Scarampi was the bearer of a bull of indulgences to the Irish Catholics, and he also brought with him from Father Wadding a sum of 30,000 dollars, with a quantity of arms and ammunition. He found the general assembly at Kilkenny, engaged in discussing the question of a cessation of arms, and he must very soon have perceived to which side he should adhere. The Catholics of the Pale, or Anglo-Irish, showed a marked distaste for the continuance of the war; while the old Irish, bent on establishing their independence, were opposed to all overtures that did not include perfect freedom of conscience. With these latter the bishops and clergy agreed, and it was only natural that the papal envoy should also adopt their views. But the political opinions of these men were far in advance of the age.

Well aware of these divisions, Ormond exerted his skill to foment them. A supersedeas had been granted by the king long before to

* The very day before this battle colonel Vavasour having taken the castle of Clogbleigh, commanded by one Condon, twenty men, eleven women, and seven children were stripped and massacred in cold blood by the brutal troopers. These are the numbers given by Borlase.

remove sir William Parsons from the post of lord justice, but it had not been acted on. Ormond thought the opportunity a favorable one to make the confederates suppose that a concession was intended to themselves, and he obtained an order for the arrest of Parsons, Loftus, Meredith, and sir John Temple, on a charge of contravening the royal will in the management of public affairs. Parsons escaped imprisonment on the plea of ill health, but the others were committed to custody; and sir Henry Titchburn, governor of Drogheda, another bigot, though of a different stamp, was given as a colleague to sir John Borlase in the government.

At length, on the 15th of September, 1643, after Ormond had been peremptorily required by the king to bring the matter to a conclusion, a cessation of arms for one year was signed in Ormond's tent at Sigginstown, near Naas; the commissioners of the confederation being lord Muskerry, sir Lucas Dillon, Nicholas Plunket, sir R. Talbot, sir Richard Barnwell, Turlogh O'Neill, Geoffrey Brown, Heber Magennis, and John Walshe, esqrs. The confederates were bareheaded, and Ormond, as the royal commissioner, alone wore his hat and plume. On the following day the instrument by which the confederates engaged to pay the king £30,800, as a free contribution, in certain instalments, was also signed.*

If the old Irish were dissatisfied with the cessation, they, at all events, observed it honorably; but not so the Puritan party, who wholly repudiated any concession to the Catholics, and regarded the cessation as a monstrous iniquity.† In the beginning of November Owen O'Connolly, whose name is infamous as the betrayer of lord Maguire and his associ-

* According to the treaty of cessation, the quarters of the different armies in the several provinces were to be as follows:—In *Connaught*, the county and town of Galway, the counties of Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, and Leitrim, to remain in the possession of the Catholics; in *Leinster*, the county and city of Dublin, the city of Drogheda, and the county of Louth, to remain in the possession of the Protestants, the counties of Tipperary, Limerick, Kerry, Waterford, and Clare, except Knockmorne, Ardmore, Pilltown, Cappoquin, Ballinatra, Stroncally, Lismore, and Lisfinny, to remain in the possession of the Catholics; in *Ulster* each party was to remain in the possession of such places as they happened to hold at the time the treaty was signed.

† The English parliament showed its appreciation of the truce by ordering, on the 24th of September, eight days after the cessation had been signed, "that no Irishman or Papist born in Ireland should have quarter in England" (*Cox*, vol. ii. p. 137); and to show how this brutal order was understood, it is recorded by Carte (*Ormond*, vol. iii. p. 480, &c.) that captain Swanly, the commander of one of the parliamentarian cruisers in the channel, having taken a transport conveying troops, sent by the marquis of Ormond for the king's use, selected from the prisoners seventy men and two women of Irish birth and threw them overboard. And it is worthy of remark that these men had faithfully served the king, their only "crime" being that they were Irish. See the incident related by Leland, vol. iii. p 227.

ates,* came over with orders from the English parliament to the Scotch troops in Ulster, to take the covenant, as the parliament had done on the 25th of September; and this mandate was gladly obeyed, and with due solemnity, at Carrickfergus. At the same time the Scots were enjoined by the parliament to treat as enemies all who should observe the cessation.

One of the first results of the cessation was the arrival of the marquis of Antrim to treat with the supreme council for supplies of men, to proceed to Scotland, in the king's service. The valor displayed by the brave Irishmen who were sent on this expedition, under Alexander MacDonnell, surnamed Colkitto, and who fought under Montrose, at St. Johnston's in Athol, at Aberdeen, and elsewhere, was such as to call forth the admiration of English and Scotch historians. In their first battle, although without a single horse, even their general being obliged to march on foot, and the numbers being three or four to one against them, they routed the enemy with such slaughter "that men might have walked upon the dead corpses to the town, being two miles from the place where the battle was fought."†

A.D. 1644.—The marquis of Ormond was appointed lord lieutenant, and was sworn into office on the 21st of January this year; but although such men as Borlase and his colleagues no longer had the government in their own hands, several of their clique continued to act as members of the council. A deputation from the supreme council of the confederates waited on the king at Oxford, in the beginning of April, to present a statement of their grievances, and to pray for a repeal of the penal restrictions under which they labored, but they obtained nothing more than empty assurances of his majesty's kind intentions, the utmost extent of which was, that he was willing to remove from them any incapacity to purchase lands or hold offices, and to allow them to have their own seminaries for the education of their youth Scarcely had the Catholic commissioners departed when sir Charles Coote and others, deputed by the Protestants of Ireland, arrived to present to the king counter propositions. They demanded that his majesty should "encourage and enable Protestants to replant the kingdom, and cause a good walled town

* Owen O'Connolly then held the commission of a captain, and subsequently served as a colonel under the parliament. He was rewarded with a pension of £500 a-year for the discovery of lord Maguire's plot.

† See "Intelligence from his Majesty's Army in Scotland, &c." in Carte's Collection of Original Letters, vol. i. p. 73; also Curry's *Review*, Append. no viii.

to be built in every county for their security, no Papist being allowed to dwell therein;" and they further prayed his majesty "to continue the penal laws, and to dissolve, forthwith, the assumed power of the confederates; to banish all Popish priests out of Ireland, and that no Popish recusant should be allowed to sit or vote in parliament." The extravagance of these propositions and the peremptory manner in which they were enforced astounded the king, but he was somewhat relieved by the arrival of archbishop Ussher and other commissioners, sent by the council in Dublin, to require Coote to withdraw his fanatical proposals, and to present propositions a little less intolerant. This new scheme submitted to his majesty required, however, "that all the penal laws should be enforced, and that all Papists should be disarmed."

Complaints were made on both sides of infringement of the cessation; but Monroe's disregard of it was such that it became necessary to take immediate steps against his aggressions. For this purpose Owen O'Neill was summoned to consult with the supreme council at Kilkenny. He complained bitterly of the state of his men, left as they were without supplies; but he undertook to raise a levy of 4,000 foot and 400 horse in Ulster, if properly seconded by the council, who, on their side, promised to send 6,000 foot and 600 horse against Monroe. However, when the choice of a commander came to be considered, the council, on which the gentry of the Pale had an overwhelming majority, voted the chief command to the earl of Castlehaven—a man who was wholly incompetent for such a duty, and was besides utterly opposed to the views of the old Irish and to the continuance of the war. O'Neill was deeply hurt at this unjust preference, but his generous nature overcame his personal feelings for the sake of their common cause, and he congratulated Castlehaven on the distinction conferred on him. That vainglorious nobleman marched to Longford, whither Monroe had advanced; but he avoided a collision with the Scots, and suffered them to carry off large preys of cattle to Ulster.

Inchiquin and lord Broghil, in the south, also treated the cessation with contempt; and in August, the former expelled all the Catholics from Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale; Ormond, in the meantime, refusing to enforce the observance of the cessation by Monroe or Inchiquin, although bound by the terms of the treaty to do so. In August the cessation was renewed by the general assembly to the 1st of December, and subsequently for a longer period; and Inchiquin made a truce on

his own part with general Purcell until the 10th of April, 1645 Thus the remainder of the year was wasted in inaction.

A.D. 1645.—The king became more impatient for a definite peace with his Irish subjects, and sent express orders for that purpose to Ormond. Lord Muskerry and sir Nicholas Plunket were sent by the supreme council, on the 6th of March, 1645, to confer with Ormond on the subject. The wily viceroy concealed from the confederates the ample powers with which he was vested by the king to remove their religious grievances, and cajoled them with assurances of Charles's determination not to put the penal laws in force; to abolish all outlawries and attainders which might have been passed against them; and to confer places of trust and honor on Catholics and Protestants indiscriminately. The great majority of the assembly would not be satisfied with a peace which did not include a guarantee for the free exercise of their religion, and on receiving the report of their commissioners rejected Ormond's terms with scorn. The clergy were unanimous in taking this course, being secretly acquainted with the intention of the king to grant much more than Ormond stipulated for. Thus was the agitation of the question protracted, and the animosity which was growing up between the old Irish and the lords of the Pale every day strengthened.

Inchiquin having set out in the course of the summer to destroy the growing crops, the supreme council sent Castlehaven, with an army of 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse against him, and, having reduced several castles and compelled Inchiquin to shut himself up within the walls of Cork, the confederate general disbanded his troops and returned to Kilkenny. At the same time sir Charles Coote, sir Robert Stewart, and sir Frederick Hamilton, with an army of Scots and English, mercilessly wasted Connaught, and took possession of Sligo. The supreme council directed sir James Dillon and Malachy O'Kealy (or Queely), archbishop of Tuam, to recover that important town. They did so, but the Irish again abandoned the place on hearing that a large force of Scots was approaching; and on this occasion the heroic prelate—who was as pious and learned as he was brave—underrating the strength of the enemy, suffered himself incautiously to fall into their hands, and although quarter had been given him, was, together with two friars who accompanied him, brutally slaughtered, his body being cut into small fragments by the soldiery.*

* See the notices of his death in *Hardiman's History of Galway*, *Meehan's Confederation of Kilkenny*, and the notes of the latter author to his translation of *Lynche's Icon Antistitis*.

Desparing of being able to induce the unbending Ormond to offer such terms to the Catholics as they might with consistency accept, and feeling his difficulties in England daily increase, the king now resolved to try another expedient to bring about a peace in Ireland. This he hoped to do by employing a Catholic envoy to treat secretly with the confederates, and he sent over for that purpose lord Herbert, whom he created earl of Glamorgan, the son of the marquis of Worcester. This young nobleman, who was married to the daughter of the earl of Thomond, entertained a chivalrous devotion for the king, and had already, in conjunction with his father, advanced £200,000 for the maintenance of the royal cause. On arriving in Dublin he had a conference with the marquis of Ormond, to whom, therefore, the nature of his mission could not have been a secret; and he then proceeded to Kilkenny, where he fully explained to the supreme council the powers with which he had been invested. The terms which he offered were unexceptionable, and a treaty was therefore entered into between him, on the part of the king, and lords Mountgarret and Muskerry on the part of the confederation, by which it was stipulated that the Catholics of Ireland should enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion; that they should hold for their use all the churches of Ireland not then in the actual possession of the Protestants; that they should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy; that neither the marquis of Ormond, nor any other person, should have power to disturb them in these privileges; and that while the earl of Glamorgan engaged his majesty's word for the performance of these articles, the confederate Catholics should pledge the faith of the kingdom to him for sending 10,000 men armed, one half with muskets and the other half with pikes, to serve the king in England, under the said earl of Glamorgan. There was, however, another condition which the king's position rendered indispensable, namely, that these concessions should be kept secret until the forces designed for his majesty should arrive in England; then the king engaged publicly to avow and confirm the treaty. We shall presently see how it was prematurely divulged and rendered nugatory; but in the meantime other important events were passing.

Belling, the secretary of the supreme council, was sent on a mission to Rome, where he arrived about the end of February, 1645, and was presented by Father Luke Wadding to the then sovereign pontiff, Innocent X., by whom he was received as the accredited envoy of the confederate Catholics. On receiving his report of the state of Irish

affairs, the pope resolved to send an envoy to Ireland qualified with the powers of nuncio extraordinary; and chose for that purpose John Baptist Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo. This distinguished prelate set out on his arduous mission early in 1645, and arrived in Paris, where he was detained about three months, chiefly by negotiations with the English queen, then at St Germains. The communications between them were exchanged through the medium of sir Dudley Wyat and the queen's chaplain, as they had no interview; and the queen's feelings being embittered by the impression that the Irish Catholics only desired to take advantage of the difficulties of her unhappy consort to exact concessions, the nuncio failed to obtain for them any favorable terms. She regarded the nuncio's mission as unfriendly, and her cause being espoused by the French court, it is natural to think that the same view of the subject was entertained there; and there is no doubt that cardinal Mazarin was but little inclined to expedite the journey of the papal envoy, although he gave him 20,000 livres for the use of the Irish, and 5,000 more to fit out a ship for his expedition. At Rochelle the nuncio purchased a frigate of twenty-six guns, called the San Pietro, in which he embarked at St. Martin, in the Isle of Rhé, with a retinue of twenty-six Italians, several Irish officers, and the secretary, Belling. He took with him a large quantity of arms and warlike stores, among the rest, 2,000 muskets and cartouch belts, 4,000 swords, 2,000 pike heads, 400 brace of pistols, and 20,000 lbs. of powder. In addition to the money furnished by the pope, Father Wadding had given a sum of 36,000 dollars. The San Pietro was chased by some parliamentary cruisers on her passage; but a fire having broken out, providentially, on board a large vessel which was foremost in pursuit, and which was thus obliged to slacken sail, the frigate anchored safely in the bay of Kenmare on the 21st of October, 1645. On landing the nuncio took up his abode in a shepherd's hut, where he celebrated mass, surrounded by peasantry from the neighbouring mountains. The arms were landed at Ardtully, and the frigate having been sent round to Duncannon, which the confederates had taken, the nuncio journeyed by Macroom and Kilmallock to Limerick. Here he celebrated the obsequies of the archbishop of Tuam, the news of whose death, at Sligo, had just been received. From Limerick he proceeded to Kilkenny, where he was received with great honor by many thousands of the gentry and people. He entered the city riding on a richly caparisoned horse, and wearing the pontifical hat and cape as insignia of his office, while the secular and regular clergy walked in processional order

before him, preceded by their several standard-bearers. At the entrance to the old cathedral of St. Canice he was received by the venerable David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, who was too feeble to walk in the procession, and then advancing to the altar he intoned the Te Deum, after the chanting of which he pronounced a blessing on the vast congregation. After the religious ceremony he was received in the castle by the general assembly, the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel meeting him at the foot of the grand staircase, and lord Mountgarret, president of the assembly, receiving him standing, but without advancing a step from his chair; and a seat, richly decorated with crimson damask, was fixed for him at the president's right hand, yet so, that it was difficult to say which of the seats occupied the centre. The nuncio then addressed the president in Latin, declaring the object of his mission, which was:—"to sustain the king, then so perilously circumstanced; but above all to rescue from pains and penalties the people of Ireland, and to assist them in securing the free and public exercise of the Catholic religion, and the restoration of the churches and church property, of which fraud and violence had so long deprived their rightful inheritors."* Heber MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, next addressed the assembly, and the nuncio then retired to the residence prepared for him, attended by Preston, lord Muskerry, and the troops.

The peace discussions were now continued with more earnestness than ever; the two parties in the assembly began to be distinguished as Nuncionists and Ormondists; and the estrangement between them grew every day more marked and more rancourous. Two sets of negociations were carried on: those with Ormond openly, in which the terms offered were humiliating to the Catholics, in the position in which they then stood; and those with Glamorgan in secret, in which the terms, as we have seen, were favorable, but had no other guarantee than the king's promise. Glamorgan produced his credentials, dated April 30th, 1645, in which the king promised to ratify whatever terms Glamorgan should deem fit to conclude with the Irish Catholics; but the necessary condition for that ratification was the landing of Irish troops for the king's service in England. Glamorgan also presented to the nuncio another letter, in the king's hand, addressed to pope Innocent X.; and when further pressed by the nuncio, who had his misgivings as to the sincerity of Charles, he undertook, that in case the king refused to ratify

* *Vide* Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, in which these details are given at length.

the treaty, the Irish soldiers should be carried back to their own shores.

Such was the state of the question when news arrived that Glamorgan, who had gone to Dublin to treat about the levying of troops, was arrested, on St. Stephen's day, by order of Ormond, on a charge of high treason. It then transpired that a copy of his secret treaty with the confederates was found on the person of the archbishop of Tuam, when killed by the Scots at Sligo, and that it was sent by Coote to the English parliament, who published it as a ground of accusation against the king; hence the proceeding of Ormond, who feigned the utmost amazement at the discovery. The explosion produced general consternation; and the commissioners of the confederates were told to inform their assmbly that "the Protestants of England would fling the king's person out of the window if they believed it possible that he had lent himself to such an undertaking."

A.D. 1646.—The general assembly met at Kilkenny early in January, and sent a message to Ormond to say, that if Glamorgan were not immediately liberated all negotiations for peace should be suspended. The confederates took the arrest as an insult to themselves, and some proposed that without waiting for the armistice to conclude on the 17th of January they should march immediately to lay siege to Dublin. Glamorgan, however, was bailed out, the marquis of Clanrickard and the earl of Kildare being his securities, to the amount of £40.000; the king disavowed the commission; and it became quite clear that it was intended to both delude the Irish Catholics and the English Protestants.

The ebullition of feeling on the part of the confederation being over, the discussions on the peace were resumed in the assembly, and the acrimony with which they were carried on daily increased. Ormond took care to foment dissension by every means in his power, and in this he was eminently successful. A small party of the clergy were opposed to the nuncio; Dr. Leyburn, one of the queen's chaplains, and Father Peter Walsh, a friar, being at their head. News arrived that a treaty, on behalf of the Irish Catholics, was about to be concluded between the pope and the queen of England, acting on the part of Charles; but this, too, proved to be illusory, and only protracted the suspense. At length the "moderate" party in the assembly prevailed, and on the 28th of March Ormond's treaty was signed by the marquis on the king's behalf, and by lord Muskerry, sir Robert Talbot, John Dillon, Patrick Darcy, and Geoffry Browne, on the part of the confederates. The treaty

contained thirty articles, the only one of which bearing directly on the question of religion was the first, which provided:—"that the professors of the Roman Catholic religion, in this kingdom of Ireland be not bound to take the oath of supremacy expressed in the second of queen Elizabeth." An act of oblivion was to be passed, and the Catholics were to continue in their possessions until settlement by parliament; the impediments to their sitting in parliament being also removed. The nuncio was no party to this treaty. It left wholly untouched the great objects on which he had fixed his mind—the restoration of the Catholic church to its legitimate position, and the deliverance of the Irish people from the degradation to which he saw them reduced; and he had before this induced nine of the bishops to sign a protest against any arrangement with Ormond or the king that would not guarantee the maintenance of the Catholic religion.*

The country was, at this time, in a deplorable state. While the Catholics were distracted by cabals in their councils, and their armies paralysed by the jealousies of their generals, Monroe plundered Ulster with impunity, and sent detachments of his Scots to Coote, the parliamentary lord president of Connaught, whose inroads alarmed the peaceful Clanrickard so much, that even he consented to take the field in his own defence; and in the south, since the defection of the earl of Thomond, all Munster might be said to be in the hands of the implacable Inchiquin. Castlehaven had shown himself unfit to command, and was tired of the war. As to Preston, the nuncio was too discriminating an observer not to perceive his defects. Preston hated Owen Roe, who despised him in turn; and sir Phelim O'Neill disliked Owen, as a rival, both in military fame, and in his claim to the chieftaincy.† Such a state of things would have disheartened any other, but Rinuccini did not

* "Rinuccini's views," observes Mr. Meehan, "were those of an uncompromising prelate. He had learned to appreciate the impulsiveness of the true Irish character, and determined to convince the confederates that they had within their own body all the materials which were required to insure success. He set his mind on one grand object, the freedom of the church, in possession of all her rights and dignities, and the emancipation of the Catholic people from the degradation to which English imperialism had condemned them. The churches, which the piety of Catholic lords and chieftains had erected, he determined to secure to the rightful inheritors. His mind and feelings recoiled from the idea of worshipping in crypts and catacombs. He abhorred the notion of a priest or bishop performing a sacred rite as though it were a felony; and, spite the wily artifices of Ormond and his faction, he resolved to teach the people of Ireland that they were not to remain mere dependants on English bounty, when a stern resolve might win for them the privileges of freemen. His estimate of the Irish character was correct and exalted."—*Confed. of Kil.*, pp. 117, 118.

† Sir Phelim's second wife was the daughter of Preston, a circumstance which must have added to his enmity for Owen Roe, Preston's great rival. The dowery which sir Phelim received with his wife was arms for 500 horsemen, 200 muskets, and £3,000.—*Vide O'Neill's Journal.*

flinch from his purpose. He was resolved to give the Irish a lesson in self-reliance, and his first step was to bring about a reconciliation between Owen Roe and sir Phelim O'Neill. He was determined to strike a vigorous blow in the north against the Scots; and assured the assembly that Ulster should soon be rid of its invaders, and the cathedral of Armagh restored to the ancient worship. In the meantime, Chester having been taken by the parliamentary troops, there was no place in England where the Irish forces could be landed for the king, and, although ready to embark, they were compelled to remain in Ireland. The unfortunate Charles soon after committed the last of his fatal mistakes, by placing himself in the hands of his inveterate enemies, the Scots.* Ormond refused to publish the peace, although the confederates had done all in their power to fulfil their share of the conditions; and he declined to take any step to repress the aggressions of Monroe, after receiving from the assembly a sum of £3,000 to aid in getting up an expedition for that purpose.

The Irish troops who were to have accompanied Glamorgan to England were sent to besiege Bunratty, in Clare, but were driven off by the parliamentary garrison. Rinuccini caused Glamorgan to be superseded by lord Muskerry, and accompanied the army himself in a second attack on the castle, which, after a siege of twelve days, surrendered; the success being attributed to the presence of the nuncio, and adding immensely to his popularity. Castlehaven was again sent against Inchiquin, and Preston acted against Coote, in Connaught; but the successes which the arms of the confederates could boast of elsewhere sink into insignificance before the victory which now awaited them in Ulster, under Owen Roe O'Neill.

Having collected an army of about 5,000 foot and 500 horse, Owen O'Neill marched, about the 1st of June, from the borders of Leinster in the direction of Armagh to attack Monroe. The Scottish general received timely notice of this movement, and, setting out with 6,000 infantry and 800 horse, encamped about ten miles from Armagh.† His army was thus considerably superior to that of O'Neill in point of

* Charles I. left Oxford in disguise and gave himself up to the Scottish army on the 5th of May 1646. On the 30th of January, 1647, the Scots concluded their bargain with the English parliament, and delivered him to them in consideration of a sum of £400,000; and twelve days after they recrossed the Tweed with the money for which they had thus sold their king.

† Monroe had on this occasion ten regiments of infantry, fifteen companies of horse, and six field pieces of artillery, and was followed by fifteen hundred waggons, containing baggage and ammunition. His army was provisioned for a month.—*Rinuccini.*

numbers, as it must also have been in equipments; but he sent word to his brother, colonel George Monroe, to hasten from Coleraine to reinforce him with his cavalry. He appointed Glasslough, in the north of Monaghan, as their rendezvous, but the march of the Irish was quicker than he expected, and he learned on the 4th of June that O'Neill had not only reached that point, but had crossed the Blackwater into Tyrone, and encamped at Benburb.* Here, in the ancient seat of his forefathers, in view of scenes which the great Hugh had rendered famous by former victories, O'Neill was resolved to give battle to the enemies of his country and his religion. He encamped between two small hills, protected in the rear by a wood, with the river Blackwater on his right and a bog on his left, and occupied some brushwood in front with musketeers, so that his position was admirably selected. He was well informed of Monroe's plans, and despatched two regiments to prevent the junction of colonel George Monroe's forces with those of his brother. This important service, we may observe, was satisfactorily performed by colonels Bernard MacMahon and Patrick MacNeny, to whom it had been committed. Finding that the Irish were in possession of the ford at Benburb, Monroe crossed the river at Kinard, a considerable distance in O'Neill's rear, and then, by a circuitous march, approached him in front from the east and south. The manner in which the morning of the 5th of June was passed in the Irish camp was singularly solemn. "The whole army having confessed, and the general, with the other officers, having received the Holy Communion with the greatest piety, made a profession of faith, and the chaplain deputed by the nuncio for the spiritual care of the army, after a brief exhortation, gave them his blessing."† Owen Roe then, addressing his men, said, "Behold the army of the enemies of God, the enemies of your lives. Fight valiantly against them to-day: for it is they who have deprived you of your chiefs, of your children, of your subsistance, spiritual and temporal; who have torn from you your lands, and made you wandering fugitives."‡ We may conceive the enthusiasm inspired by such words and under such circumstances. On the other hand the Scots were inflamed with fierce animosity against their foe and an ardent desire for battle. "All our army,"

* "*Beann-borb*, i.e., the bold ben or cliff, or, as it is translated by P. O'Sullevan Beare, *Pinna Superba;* now Benburb, a castle standing in ruins on a remarkable cliff over the Blackwater river on the borders of the counties of Tyrone and Armagh."—Dr. O'Donovan's note to *Four Masters* vol. vi. p. 2257.

† Rinuccini's *Relatione.*

‡ Sir Phelim O'Neill's Journal.

says Monroe in his despatch, "did earnestly covet fighting, which it was impossible for me to gainstand without reproach of cowardice, and never did I see a greater confidence than was amongst us."

As the Scots approached, their passage was disputed in a narrow defile by the regiment of colonel Richard O'Farrell, but this resistance was soon removed by Monroe's artillery, and the whole Scottish army advanced against O'Neill's position. The Irish general manœuvred so skilfully that for four hours he engaged the attention of the enemy by his skirmishers, and by light parties of musketeers posted in thickets. He wished to gain time until the sun, which dazzled his men by the glare of light in front, should have declined to the west, and until the detachment he had sent to intercept Monroe's expected reinforcement should return; and this design he accomplished. Some troops were seen approaching in the distance. Monroe supposed them to be those of his brother, George; but he was soon undeceived when he saw them enter the Irish camp. He now thought it prudent to retire, and ordered the retreat to be sounded; but this resolve was fatal. O'Neill saw that the moment was decisive, and ordered his gallant army to charge, commanding his men to reserve their fire until within a pike's length of the enemy's lines. Never were orders more bravely obeyed. The Irish rushed forward with a terrific shout, and an impetus that was irresistible. Lord Blaney's regiment first met the brunt of their onset, and after a stubborn resistance was cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry twice charged to break the advancing column of the Irish, but were, themselves, thrown into disorder by the impetuous charge of the Irish horse. The ranks of Monroe's foot and horse were now broken, and the Irish continuing to press on vigorously, the confusion was soon converted into a total route. The Scots fled to the river, but O'Neill held possession of the ford, and the flying masses were driven into the deep water, where such numbers perished that tradition says, one might have crossed over dry-shod on the bodies. The regiment of sir James Montgomery was the only one that retreated in tolerable order, the rest of the army flying in utter confusion. Colonel Conway had two horses killed under him, but escaped on a third to Newry, accompanied by captain Burke, and about forty horsemen. Monroe, himself, fled so precipitately that his hat, sword, and cloak were found among the spoils, and he halted not until he reached Lisburn. Lord Montgomery was taken prisoner, with twenty one officers and about 150 soldiers; and over 3,000 of the Scots were left on the field, besides those killed in the pursuit, which was

resumed next morning. All the Scottish artillery, tents, and provisions, with a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, and thirty-two colors, fell into the hands of the Irish, who, on their side, had only seventy men killed and 200 wounded.*

This brilliant victory, won, not by dint of numbers, but by sheer good generalship and gallantry, over a brave and ruthless foe, numerically superior, and better equipped, showed what Owen O'Neill might have done had he not been shackled by the temporising and craven-hearted party with whom circumstances compelled him to act, and who hated him and his brave northerns as much as they did the Puritan enemy. The covenanters were filled with consternation; and the Ormondists in the general assembly regarded O'Neill with more fear and jealousy than ever, while, in the same proportion, the Irish were inspired with higher and brighter hopes; but the victory had no other result. Monroe, in the panic of the moment, burned Dundrum, abandoned several strong posts, and called all the English and Scots of Ulster to arms; but the Irish made no further attempt to molest him, and he awaited at Carrickfergus the arrival of fresh supplies from the parliament. A great many flocked to O'Neill's standard, and as the arms and other stores obtained at Benburb helped him to equip them, his effective force was soon increased to 10,000 men. These he designated the "Catholic army;" but the appropriation of this title to his own particular force, where all were supposed to be enlisted under the banner of Catholicity, excited fresh jealousies and suspicions. It identified him still more with the nuncio, and increased the hatred of Preston and the Ormondists; the intrigues of which faction now called away his attention from the common enemy.

The standards captured at Benburb were sent to the nuncio at Limerick, where they reached on the 13th of June; and the following

* The Abbé Mageoghegan, whom we have chiefly followed above, and whose account of the battle has been adopted by such hostile writers as Warner and Leland, takes his numbers, as Carte also did, from Rinuccini, who says that as many as 3,243 bodies were reckoned on the field; but adds that the Irish took no prisoners except the officers mentioned above. The writer of sir Phelim O'Neill's journal, who, no doubt, was present, says:—"The confederates got (on the battle-field,) 1,000 muskets, a large quantity of pikes, drums, seven field pieces, and thirty-six standards, which were sent to the nunzio in charge of Bartholomew McEgan, definitor of the order of St. Francis. The nunzio was then in Limerick, and he sent his dean along with Father McEgan to congratulate Owen Roe. The dean gave each soldier three rialls (about one shilling and sixpence), and more to the officers. The army then dispersed over Monaghan, Cavan, Leitrim, and Longford, 'till the crops should be ripe. The wounded were sent to Charlemont, where sir Phelim had surgeons for them." The account of the battle, printed and posted in the streets of London immediately after the news was received, describes it as "the bloody fight at Blackwater, on the 5th of June, by the Irish rebels against major-general Monroe, where 5,000 Protestants were put to the sword."

day they were carried in procession to the cathedral, and a solemn Te Deum was chanted for the victory. The discussion on the publication of the political articles of March 28th was resumed in the assembly with animosity; but in the midst of it their commissioners came to announce that the king had countermanded all the instructions which he had given to Ormond to make terms with the Irish. This order had been conveyed to Ormond on the 26th of June through the Puritan commissioners in Ulster, and it was clear that Charles had issued it under the compulsion of the Scots, whose prisoner he was; but Ormond pretended to think that it should be obeyed, although lord Digby, who was acquainted with the king's wishes, assured him to the contrary. The nuncio wrote to Rome for fresh instructions. The pontifical treaty with the queen on behalf of the Irish Catholics was actually prepared, but was never signed; and at length, on the 29th of July, Ormond's treaty was publicly ratified, and solemnly proclaimed in Dublin on the 1st of the following month. This treaty, which left for the future decision of the king the grand object for which the confederates had taken up arms, made no provision for the plundered people of Ulster, and gave to the lord lieutenant the command of the confederate Catholics, until settlement by act of parliament, was everywhere rejected by the old Irish. In Waterford, Clonmel, and Limerick the herald was prevented by the people from proclaiming it. Galway and many other towns refused to receive it; and by the Irish of Ulster it was indignantly repudiated. Owen Roe entered Leinster with his formidable creaghts,* and the nuncio summoned a national synod, which met at Waterford on the 6th of August, and was attended by three archbishops, ten bishops, five abbots, two vicars apostolic, fourteen representatives of religious orders, and the provincial of the Jesuits. The synod was unanimous in condemning the treaty, and on the 12th of August issued a decree declaring "that all and every one of the Confederate Catholics that will adhere to such a peace, and consent to the futherance thereof, or in any other manner or way will embrace the same, shall be absolutely as perjurers esteemed; chiefly inasmuch as there is no mention made in the thirty articles, nor promise for the Catholic religion or safety thereof, nor any respect had for the preservation of the kingdom's

* The *creaghts* were, originally, the drivers in charge of a prey of cattle; but the term came to be applied to those who led a nomadic life, and removed their cattle from one pasturage to another. As these were numerous in Ulster, the ranks of O'Neill's army were supposed to be chiefly filled by them, and their character having been purposely misrepresented by their enemies, they were rendered objects of the greatest terror to the Irish and Anglo-Irish of Leinster and Munster.

privileges, as were promised in the oath of association, but, on the contrary, all remitted to the king's will and pleasure."*

As opinion became developed the people unanimously rejected the discreditable peace; even the vacillating Preston declared for the nuncio and the clergy; and Mountgarret, Muskerry, and their few adherents, finding themselves deserted by the clergy, the army, and the people, invited Ormond to come to Kilkenny, in the hope that his presence might overawe their opponents. He accepted the invitation, and arrived at Kilkenny on the 31st of August with 1,500 foot and 500 horse. Thence he proceeded to Munster, but he found the people everywhere averse to the treaty. Meantime O'Neill, who was not a listless observer, advanced to the south, encamping at Roscrea on the 9th of September, and Ormond, alarmed at this movement, returned precipitately towards Dublin. To the timely notice which he received from lord Castlehaven he owed, in fact, his escape from the hands of O'Neill and Preston, who were concentrating their forces on his route, with the intention of making him prisoner; but he arrived in safety in Dublin on the 13th of September.

Events of great importance were now succeeding each other with startling rapidity. On the 18th of September the nuncio entered Kilkenny, escorted by the generals, the Spanish envoy, and a crowd of military officers, having previously caused O'Neill to encamp near the city with his army, which now consisted of 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse. His first measure was to cause the members of the supreme council to be committed as prisoners to the castle; Patrick Darcy and Plunket being alone excepted. On the 20th a new council, consisting of four bishops and eight laymen, was appointed, and Rinuccini himself was unanimously chosen president. Thus the tables were turned on the Ormondists, and the whole power was thrown into the hands of the clergy, who appointed Glamorgan to the command of the confederate troops of Munster instead of Muskerry; but the imprisonment of the old council has been generally condemned as a harsh and imprudent proceeding. Ormond hastened to strengthen Dublin against the confederates, from whom he now anticipated an attack; and it was well known that he was then meditating the surrender of the city to the parliamentarians, with whom he was prepared to co-operate against the Catholics. Aware of Ormond's intrigues with the king's enemies, and fearing that Dublin might be delivered up to the Puritans before any step could be take to save it, the supreme council directed the generals

* Vide Frenche's *Unkind Deserter*, and Meehan's *Confed. of Kilkenny*.

to march at once to besiege it. Preston threw obstacles in the way. He desired that they should first communicate with Ormond; and he expressed a fear that Owen Roe intended to attack himself and to destroy the Leinster troops. The mutual hatred of the generals became more violent than ever, and there was strong reason to doubt Preston's sincerity in the cause.

At length, at the end of October, both armies moved towards Dublin, and by mutual agreement Preston fixed his camp at Leixlip, about seven miles from the city, and O'Neill his at Newcastle, a few miles to the south of Preston's camp. Alarmed at their approach, Ormond caused the mills to be destroyed and the country laid waste for a considerable distance, so that no provisions could be obtained; and the winter having set in with intense severity the troops suffered greatly, so many as twenty or thirty men perishing every night at their posts. The defences were in so bad a state that the besiegers might have found it easy to storm the city at many points; but they were too much engaged with their own dissensions to think of attacking the enemy. The two confederate camps were in fact armed against each other, and the nuncio was occupied in passing from one to the other, vainly endeavouring to reconcile the generals. At one time it was debated in council whether Preston should not be seized and imprisoned as a traitor to the cause. He was openly in correspondence with Ormond through the medium of Clanrickard, and it subsequently transpired that he agreed to a plan by which he and Clanrickard were jointly to garrison Dublin, and to compel the confederates to accept the peace; but at the persuasion of the nuncio Preston relinquished this scheme and disappointed Ormond. Twelve days were thus fruitlessly spent before Dublin, when an alarm was suddenly given in the council of the confederates that the English were already in the city; and without any attempt to ascertain the truth of the report, which happened to be utterly groundless, the camps were hastily broken up, and the armies retreated to the south. All appeared to be thoroughly ashamed of this disgraceful proceeding; and the nuncio, who remained at Lucan three days after the retreat, induced the generals on arriving at Kilkenny to sign a mutual agreement, pledging themselves to forget their dissensions and to act together in the common cause. A new general assembly was called; the members of the old council were released from prison, and it was even proposed that the armies should return to besiege Dublin, where Ormond still carried on his negotiations with the parliamentary commissioners.

A.D. 1647.—The general assembly met on the 10th of January. All the members attended high mass in the cathedral of St. Canice, David Rothe, the venerable bishop of Ossory, officiating as high priest. The nuncio sat on an elevated throne, and the scene was august and imposing in an eminent degree. From the cathedral the members repaired to the castle, where the nuncio opened the proceedings with an address, in which he dwelt particularly on the glorious victory obtained by O'Neill in Ulster, but for which, as he truly observed, the confederation would have been crushed ere then. An angry discussion was then raised on the decrees of the synod of Waterford, and on the charge of perjury which they implied against the commissioners who subscribed the articles of Ormond's treaty. In the course of the debates Dr. French, bishop of Ferns, moved that Preston be impeached, and to such a pitch of violence was the discord carried that at one time some members were about to draw their swords. After three weeks spent in these rancorous discussions, it was at length resolved that the treaty with Ormond was invalid, and "that the nation would accept of no peace not containing a sufficient security for the religion, lives, and estates of the confederate Catholics." Out of three hundred members present only twelve voted against this resolution. A new oath was framed and administered for the maintenance of their union until the following rights were attained, viz.:—the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion as it was in the reign of Henry VII., or any former Catholic king; the full enjoyment of their jurisdiction by the Roman Catholic clergy, as in the reigns of the aforesaid Catholic kings; the repeal of all laws made against the Roman Catholics since the reign of Henry VIII.; and the full enjoyment of the churches and church livings by the Roman Catholic clergy in all places then in possession of the confederate Catholics, or which might be recovered by them. Until these articles were fully ratified the confederates were now bound by their oath not to lay down their arms; and on the 8th of March a proclamation was published by the Assembly enjoining on all Catholics to contend for these rights, and denouncing as traitors to God and to their country all those who refused to take the oath with these conditions.

An attempt to renew negotiations with Ormond on the basis of these propositions was treated by him with scorn; and all hopes of peace being thus at an end the confederates began to prepare for war. Their coffers were empty and the country waste; but extraordinary contributions were raised, and the church plate was converted into money.

Owen Roe got the command of the troops of Ulster and Connaught; Preston, distrusted as he was, was re-appointed to the command in Leinster; and Glamorgan was made general of the army of Munster. Dangers threatened them on all sides, and weakened as they were by their own divisions, their preparations against the coming storm were feeble and ill-arranged. Negotiations with Ormond were once more renewed through Dr. Leyburn, who, under the assumed name of Winter Grant, had arrived with despatches from the queen to the lord lieutenant; but nothing was concluded. The nuncio would yield no principle, while Ormond on his side was inflexible in resisting the demands of the Catholics, and was, in fact, too deeply involved already in his negotiation with the rebel parliament. He had sent his son, sir Richard Butler, with the earl of Roscommon and sir James Ware, to London as hostages for the performance of the articles stipulated between them, and had admitted into the garrisons of Drogheda and Dublin a Puritan force of 1,000 foot and 400 horse from Ulster, and an English regiment under Colonel Castle. In Munster, Inchiquin was again abroad, like an unchained demon, spreading desolation around him; and to add to the difficulties of the confederates, the army of the South mutinied against Glamorgan, and insisted on having their old general, Muskerry, restored to the command. Muskerry was accordingly reinstated, and by him the command was transferred to lord Taaffe, a creature of Ormond's, and a vain, hasty, and weak-minded man, destitute of every quality which could fit him for the post. Thus was the country sacrificed. The nuncio repaired to Connaught to consult with Owen Roe—the only man whom he saw worthy of his confidence, or who was devoted heart and soul to the great cause which they had undertaken.

The English parliament was more urgent and imperious than Ormond had anticipated. He was consoled, indeed, with a reward of £5,000 in hand for his treachery, and a promise of £2,000 a-year; but he was ordered out of Dublin castle more unceremoniously than he expected; and had to surrender the regalia to the parliamentary commissioners on the 28th of July, when he sailed for England, whence he soon found it necessary to remove to France. Colonel Jones took possession of the castle for the English rebels.

The news of Ormond's perfidy filled the country with indignation, and brought home to the confederates the alarming nature of their position. In the south lord Taaffe was powerless and inactive, while Inchiquin devastated the land without resistance: O'Neill found himself

destitute of resources in Connaught, and might well have been sullen and dispirited; while Preston, a man quite unfit for the task, marched towards Trim to manœuvre against the parliamentary forces. In the meantime, Jones marched from Dublin, by Swords, Hollywood, Naul, and Garristown, to Skreene, which he reached on the 4th of August, his army, with additions from Ulster, that had joined him on the way, amounting by that time to 12,000 foot and 700 horse, with two pieces of artillery. Here he learned that Preston was the same day at Portlester, five miles west of Trim, with an army of 7,000 foot 1,000 horse, and four cannons. Jones then advanced to Tara, where he reviewed his troops, and next day marched to Scurlogstown, about a mile from Trim, where he encamped. The following day he marched to Trimbleston, where a small garrison that had been left by Preston surrendered to him; but receiving information that the confederate general had suddenly marched in the direction of Kilcock, with a view of getting between him and Dublin, he set out in haste to frustrate that design, and on the morning of the 8th reached Lynche's Knock, near Summerhill, about a mile from which, on an eminence called Dungan hill, Preston was encamped.

Jones advanced in full force to attack the confederates, who were strongly entrenched, and might have held their ground even against the superior numbers of the enemy; but Preston was too volatile and imprudent to act on the defensive. He charged down the hill to break the columns of the parliamentarians, but was encountered with a firmness which threw his men into confusion. His artillery were so placed as to be useless, and his cavalry were drawn up in marshy ground, where they were at the mercy of the enemy. Sir Alexander MacDonnell, or Colkitto, made desperate efforts to retrieve the fortune of the day; but bravery was insufficient where such fatal errors had been committed. The Irish army was driven into an adjacent bog, where, surrounded by the parliamentary forces, they were shot down without mercy. Resistance had ceased, but no quarter was given; and such as attempted to escape from the bog were slaughtered by Jones's dragoons. The confederates lost on that fatal day 5,470 of their men, of whom 400 were MacDonnell's brave Redshanks; and Preston fled in dismay, followed by 500 infantry, the sole wreck of his army that could be mustered after the battle. The loss of the English is said to have been only twenty men.

Terrified at this disaster, even the Ormondists now looked to O'Neill as a protector; and at the desire of the council, Owen marched to the

very neighbourhood which had been the scene of Preston's misfortune. He had an army of 12,000 men, and so harassed Jones by his rapid movements and by those inscrutable tactics which have obtained for him the title of the Irish Fabius, that the parliamentary general was scared from the open country, and sought shelter behind the walls of Dublin. O'Neill followed him as far as Castleknock, and the alarmed citizens could count that night from a steeple 200 Irish watch-fires.

The ferocious Inchiquin entered Tipperary on the 3rd of September, and after taking several small castles, crossed the Suir and attacked the fortress of Cahir, which he took in one day, although it was counted the strongest castle in Munster, and had held out for two months against the army of Essex in the reign of Elizabeth. The principal strongholds were left in so weak a state by the imbecile Taaffe, that some collusion was supposed to have existed between him and Inchiquin, who was allowed to butcher the inhabitants and destroy the crops of the country with impunity. The other exploits of this sanguinary monster were but of trivial consequence, however, when compared to the sack of Cashel. It was about the end of September that Inchiquin sat down before the royal city, in which Taaffe had left only a paltry garrison, he himself flying, as usual, at the approach of Murrough O'Brien. The city was summoned to pay £3,000 under the threat of being taken by storm, and, unfortunately, the municipal authorities had too much spirit to yield to these terms. The attack was, therefore, commenced; the walls were battered down; and at the first rush of Inchiquin's soldiers the feeble garrison flung down their arms, and were slaughtered without resistance. A gallant action will excite admiration, whether performed by friend or foe; but the bloody scene which was now enacted displayed not human bravery but fiendish ferocity. A general carnage of the unarmed townspeople commenced. In the streets and the houses they were outchered without mercy, and without distinction of age or sex. Multitudes of panic-stricken people fled to the cathedral on the rock, and shut themselves up within the sacred walls, but these afforded them no asylum. Inchiquin poured in volleys of musket balls through the doors and windows, unmoved by the piercing shrieks of the crowded victims within; and then sent in his troopers to finish with pike and sabre the work which the bullets had left incomplete. The floor was encumbered with piles of mangled bodies; and twenty priests who had sought shelter under the altars were dragged forth and slaughtered with a fury which

the mere extinction of life could not half appease. In fine, the victims of that day's massacre in Cashel amounted to 3,000![*]

The town of Fethard opened its gates to Inchiquin as soon as summoned to do so; nor need we wonder, for the fate of Cashel spread terror throughout Munster. But when the sanguinary Murrough appeared before Clonmel he was met with a stern defiance. The gallant sir Alexander MacDonnell, with such of his brave northerns as could be collected after the slaughter of Dungan hill, had taken his stand here, and his name was a host in itself. So Murrough slunk away, leaving the walls of Clonmel unharmed, and retired to Cahir, where the thanks of the rebel parliament were conveyed to him for his achievements, together with supplies of men and money.

In the beginning of November Inchiquin again took the field, and was encamped at Mallow, on the 12th of that month, with an army of about 6,000 foot and 1,200 horse; while lord Taaffe, with over 7,000 foot and nearly 1,200 horse, lay at Kanturk, some ten miles distant. The confederate general had been urged by the supreme council to fight Inchiquin if a favorable opportunity was presented, and such he deemed the present one to be. Advancing, accordingly, a few miles, to a hill called Knocknanos,[†] he there drew up his army in order of battle. To sir Alexander MacDonnell, whom he made his lieutenant-general, he committed the right wing, which was supported by colonel Purcell, with two regiments of horse; and he himself took the command of the left wing, on the slope of the hill, where he posted the Munster troops, numbering 4,000 foot, supported also by two regiments of horse. The front was defended by a morass, and a small rivulet which nearly encompassed the base of the hill. His position was therefore good; and Inchiquin, having advanced from Mallow, commenced the attack at considerable disadvantage. MacDonnell's northerns, following the Highland custom, flung down their muskets after the first volley, and charged the enemy with their broadswords. They broke Inchiquin's left wing, took his artillery, and pursued his flying men for two miles, killing a great number. But a different result attended the combat in another part of the field. Availing himself of a fatal oversight on the part of Taaffe, Inchiquin detached a squadron of horse so as to gain the

[*] Vide Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 200.

[†] "Cnoc-na-n-os, *i. e.*, the Hill of the Fawns."—(*O'Donovan's Note to Four Masters*, vol. vi. p. 1897); or it might be Cnoc-na-n-dos, *dos* signifying a "thicket," or a "dense body of men."—See *O'Brien's Ir. Dict.*

summit of the hill; and these, charging from the rear, caused a panic in the left wing of the Irish. This decided the battle. The Munster troops fled in dismay, and were slaughtered with little resistance; while the northerns, returning from the pursuit of those whom they had so gallantly routed, and secure in the thought that the day was their own, were surprised by the victorious English, and cut to pieces. Their heroic leader gave up his sword to colonel Purdon; but Inchiquin having ordered that no quarter should be given, the chivalrous MacDonnell was, together with many of his brave men, put to the sword in cold blood.* Four thousand of the confederates, according to the English accounts, perished in the field; their arms, colors, and baggage were lost; and the general's tent, with all his papers, were among the spoils. This battle, so disastrous to the confederates, was fought on the 13th of November. On receiving the news the parliament voted £10,000 for Inchiquin's army, and £1,000 as a present to himself; but only a small portion of the money was sent, and Murrough, feeling that he was badly treated, began to think of changing sides again.†

A.D. 1648.—The prospects of the confederates were now gloomy in the extreme. Their generals, Preston and Taaffe, had each lost an army; O'Neill, indeed, could still keep their enemies in check, but he was feared and hated by the Ormond faction even more than Inchiquin himself; the complete triumph of the fanatics in England gave cause for the darkest forebodings; the resources of the country were exhausted; and the general assembly was now engaged in discussing the question of a foreign protectorate. After long and anxious deliberation, it was resolved to send agents to Rome and France, both to solicit aid in

* The death of sir Alexander (Alastram) MacDonnell has added not a little to the tragic interest of Knocknanos. That brave soldier, who is famous in Scottish history as sir Alaster M'Donnell and Colkitto (Colla Ciotach, or Colla the left-handed), having, as we have seen, been sent by Randal, marquis of Antrim, to Scotland, in command of Irish troops, had a chief part in the victories gained by Montrose for the king in 1644. His name is preserved in the traditions of the Irish peasantry in connection with a well-known piece of popular music, called from him *Marsháil Alastraim*, or "Alexander's March;" but, observes professor Curry, "whether the march is older than the name I am not able to say, but I think it is." The remains of sir Alastram were deposited in the Dominican abbey at Kilmallock, but the spot is unknown. *Vide Croker's Researches in H. S. of Id. p.* 67.

† Personal considerations had induced him to desert the king's cause in 1643, when he was refused the presidency of Munster, which he expected to obtain after the death of his father-in-law, sir William St. Leger. The earl of Portland was made lord president, and Inchiquin turned over to the parliament. It is remarkable that both Inchiquin and Ormond, two of the most inveterate enemies of the Catholic church at that time, were the sons of Catholic parents, but had been educated under the infamous Court of Wards, the great proselytising engine of that day.

money, and to ascertain what might be the most prudent course for placing the country under the protection of a foreign power. Dr. French and Plunket were deputed to Rome; Muskerry and Browne to France; and the marquis of Antrim also proceeded in the name of the assembly to the latter country. Ormond had already arrived at St Germains, and prepared the queen for the reception to be given to the Irish envoys. Besides the instructions which they had received from the general assembly, Muskerry and Browne were the bearers of a private message from Preston and Taaffe, and to this alone was any serious consideration given in the conference with the queen. Her majesty's answer to the public message was a mere deception; and henceforth the confederation was nothing more than an instrument in the hands of Ormond.

The supreme council and Inchiquin had for some time been treating in an underhand way about a truce, but their negotiations now became more direct. Inchiquin demanded from them 4,000 dollars a month, to support his mercenary army, at the same time that he continued to press his demands on the English parliament, to conceal his designs. A meeting of the general assembly was called, and Rinuccini, who was at Waterford, was very pressingly invited by the supreme council to give it the sanction of his presence. At length he complied, and the session was opened on the 20th of April, when the discussion of the treaty with Inchiquin commenced. Inchiquin had already incurred the suspicions of parliament, and some of his officers had revolted against him. His power was therefore greatly diminished, and the nuncio protested against any accommodation with the man whose hands were still red with the blood of the priests whom he had massacred on the rock of Cashel. The nuncio's energetic remonstrance prevailed with the bishops, fourteen of whom subscribed a condemnation of the truce. But it was too late. The truce was signed at Dungarvan on the 20th of May. It provided that Catholics should not be molested in the practice of their religion, except in the garrisons or quarters of lord Inchiquin, where it would not be tolerated. Preston and Inchiquin now united their forces, and prepared to march against O'Neill; to crush whom was the object uppermost in the minds of both. The nuncio had, however, a dreadful weapon yet in store. On the morning of the 27th of May, a sentence of excommunication against all abettors of the truce, and an interdict against all cities, towns, and villages in which it would be received or observed, were published on the gates of the cathedral at Kilkenny, and

the nuncio himself privately withdrew from that city and repaired to the camp of Owen Roe at Maryborough. This was a fearful expedient, involving as it did the innocent and the guilty in one punishment. It was, perhaps, inexcusable; but we must bear in mind that the nuncio was aware the life of O'Neill was aimed at, and that he saw the cause of the church and the people of Ireland sacrificed by the perverse conduct of the Ormondists, upon whom no ordinary argument could make any impression. It was with him a last and a desperate resource.

The Ulster chieftain had but 700 of his followers now about him, and in a few days news was brought that Preston was within four miles with an army of 10,000 men to attack him. Preston, however, was ignorant of O'Neill's weakness and did not advance; and 2,000 of his men, smarting under the excommunication, deserted to Owen's camp. O'Neill was galled to the heart at these proceedings. He fell back towards Athlone, where he had a garrison, but before he could come to its relief it had been compelled to yield to Preston and Clanrickard, the latter being also in the field against him. Owen Roe made a truce with the Scots, and on the 11th of June proclaimed war against the supreme council, and the nuncio took his final leave of him and retired to Galway, where he was hemmed in by Clanrickard's people. An angry correspondence passed between the nuncio and the now degenerate confederation, and when he endeavoured to convoke a national synod, Clanrickard prevented the prelates from assembling. These were, indeed, sad events for Ireland; and it is melancholy to see how utterly dissipated were the hopes which but a little while before were so full of promise.

The discord of the confederates freed the parliamentarians from restraint in Dublin, and Monroe and his Presbyterians not desiring the abolition of monarchy, nor approving of the course which affairs had taken in England, Monck got the command in Ulster in his stead, and marching suddenly into that province, surprised Carrickfergus and seized Monroe, whom he sent prisoner to England. Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin, glad to promote the war between O'Neill and the confederation, allowed the former to pass unmolested through Leinster to attack Kilkenny. Finding however, that the combined forces of Preston and Inchiquin were too numerous, O'Neill would not hazard an engagement, and withdrew to Ulster, having foiled by his skilful manœuvres an attempt which those generals, in conjunction with Clanrickard, made to surround his small army. The marquis of Antrim, on returning from France, took the nuncio's side; raised an army in the north, and was supported by the O'Byrnes, Kavanaghs, and other

Leinster septs; but he was defeated by Inchiquin and the confederates. Ormond next re-appeared on the stage, in compliance with the reiterated invitations of Inchiquin and the supreme council. On the 29th of September he landed at Cork, whither Inchiquin went to receive him. He invited commissioners from the confederation to meet him at Carrick; but after much delay, caused by the discussion of terms and other obstacles, the marquis came at the invitation of the general assembly to Kilkenny, where he was received in great state by that body, and installed in his own castle. The peace negotiations were again interrupted by a mutiny in Inchiquin's army, when it was found Ormond had brought no money; but at length on the 17th of January, 1649, the treaty of peace between Ormond and the confederation was finally ratified and published amidst great rejoicings.

A.D. 1649.—That the war, which was thus brought to a close after seven years' continuance, had been undertaken on religious grounds, is evident from the leading conditions of this treaty, as well as from all the negotiations that had taken place between the parties during that period. The first article provided that in the next parliament to be held in Ireland the penal statutes against Catholics should be repealed; that a simple oath of allegiance should be substituted for the oath of supremacy; and that Catholics should not be molested in the possession of the churches and church livings which they then held, or their clergy in the exercise of their respective jurisdictions, until such time as their claims could be fully considered in a free parliament. By another article the native Irish Catholics were to be relieved from all civil disabilities, and were to be allowed to erect one or more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin, and to establish free schools for the education of their youth. They might hold the command of garrisoned towns and forts; the Catholics ejected from Cork, Youghal, and Dungarvan, by Inchiquin were to be reinstated in their possessions; the Catholic regular clergy were to be allowed to hold the ancient abbeys and monasteries of which they were then in possession, and to retain any pensions which they then enjoyed; and finally, twelve of the confederates were to act as commissioners of trust with the marquis of Ormond to see the articles of the treaty fully carried out, and to participate in certain of the functions which belonged to him as lord lieutenant.* In

* The commissioners of trust were: lord Dillon of Costello, lord Muskerry, lord Athenry, Alexander MacDonnell, esq., sir Lucas Dillon, sir Nicholas Plunket, sir Richard Barnwell, Geoffry Brown, Donagh O'Callaghan, Turlough O'Neill, Miles O'Reilly, and Gerald Fennel, esqrs.

fact the treaty granted concessions to the Catholics but little inferior to those proposed by Glamorgan; and if Ormond had only yielded so much a few years earlier he would have prevented innumerable calamities, and most probably have preserved the life of the king. On the 30th of the same month the unfortunate Charles I. closed his wretched career on a scaffold at Whitehall. On the 10th of February prince Rupert entered the harbour of Kinsale with sixteen frigates, and the news of the king's death having been received about the same time, Ormond proclaimed the prince of Wales king, by the title of Charles II. at Cork and Youghal, the same ceremony being performed by prince Rupert at Kinsale.

On the 23rd of February, Rinuccini embarked at Galway in his own frigate to return to Rome. His mission was unsuccessful, but its failure is to be attributed to the recreant and temporising party who, from the very day when they found themselves involved in the war, were prepared to sacrifice the principles for which the country had taken up arms. Rinuccini desired to raise the Catholic church in Ireland to the dignity to which it was entitled, and the native race of Ireland to the social state for which he saw them fitted. These were the principles for which he contended. The only fault with which even his enemies could charge him was, that he was uncompromising. And for the rest, it can hardly be denied that on his side was all that the confederation could boast of as chivalrous, high-minded, and national; while on that of the Ormondists we find intrigue, incapacity, and cowardice.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CROMWELL.

State of parties after the death of Charles I.—O'Neill's services sought by Ormond and by the Parliamentarians.—Ormond and Inchiquin take the field.—Drogheda and other towns surrender to the latter.—Siege of Dublin by Ormond.—Great defeat of the Royalists at Rathmines.—Arrival of Cromwell.—Siege of Drogheda—Horrible massacre.—Wexford betrayed to Cromwell—Frightful massacre of the inhabitants.—Death of Owen O'Neill.—Ross surrendered.—Siege of Waterford—Courageous conduct of the citizens—The siege raised.—The Southern garrisons revolt to Cromwell.—Wretched position of Ormond.—Meeting of the bishops at Clonmacnoise—Their declaration.—Kilkenny surrendered to Cromwell.—Siege of Clonmel—Heroic self-devotion of the bishop of Ross.—Surrender of Clonmel.—Cromwell embarks for England.—Death of Heber MacMahon.—Meeting of the bishops at Jamestown—Ormond excommunicated.—The king subscribes to the covenant.—New general assembly.—Ormond retires to France, and the marquis of Clanrickard becomes lord deputy.—Negotiations with the duke of Lorrain.—Limerick besieged by Ireton.—Valour of Henry O'Neill.—Limerick betrayed to the besiegers.—Barbarous executions.—Death of Ireton.—Surrender of Galway.—Clanrickard accepts terms and leaves the kingdom.—Wholesale confiscations and plunder.—Horrible attempts to exterminate the people.—Banishment to Connaught and the West Indies.—Execution of Sir Phelim O'Neill.—Atrocious cruelties.—Oliver proclaimed Lord Protector.—Henry Cromwell in Ireland.—Death of Oliver.—Proceedings of the Royalists.—The Restoration.

[FROM A.D. 1649 TO A.D. 1660.]

GENERAL subversion of principles and confusion of parties characterise the period which followed the death of Charles I. The Scots in Ulster had, as we have seen, become royalists, and Ormond and Inchiquin were at the head of the confederates. The old Irish still flocked round the standard of Owen O'Neill as their leader, and his chivalrous character, military skill, and influence, commanded the respect of his enemies; but the high and sacred principles for which he contended had been long since abandoned by his old colleagues of the confederation; a barrier of personal enmity was, moreover, placed between him and them: and provided he could keep an army on his hands, and watch the moves on the political chess-board for some one favorable to his country, it was to him of little consequence to which of the contending parties he lent his temporary aid. Ormond made overtures to him,

and some accommodation would probably have taken place between them, had not the animosity of the commissioners of trust, old members of the supreme council, interfered to prevent it; whereupon O'Neill in disgust listened to the suggestions of the parliamentary party, and arranged with Monck, who held the command of Dundalk, to intercept the communication between the Scottish royalists in the north and Ormond in the interior. This arrangement, which was made on the 8th of May, 1649, was to secure to O'Neill and his followers perfect religious freedom and the restoration of their estates;* but Owen did not reckon with any confidence on it, and the cessation or treaty was only signed for three months. The young king was now at the Hague, uncertain what course to take. He had been long promising to come to Ireland, and his baggage had, it is said, been embarked for this country; but want of money in the first instance, and then other impediments, prevented him from coming. It is thought that Ormond, for some sinister motives, discouraged his visit to Ireland; but Charles placed the fullest confidence in the crafty marquis as his lord-lieutenant, and confirmed the treaty which he had made with the confederates.

Ormond and Inchiquin having mustered a considerable army in the south, at length took the field. In their march through Leinster, several small places, in which either Owen O'Neill or the parliamentarians had placed garrisons, surrendered to them; and they advanced, Ormond to invest Dublin, and Inchiquin to besiege Drogheda.† The latter town held out for seven days, and on the 30th of June surrendered on honorable terms, the parliamentarian garrison, consisting of 600 men, being permitted to march to Dublin. Inchiquin's next exploit was to intercept a quantity of ammunition which Monck was sending from Dundalk to Owen O'Neill; and soon after Dundalk, Newry, and several places in Ulster, together with the castle of Trim, surrendered to him; and he marched back to rejoin Ormond, who had encamped at Finglas, two miles north of Dublin, on the 18th of June, but removed to Rathmines, in the southern suburbs of that city, on the 25th of July. Ormond found his army too small either to besiege or storm so large a place as Dublin, and his only hope now being to reduce the city by famine, he left lord Dillon, of Costello, with 2,000 men on the north side, while with the remainder of his army he proposed to cut off supplies coming from any other

* *Philop. Irer.* i. p. 121; also *Hist. of Independence*, p. 237.

† At this period Drogheda was called Tredagh or Treda, by English writers; this corruption of the name being an attempt to imitate the pronunciation of the Irish word *Droichet-atha.*

quarter. So great was his confidence in the loyalty of his men, that he wrote to the king to say "he could persuade half his army to starve outright for his majesty."

On the same day that Ormond moved from Finglas to Rathmines, large reinforcements arrived to the garrison from England under colonels Reynolds and Venables; and it became a matter of great importance to the besiegers to command the mouth of the river, to prevent the landing of further supplies from beyond the channel. With that view, and to deprive the besieged of pasturage for their horses on the south side, major-general Purcell was sent, on the night of the 1st of August, with a detachment of 1,500 foot to take possession of the ruined castle of Bagotrath, about a mile from the camp. This place they hoped to fortify sufficiently in one night, and from it they might advance their works to the river; but they only arrived at the castle an hour before daybreak, and found that it was not so important as was supposed. Ormond, as well as the bulk of his army, had watched during the night, expecting an attack from the garrison, and he now retired to his tent to take some repose; but at the same moment colonel Michel Jones was preparing to sally forth from the city with 4,000 foot and 1,200 horse, to dislodge the party which had got possession of Bagorath. It is intimated by those who seek by all means to free Ormonds character from disgrace, that Preston and the men under his command were not at their posts at this important juncture; but it must be admitted that the marquis showed bad generalship on the occasion; and he was now roused from his slumbers by volleys of musketry, only to find his whole left wing in disorder, and the detachment from Bagotrath retreating, with the enemy at their heels. The confusion soon extended to Ormond's left wing; the infantry were deserted by the cavalry and sought refuge in flight; and what Jones only intended as a sortie resulted in a total rout of the royalists, with the loss, as some accounts say, of 4,000 killed and 2,500 taken prisoners, together with their artillery, baggage, money, and provisions. The Ormondists, however, state that the number of slain was only 600, and the prisoners 300 oficers and 1,500 private soldiers; and they add, what is very probable, that a great many were killed after quarter had been proclaimed, and some even after they had been brought inside the walls of the city. Some of the royalist retreated to Drogheda, and others to Trim, and a great many of Inchiquin's soldiers went over to the enemy; but Ormond himself repaired to Kilkenny, where he endeavoured to

collect the shattered remains of his army; and his power was so broken by this overthrow, that he never after ventured to meet the parliamentarians in the field.

After this battle Jones marched to recover possession of Drogheda, but he found that town ably defended by lord Moore, and learning that Ormond was coming to its relief, he raised the siege and returned to Dublin. Notwithstanding their success at Rathmines, the parliamentarians were, in fact, at this time, in very straightened circumstances. The only place which they retained in Ulster was Londonderry, where sir Charles Coote was so hard pressed by lord Montgomery of Ards, that he should inevitably have been compelled to surrender had not Owen O'Neill consented to come to his relief. Coote stipulated to give O'Neill £2,000 for the payment of his troops, a quantity of ammunition, and 2,000 cows, and the aid was cheaply purchased; for as soon as Owen Roe appeared on the 8th of August the lord of Ards and his Scots raised the siege. The English parliament feigned great indignation at the treaties made by its officers with the Irish Popish general, and shortly after O'Neill broke off all alliance with that party.

Oliver Cromwell, the extraordinary man who was then beginning to sway the destinies of England, had, by a unanimous vote of the parliament, been made lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland, so far back as the 28th of March, this year; but the troubles with the levellers, and other causes, had retarded the setting out of his expedition for this country. At length he sailed from Milford Haven on the 11th of August, and landed at Dublin on the 14th, having altered his original plan, which was to land in Munster. He brought with him 9,000 foot, 4,000 horse, several pieces of artillery, an abundant supply of all kinds of military stores, and £20,000 in money. His son-in-law, commissary-general Ireton, followed, as second in command. The parliamentary force in Dublin now exceeded 16,000 men; and on the 30th of August, Cromwell took the field with a well-provisioned army of 10,000 picked men, and marched to lay siege to Drogheda, then deemed next in importance to Dublin as a military post. Having been invested by parliament with the title of lord lieutenant, he published after his arrival two proclamations, one against intemperance, and the other prohibiting his soldiers, under the severest penalties, to plunder the country people. His admirers plead this prohibition as a proof that he did not intend to exercise cruelty in his Irish campaign; but his only design was to encourage the peasantry to bring provisions for sale to the army in

its march, and in this object he was successful. He appointed sir Theophilus Jones governor of Dublin.

Ormond had garrisoned Drogheda with about 3,000 of his choicest troops, under the command of sir Arthur Aston, an Englishman, but a Catholic, and a soldier of experience and reputation; and a portion of the garrison also consisted of English royalists or cavaliers. Ormond himself withdrew with a few troops to Trim, and rejoiced that at so late a season Cromwell was about to besiege a place of so much strength, and before which he was likely to be so long detained, as Drogheda. The bold and energetic tactics on which so much of Cromwell's military success depended, disconcerted, however, plans founded on old-fashioned notions. The parliamentary general encamped at the south side of Drogheda, on Monday, September 2nd; and some days having been consumed in getting his siege guns from the ships that conveyed them from Dublin, and in other preparations, he was ready to commence battering the town on that day week. He began by beating down a tower and the steeple of St. Mary's church, where a gun had been placed that annoyed him. On the following morning (Tuesday, the 10th) his batteries played incessantly, and early in the afternoon two practicable breaches were made; one towards the east, in the church-yard wall of St. Mary's, which, although the strongest part of the fortifications, Cromwell had selected for attack, as it would afford a safe entrance for his horse, and shelter for them on the inside under the church walls. The other breach was in the south wall of the town. About five o'clock he sent forward his storming parties. Seven hundred men entered the breaches, but earth-works had been thrown up inside, and the garrison defended them with such desperate bravery, that the fierce assailants were driven back through the breaches with considerable loss. Some accounts mention three several assaults; but in his despatch to the parliament Cromwell says the entrenchments were carried at the second assault. Cannon were planted so as to shoot down some of the Irish horse which were posted behind the works to encourage the foot; and colonel Wall, whose regiment was defending the breaches, having been killed, his men became discouraged and wavered. It was probably at this moment that Cromwell's officers and men promised quarter to the Irish, but the precise time at which this was done is involved in obscurity. That quarter, however, was offered is unquestionable. Various contemporaries, as Clarendon and Carte, assure us of the fact; and they add that the promise was kept as long as the garrison resisted, "but," says

the latter historian, "when they found all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done to them, Cromwell being told by Jones that he had now all the flower of the Irish army in his hands, gave orders that no quarter should be given." The besiegers had before this gained a tower in which there was a sally-port, but the passage was so blocked up with the bodies of the dead that it was useless to them. However, being now masters of the two breaches, they introduced their cavalry through that at St. Mary's church, and by the other gained access to the great Tuatha de Danann tumulus called the mill-mount, the sides of which were strongly defended with pallisades, behind which the besieged disputed the ground for some time, though they yielded on the promise of quarter. The brave governor, sir Arthur Aston, with the officers of his staff, sir Edward Verney, and colonels Warren, Fleming, and Byrne, retreated into the old mill on the top of the mound, where they were disarmed and slain in cold blood. As this position commanded the town all further resistance must have been useless; and the besiegers pouring in through the two breaches, crossed the bridge pell-mell with the flying garrison, and were thus in possession of the north side of the town. Drogheda was gained, but the work of slaughter had only commenced. The officers and soldiers of the garrison were the first to be exterminated. Out of the 3,000 choice troops only about 30 men were saved, and these were reserved by Cromwell for deportation to Barbadoes. He himself says, "Our men were ordered by me to put them all to the sword." The fury of the fanatical conquerors was then let loose against the unarmed townspeople; and every man, woman, and child of Irish extraction that could be found within the devoted city was most brutally murdered! This savage butchery occupied five whole days. It was on the morning of the 11th that Cromwell's troopers came to the great church of St. Peter's, on the north side of the city. To this sacred edifice upwards of a thousand of the principal inhabitants had fled for protection; but every one of them was put to the sword; and as a palliation of the massacre of these innocent people, Cromwell tells the parliament that "they had the insolence on the last Lord's day to trust out the Protestants (from that church) and to have the mass said there." All the ecclesiastics were, as a matter of course, put to death, or as Leland insolently expresses it, Cromwell "ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpless wretches!" A number of people had sought refuge in the church steeple, which was constructed of timber, and Cromwell tells us that he ordered fire to be applied. Some were burned,

and the rest were slaughtered as they attempted to escape. A multitude of respectable women, comprising all the principal ladies of the city, concealed themselves in the crypts under the choir of the church, but when the carnage was finished above, the blood-hounds traced them to these dark recesses, and not even to one of these poor fugitives was mercy shown. One of Cromwell's officers, who was engaged in this horrible work—Thomas Wood, brother of Anthony à Wood, the Oxford historian—relates that he found in these vaults "the flower and choicest of the women and ladies belonging to the town, amongst whom a most handsome virgin, arrayed in costly and gorgeous apparel, kneeled down to him with tears and prayers to save her life." He was moved to compassion, and took her out of the church "with the intention to put her over the works to shift for herself;" but while she was even thus protected a soldier plunged his sword in her body, and Mr. Wood "seeing her gasping, took away her money, jewels, &c., and flung her down over the works." Wood also related how "when they were to make their way up to the lofts and galleries of the church, and up to the tower where the enemy had fled, each of the assailants would take up a child and use it as a buckler of defence when they ascended the steps, to keep themselves from being shot or brained." This picture, described as it is by one of the actors in the bloody scene, is full of horror. According to a local tradition, Cromwell's attention was attracted by an infant endeavouring to draw nourishment from the breast of its dead mother, whose murdered body lay in the street, and his callous heart being moved by the affecting incident, he gave orders to stop the massacre of all who were not found in arms; but tradition appears to be wrong in this case; for it is certain that a promiscuous slaughter was carried on until the departure of the army on the 15th; that is, during five whole days, in which, as we are told by a cotemporary writer, four thousand Catholic men, besides a vast multitude of ecclesiastics, and of women, youths, and children, were unmercifully slain.* Cromwell has his worshippers, and the philosophical disquisitions of Carlyle and Guizot may excite an interest in his character. The question whether he was

* Bruodin, *Propug. Cath. Verit.* Lib. iv. c. 14, p. 678. For original authorities on the siege and massacre of Drogheda the reader may consult Cromwell's despatches, as given by Carlyle, or as published with notes in the *Dublin Penny Journal* for 1832; Clarendon's *History of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, pp. 130 and 131; *Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 300, 303; Carte's *Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 84; Borlase, *Hist. of Irish Reb.*; Bruodin, *ubi supra*; *Life of Anthony à Wood*, (quoted by Lingard); *Cambrensis Eversus, Epist. Dedic.*; and also cap. xxxi. &c. See also the accounts given by Leland and Dr. Lingard, and in O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*. Ormond, in his letter to lord Byron, secretary to Charles II., as given by Carte, says, that "on this occasion Cromwell exceeded himself, and anything he had ever heard of in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity."

a canting hypocrite or a fanatical enthusiast is frequently discussed; but let this point be decided what way it may, and his panegyrists write as they will, the massacre at Drogheda stamps him with eternal infamy as a monster with a demon's heart.

Cromwell, who estimated his own loss at less than a hundred men, wrote to the parliament to announce his success and the massacre which had been perpetrated, which he impiously attributed to "the Spirit of God," desiring that "God alone should have all the glory;" and the house on the receipt of his despatch on the 2nd of October appointed a "thanksgiving day," and voted a letter of thanks to the lord lieutenant of Ireland and the army, "in which notice was to be taken that the house did approve of the execution done at Drogheda, as an act both of justice to them (the victims), and mercy to others who may be warned by it."* Trim, Dundalk, Carlingford, Newry, and other places in the north were abandoned by the royalists, or surrendered to Cromwell's officers after little or no resistance. Coleraine was betrayed to sir Charles Coote, who put the garrison to the sword; sir George Monroe was driven from Down and Antrim; and the Scots were dispossessed wherever they had settled. Carrickfergus was the only important fortress in Ulster which the royalists now held.

Cromwell, who had returned to Dublin on the 16th of September, left again on the 27th; and marching through Wicklow, took possession of Arklow and several small places on his route, and appeared before Wexford on Monday, the 1st of October. This town, though small, was wealthy and of great commercial importance. It was well fortified, being surrounded by an earthen rampart of considerable thickness within the wall, while at a distance of three or four hundred paces outside the works, towards the south-east, stood a strong castle. The inhabitants had until the last moment refused to accept a garrison of royalists from Ormond; but at this time they appear to have been fully prepared for the defence; the troops in the town being under the command of colonel David Sinnott, a brave and determined officer; and the castle just mentioned under that of captain James Stafford. On the 3rd of October Cromwell summoned the town to surrender, and from that day to the 5th various notes were exchanged between him and colonel Sinnott, the latter requiring time to consult the mayor and corporation on the terms upon which they would consent to surrender the place. On the latter day lord Castlehaven threw into the town, at the north

* *Parliamentary Hist. of England*, vol. iii. p. 1334.

side 1,500 Ulster troops which had been sent by the marquis of Ormond from Ross; and Sinnott now required further time to submit the propositions for surrender to lord Castlehaven, who was his superior officer, as lord general of the horse. During this time there had been no cessation of hostilities agreed upon, although the civil authorities of the town exhibited their courtesy by sending presents of "sacke and strong waters" for the use of the parliamentarian general. A detachment of the besieging army had seized the castle of Rosslare, at the mouth of the harbour, the garrison abandoning it and taking refuge in a frigate, which was afterwards surrendered at discretion to the enemy. The entrance to the harbour being thus free, Cromwell landed the battering train from his shipping, and lost no time in preparing for the attack. In reply to Sinnott's last note of the 5th, he wrote the following day to revoke the safe conduct which he had given for the agents who were to bring the propositions from the town; but added, "when you shall see cause to treat, you may send for another." With the relief last sent the garrison amounted to about 3,000 men; and Castlehaven, having retired from the town, Sinnott made up his mind to defend his charge.* Cromwell having selected the part near the castle for his attack, finished his batteries on Wednesday, the 10th, and began the cannonade on the following morning. By twelve o'clock some breaches were made in the castle defences; and Sinnott having caused a parley to be beaten, sent to demand a safe conduct for four persons to treat on honorable terms. This was granted; and the four agents sent from the town were, majors Theobald Dillon and James Byrne, alderman Nicholas Cheevers, and captain James Stafford, the last, it will be recollected, being the governor of the castle. The proposed conditions were only what might be expected from men of honor with arms in their hands. The inhabitants asked full religious liberty for themselves, and the garrison demanded that they should march out with colors flying, and with their arms, baggage, &c., and that such of the townspeople as chose might be at liberty to accompany them in safety to Ross. Cromwell calls these propositions "abominable," and the men who dared to send them "impudent;" but while he was preparing "to return a suitable answer," he found means to make terms of another kind. He corrupted captain Stafford with a bribe, or by some other means. Cromwell

* Clarendon says a reinforcement, under sir Edmond Butler, entered the town only two hours before Cromwell's soldiers got in, but this cannot be correct, as Castlehaven speaks of sir Edmond as being in Wexford, when he went there, and calls him the governor. It is certain, however, that Sinnott had the command of the garrison.

says he was "fairly treated;" and the castle being thrown open to his troops, the flag of the parliament was displayed from its summit, and the guns turned against the town. Seeing this stronghold in the hands of the enemy, who, consequently, had the fortifications of the city on that side at their mercy, the besieged were seized with dismay. The besiegers planted their scaling ladders and crossed the walls without the least opposition, and then opened the gates to their own cavalry. The panic which ensued may easily be conceived. The garrison retreated to the market-place, where numbers of the townspeople had also congregated, and here, for fully an hour, they offered what Cromwell calls "a stiff resistance," and the street being in many places barricaded with cables, the enemy's horse could for some time do little execution. The assailants, however, poured in by thousands, and the horrible massacre of Drogheda was re-enacted, neither man, woman, nor child, who came in their way, having found any mercy. Now, all this time Cromwell held in his hands the conditions for surrender proposed by the governor and citizens, and his own answer written, but never sent; for the agents from the city were still in his camp when the massacre commenced. By the answer which he had prepared he granted life and liberty to the soldiers; life, but not liberty, to the officers, and freedom from pillage to the inhabitants; but while this answer was ready, though not delivered, and Sinnott and the authorities still in ignorance of his decision, he succeeded, as we have seen, by the basest means in gaining possession of the castle, and then would have us believe that he did not order the massacre. He intended, forsooth, to preserve the place, but saw "God would not have it so," and he "thought it not good nor just to restrain off the soldiers from their right of pillage, nor from doing of execution on the enemy." And he concludes his dispatch by telling the parliament "that it had pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy" (Drogheda was the first "mercy" and Wexford the second!) "for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory."* About 300 of the panic-stricken inhabitants attempted to make their escape to the opposite side of the harbour, but the overcrowded boats were submerged, and all were drowned. Sir Edmond Butler was shot when endeavouring to save his life by swimming. Cromwell estimates the number who were put to the sword in this massacre at 2,000, while he, "from first to last of the siege, lost not altogether twenty men;" and in recommending the parliament to send over

* See Cromwell's Letters, published by Carlyle, and Cary's *Memorials*, ii. p. 180.

English Protestants to dwell in the town, he assures them that "of the former inhabitants not one in twenty could be found to challenge any property in their own houses."*

If the Ormondists, as a party, were thoroughly humbled by the defeat at Rathmines, subsequent events brought home to the Irish Catholics in general the horrible conviction that they were all involved in a common ruin. Owen O'Neill had made up his mind to support Ormond; and the latter, who, says Clarendon, "had a great esteem of his conduct, and knew the army under his command to be better disciplined than any other of the Irish,† offered Owen any terms which he chose to demand. The negotiations between them were carried on through Daniel O'Neill, a nephew of Owen's, and the reinforcements escorted by lord Castlehaven to Wexford were composed of men whom O'Neill had already supplied to the lord lieutenant.‡ Owen Roe undertook to furnish Ormond with 6,000 men, and this promise was faithfully fulfilled, although he did not live to perform it in person. While encamped before Derry, where he remained about ten days after raising the siege

* Mageoghegan mentions, as an incident of the siege of Wexford, that two hundred women were massacred at the foot of the cross in the public square, and the circumstance has been repeated after him by many writers; but no cotemporary authority for it has been quoted, and we may safely conclude that the statement only refers to the general massacre which was perpetrated in the market-place, where a multitude of the townspeople—old men, women, and children—had flocked together, hoping to find protection behind the ranks of the garrison. Dr. Nicholas French, the illustrious and patriotic bishop of Ferns, who was then lying ill of fever in a neighbouring village, has left us an important reference to the Wexford massacre, in a letter dated at Antwerp, in 1673, and addressed to the papal nuncio, relative to affairs affecting the venerable prelate personally. In this letter, the Latin original of which, with a translation, was first published in the Dublin *Nation* of October 8th, 1859, Dr. French writes: "On that most calamitous day the city of Wexford, abounding in wealth, ships, and merchandize, was carried at the point of the sword, and given up to the infuriated soldiery by Cromwell, that pest of the English government. There, before God's altar, fell many sacred victims, priests of the Lord; some, who were seized outside the precincts of the church, were scourged with whips; some were arrested and bound with chains; some were hanged, and others were cruelly put to death by divers sorts of torture. The best blood of the citizens was shed, till the very streets were red with it, and there was scarcely a house that was not polluted with carnage and full of wailing. In my own palace, a youth, hardly sixteen years of age—an amiable boy—my gardener and sacristan were cruelly butchered: and they left the chaplain, whom I caused to remain behind me at home, transpierced with six mortal wounds, and weltering in his gore. And these abominations were perpetrated in open day, by impious cut-throats. From that moment I have never seen my city, flock, country, or kindred." The bishop then proceeds to relate his own sufferings for five months after, while hunted in the woods, and obliged to sleep in the open air, without bed or covering, often with scarcely any food, and with never any but of the coarsest kind. From the same source to which we are indebted for Dr. French's letter, we learn the names of the following religious of the order of St. Francis, who were among the victims of the Wexford carnage, viz.: Fathers Richard Synnott, S.T.L., John Esmond, Paulinus Synnett, Raymond Stafford, and Peter Stafford, and brothers Didacus Cheevers and James Rochford.

† *Vindication of Ormond*, p. 136, Ed. 1756.

‡ This appears from Castlehaven's own statement (*Memoirs*, p. 115); but the agreement between Owen Roe and Ormond was not finally signed till the 12th of October, when Owen was on his deathbed. Vide *Carte's Ormond*, ii.

on the 8th of August, he was seized with illness, and conveyed in a horse litter to Ballyhaise, in the county of Cavan, where he ordered his nephew, lieutenant-general Hugh Duv O'Neill, to lead the promised reinforcements to Ormond. He was then carried to Cloghoughter, a strong castle of the O'Reillys in Lough Oughter, in Cavan, where he died, on the 6th of November.* To the Irish the death of Owen Roe was an irreparable loss. He was not alone a consummate general, and the most eminent on the Irish side that the war had produced, but merited the entire confidence of the clergy and of the native population. Had he, in addition to his high qualities as a soldier, that boldness or audacity which would have broken the trammels that fettered him, and pushed aside the recreant and intriguing partizans who sacrificed the country to their own interests and animosities, he would have served Ireland more effectively.†

The traditionary horror with which the memory of Cromwell is still, after 200 years, regarded by the Irish peasantry, shows how deeply his inhuman policy of conquering by the fame of his cruelties must have impressed the mind of the people. Towns fifty miles distant were, it is said, thus influenced to surrender; but this was not the case generally. After the capture of Wexford, Cromwell sent Ireton to besiege Duncannon, while he himself marched against New Ross, where Ormond had placed major-general Luke Taaffe in command, with a garrison of 1,500 men. Taaffe had only undertaken the charge on the condition

* The death of Owen Roe was commonly ascribed to a poisoned pair of russet boots sent to him as a present by one Plunket of Louth, and which he wore at a ball given in Derry by sir Charles Coote. Plunket, it is said, afterwards boasted of the service which he had rendered to England by despatching O'Neill. (*Vide* Colonel O'Neill's journal in the *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica.*) His remains were interred in the old Franciscan monastery of Cavan, of which no vestige now remains. (See *Carte*, ii. 83; and Archdall's *Monast. Hib.*) In the progress of the war the Pope's blessing was conveyed to Owen Roe, and at the same time the sword of his illustrious uncle, Hugh O'Neill, which was sent to him from Rome by Father Luke Wadding. References to the castle of Cloughoughter (*Cloch Locha Uachtair*, i. e., the rock or stone fortress of Lough Oughter), will be found in the Four Masters under the dates of 1327, 1369, and 1370. In this castle Bishop Bedell was for some time confined in 1642.

† "Owen Roe," says Mageoghegan, "was experienced in the art of war; he had greatly distinguished himself in the Spanish service, and principally by his brave defence of Arras, where he commanded in 1640, when that place was besieged by the French army under the three Marshals, de Chattillon, de Chaulnes, and de la Meilleraye. His ideas were clear, his perception accurate, his judgment very sound. He was dexterous in profiting of the advantages which were furnished by the enemy; he left nothing to chance, and his plans were always well formed; he was sober, prudent, and reserved: when occasion required he could disguise his sentiments; he was well acquainted with the intrigues of courts; and, in a word, he possessed all the qualities necessary for a great general." (*Hist. of Ir.*) Warner and Leland describe his character almost in the same words. Carte speaks of his "honor, constancy, and good sense, as of his military skill;" and Marshal Schomberg's secretary, Dr. Gorge says, "Owen Roo Oneale was the best generall that ever the Irish had." (MS. in the S. P. O., London, quoted by Mr. O'Callaghan in notes to the *Macaria Excidium*, p. 181.)

that he should be at liberty to surrender the place when he deemed it untenable; and he availed himself of this discretionary power by capitulating as soon as Cromwell's artillery began to thunder on the east bank of the Barrow. He first demanded liberty of conscience for the townspeople, but Cromwell replied that "if he meant liberty to exercise the Mass, he judged it best to use plain dealing, and to let him know that where the parliament of England had power that would not be allowed." The town was surrendered on the 18th of October without this condition, the garrison being allowed to depart with arms and baggage, and 600 men remaining to enter the service of the parliament, while Taaffe marched with the rest to join Ormond at Kilkenny. Ireton was not so successful at Duncannon fort, which was defended with such gallantry by colonel Wogan that the siege was raised in a few days. Cromwell's forces were greatly reduced in numbers by leaving garrisons in the captured towns, and by a dysentery which was carrying off many of his men. Inchiquin attempted to intercept reinforcements coming to him from Dublin, and had a slight encounter with them on the strand near Wexford, but the parliamentarians were successful. Cromwell constructed over the river at Ross a bridge of boats, the first seen in Ireland; and while he himself lay sick, sent detachments of his troops, which took Inistioge and Carrick. To the latter town he removed with the remainder of his forces on the 21st and 22nd of November.

A little before this date the garrisons which had been left by Inchiquin in Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, Bandon Bridge, and some other southern towns, revolted to Cromwell, chiefly through the management of lord Broghill, son of the earl of Cork, who soon became one of Cromwell's most active generals in Ireland. This revolt was of the utmost importance to the parliamentary general, who would otherwise, at that inclement season, have been placed in great difficulties for winter quarters for his men.

On the 24th of November Cromwell appeared before Waterford. Lord Castlehaven had been appointed governor of this town by Ormond, who sent 1,000 men to its relief, but the citizens had no confidence in the wily marquis, and positively refused to admit his troops. The defection of Inchiquin's men fully justified their mistrust; but they at length consented to receive 500 of the Ulster Catholics, commanded by Farrell, one of Owen Roe's favorite officers. The strong fort of Passage surrendered without firing a shot, so that the citizens of Waterford found themselves in a most disheartening position; but the determination which they exhibited, backed by the appearance of Ormond's force,

which lay encamped opposite the city, on the north side of the Suir, was such that Cromwell, who approached from the south, raised the siege after a few days, and marched to Dungarvan. Here he arrived on the 4th of December, and the town having surrendered at discretion, he proceeded to Youghal. Fresh supplies reached him here by sea from England, and on the 17th he marched with lord Broghill to Cork, where he was joined by Ireton.

Ormond's baleful influence had been everywhere productive of misfortune, and the Catholics were persuaded that he and Inchiquin were leagued together for no good purpose. The citizens of Waterford would not allow any of Ormond's men inside their walls, even for the purpose of passing through the city to attempt the recovery of the fort of Passage. None of the southern towns except Clonmel and Kilkenny would afford winter quarters to his troops, who were, therefore, allowed to disperse and shift for themselves; and thus perplexed he wrote to the king to ask permission to remove himself and the royal authority from the kingdom. He had sent Daniel O'Neill with 2,000 men to succour the lord of Ards and sir George Monroe, but the help came too late. On the 13th of December Coote took possession of Carrickfergus for the parliament.

A.D. 1650.—Impatient of a few days inactivity, even in mid-winter, Cromwell set out from Youghal on the 29th of January, and crossing the Blackwater at Mallow he approached the confines of Limerick; and then entering Tipperary, south of the Galtees, marched by Clogheen and Rochestown to Fethard, taking sundry castles and strong places on his route. He arrived before the last-named town at midnight, in the midst of a terrific tempest, and a Cromwellian writer of the period has left an amusing account of the ludicrous effect produced on the municipal authorities by his summons at such an unseasonable hour and in such a night. He had only a few troops with him, and no materials for a siege; and as he could find no shelter outside the town but the ruins of an old abbey, and a few cabins, he was glad, even at the cost of granting honorable terms, to get a roof over him in the morning. The governor, who boasted that his town was not lost without a storm, wished to treat Oliver to some refreshment, which the latter, it appears, had not the urbanity to accept.* The authorities of Cashel brought the keys of their town to him; and from Fethard he marched to Callan, in the county of Kilkenny, where he was joined by Reynolds, and where

* See the *Irish Mercury*, a news pamphlet of the time.

two castles, having offered a brave resistance, were taken and their garrisons put to the sword. Cromwell was now marching to Kilkenny, where an officer named Tickel had secretly promised to open one of the gates to him; but the treason having been discovered and Tickel executed, Cromwell left a garrison at Callan, and returned to Fethard and Cashel. As spring approached, supplies of men, money, and military stores were sent to him in abundance by the parliament; and on the other side Ormond gave up the command of the few troops he retained in Leinster to Castlehaven, and withdrew to Clare and Connaught.

After the reconciliation of O'Neill with Ormond, Heber MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, who was so devotedly attached to the northern chief, became Ormond's firm supporter. At a congregation of twenty bishops, and the proxies of five other prelates, who assembled at Clonmacnoise on the 4th of December, 1649, to consider the deplorable state to which the country had been reduced by war and pestilence, it is asserted that the influence of the heroic bishop of Clogher was very strenuously exerted in favor of the marquis and the royal cause. On this occasion the prelates published a declaration enjoining in the most earnest manner union and amity among both clergy and people, "letting the people know how vain it was for them to expect from the common enemy commanded by Cromwell, by authority from the rebels of England, any assurance of their religion, lives, or fortunes;" and finally beseeching "the gentry and inhabitants, for God's glory and their own safety, to the uttermost of their power to contribute, with patience, to the support of the war against that enemy."* The people, however, were weary of the war, and the disaffection towards Ormond continued. A meeting of county representatives was held at Kilkenny to promote union, but the approach of Cromwell obliged them to fly, and they resumed their fruitless deliberations at Ennis. Discord and distrust prevailed in the ranks of the royalists. At Gowran, in the county Kilkenny, the soldiers mutinied and delivered up their officers to Cromwell, who ordered colonel Hammond and the other principal officers to be shot, and hanged a priest who was found in the town.

Imagination can hardly picture anything more dismal than the condition of the citizens of Kilkenny when Cromwell and his army appeared before their walls on the 22nd of March, 1650. Within raged a frightful pestilence, which had reduced the garrison from 1,200 men to about 400; without stood a foe as inhuman as he was apparently invincible.

* Borlase, pp. 236-238.

Heaven and earth seemed leagued against them; so that some troops ordered by Castlehaven to their relief refused to march; saying that they were ready to fight against men, but not against God: alluding to the plague, which threatened certain death within the devoted city.* Yet the summons of Cromwell to surrender was answered by a stern defiance. The attack was then commenced by cannonading the castle, which was defended by major James Walsh, sir Walter Butler being governor of the town. The defence was as brave as it must have been hopeless; but the place was at length yielded on the 28th, and Cromwell hastened to lay siege to Clonmel, where the garrison was commanded by Hugh Duv O'Neill, and where Oliver was destined to encounter the most vigorous resistance that he met with during the whole of his Irish campaign.

News was brought to Cromwell while before Clonmel that the bishop of Ross had collected a large army in the south, and was approaching to raise the siege. Lord Broghill, who was in Cork, received reinforcements from Cromwell, and with an efficient army, composed chiefly of cavalry, hastened with extraordinary expedition to intercept the march of the Irish. A battle was fought near Macroom, in which the Irish were routed, and the bishop of Ross being made prisoner, was offered his life and liberty if he prevailed on the garrison of Carrigadrohid, a strong castle on the river Lee, three miles from Macroom, to surrender. He was brought before the castle for the purpose, but the heroic bishop exhorted the garrison to defend their post to the last, and was himself immediately hanged in their sight by lord Broghill's order.† These events produced great joy in the camp before Clonmel, and preparations were made for a final attack on the beleaguered town on the 9th of May. If, after he had offered terms, a garrison held out for some time ere it surrendered, it was Cromwell's practice to shoot the officers, as he had

* For some years about this time the plague and other epidemic diseases raged almost incessantly in various parts of this country. So many as 17,000 persons are said to have been carried off by the pestilence in Dublin alone during 1650-51; and we have details of its ravages about the same time in Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, Galway, and other towns. These pestilential visitations were preceded by famine; and, resulting from long sieges and such incidents of war, have been classed as leaguer sicknesses by medical writers. They were followed a few years later by the true bubonic or oriental plague. See the authorities on the subject collected by Dr. Wilde in his Report of Tables of Deaths, Census of 1851.

† Carrigadrohid was soon after obtained by a very silly stratagem, the besiegers causing a few team of oxen to draw weighty logs of timber, which the garrison supposed to be cannon, and terms of capitulation were at once agreed to. See Cox; and Smith's *History of Cork*. The date of the battle of Macroom is variously given at the 10th of April and the 10th of May. The former appears to be the correct one.

done at Gowran; but if he considered the resistance to have been too obstinate, he usually put the whole garrison to the sword, as at Drogheda, Wexford, Callan, and elsewhere. The desperation with which he was resisted at Clonmel made him pay dearly for this sanguinary policy. His storming parties were twice hurled back from the breach with terrific slaughter. The shattered houses inside the breach were filled with O'Neill's gallant northerns, who fought with the energy of despair, and were resolved to hold their ground to the last man. But at length night put an end to the fierce struggle, and the garrison having exhausted their ammunition, and all having agreed that the place was no longer tenable, O'Neill marched off his men under cover of the darkness, and withdrew to Waterford, while the townspeople made favorable terms for themselves, and in the morning opened their gates to Cromwell, who only then discovered that the garrison had departed. He lost 2,500 of his men before Clonmel, and as he himself expressed it, "had like to bring his noble to a ninepence." He had already received pressing despatches from the parliament, urging him to return as speedily as possible to England, where a storm was threatening from the north; and having committed the command of the army to Ireton, who had been made lord president of Munster, he sailed from Youghal on the 29th of May.

In the north Heber MacMahon struggled for some time, with occasional success, against numerous foes; but his army received a total overthrow, on the 21st of June, at the pass of Scarrifhollis, on the river Swilly, near Letterkenny, from the forces of sir Charles Coote and colonel Venables. The battle was lost through the indiscretion of MacMahon, who unfortunately led his army where it was exposed to the enemy on both sides, and was compelled to hazard a battle, although the English cavalry were more than twice as numerous as his. The northern army was completely annihilated on this occasion; and two days after Heber MacMahon himself was made prisoner near Omagh, by major King, and although promised quarter, was shamefully hanged by order of Coote, notwithstanding the service which, in concert with Owen Roe, he had rendered to him at Londonderry less than a year before.**

The detached Irish garrisons through Leinster and Munster were

* If ever there were circumstances which could render military strife compatible with the clerical character they were those presented by the state of Ireland at the troubled period under our notice. Catholics and their religion were threatened with extermination. Their struggle was not aggressive; it was for their faith and their lives; and forbearance, which entailed evils not alone on themselves but on countless generations after them, would have been a crime. Among the Irish ecclesiastics who were thus forced to become the leaders of their people in the battle field, one of the

easily reduced by Hewson, Broghill, and other parliamentarian officers; and under color of hunting down the unhappy outlaws, who were driven to lead in the woods the wild life of freebooters, and were called "tories;" many acts of ferocity were committed in which the harmless country people were the victims. The Cromwellian colonel Zanchy distinguished himself in these services. Preston, who had assumed the government of Waterford, surrendered that city to Ireton on the 10th of August. The fort of Duncannon followed. The city of Limerick, the castle of Athlone, and the whole of Connaught and Clare still, however, remained in the hands of the Catholics.

Ormond, finding that the inhabitants of Limerick refused to receive from him a garrison, solicited the intervention of the Catholic bishops, who accordingly met in that city on the 8th of March. Their suggestions were not very palatable to the marquis, who withdrew to Loughrea, where the bishops held an adjourned meeting, and on the 28th of March published a declaration, expressing their conviction that the national loyalty was unshaken, although the people had ground enough for distrust and jealousy, and urging that some settled course should be taken to give them confidence. There was surely nothing in the antecedents of Ormond or Inchiquin which could induce the Irish Catholics to place reliance on them; and it was said that at this very time they were treating with the Cromwellian authorities for the admission of the Protestant party among the royalists to protection. Hugh O'Neill, the gallant defender of Clonmel, was now governor of Limerick, and it was probably at his suggestion that the magistrates invited Ormond to come and settle the garrison; but as soon as the marquis appeared at the gate a popular tumult arose, and he was prevented from entering. He then returned to Connaught, where he found that Galway had followed the example of Limerick. On the 6th of August a congregation of the bishops and clergy met at Jamestown, in the county of Leitrim, and on the 12th deputed the bishop of Dromore and Dr. Charles Kelly with a message to Ormond,

most distinguished was Heber MacMahon, bishop of Clogher. He is first, strangely enough, introduced to us while a simple priest, during the government of lord Strafford, giving private information to sir George Radcliffe of the movements among the Irish refugees abroad; and his object then, no doubt, was to avert the anarchy of civil war; but a further knowledge of the dangers of his country induced him to become one of the first associates of sir Phelim O'Neill and lord Maguire in the conspiracy of 1641, and he ever after continued a firm and consistent upholder in the council and the field of the thorough Irish and Catholic party, headed by his friend Owen Roe O'Neill. He was lamented by the Ormondists, whose cause he took up warmly, when O'Neill's junction with them, and the barbarities of Cromwell, had tended to identify them with the Catholic party. See the notice of him in Clarendon's *Hist. of the Civil Wars in Ir.*, pp. 186, &c. Ed. 1756.

recommending him, as the "only remedy for the preservation of the nation and of his majesty's interest therein," to withdraw from the kingdom and to delegate the royal authority to some person in whom the people might have confidence. This was a deadly wound to the pride of the haughty Ormond. He replied, that he would not retire from the country until necessity compelled him; and the bishops published a declaration denouncing "the continuance of his majesty's authority in the marquis of Ormond, for the misgovernment of the subjects, the ill conduct of the army, and the violation of the peace." In fine, they threatened to present articles of impeachment against him to the king, and published an excommunication against all who would adhere to him, or yield him subsidy or obedience, or who would support Cromwell's government.

That the bishops were not mistaken in the course which they had pursued was soon made evident by the news from Scotland, where Charles II. had landed on the 28th of June, and had not only subscribed the national and solemn covenants, but, to gratify the fierce bigotry of the Scots, had, on the 16th of August, signed a declaration pronouncing the peace with the Irish to be null and void, adding "that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of allowing them (the Catholics) the liberty of the Popish religion; for which he did, from his heart, desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord." The news of this infamous act of duplicity reached Ireland before the Jamestown excommunication was published, and afforded the amplest justification of the strong measures adopted by the clergy. Ormond, who was confounded by such a premature disclosure of his master's principles, protested that the peace should be upheld, and cast the blame of the royal declaration on Scottish fanaticism. But the sequel will show that Charles was capable of still greater perfidy to his friends. The Catholic noblemen and gentry felt their position embarrassing; but the bishops, who, alone, seemed to understand the dangers to be apprehended, and the characters of the men they had to deal with, remained firm. Ormond summoned a general assembly, which met at Loughrea on the 15th of November, while he stopped at Kilcolgan, about ten miles distant; but the time was wasted in recriminatory messages between him and the meeting; and, at length, having left power to the marquis of Clanrickard to assume the duties of lord deputy, provided the assembly engaged to obey him, he embarked at Galway, about the middle of December, accompanied by lord

Inchiquin,* Colonels Vaughan, Wogan, and Daniel O'Neill, and about twenty other persons of distinction, and after a tempestuous voyage, in which a vessel containing his baggage, servants, and some passengers was lost, arrived the following month at St. Malo, in Brittany. To Castlehaven, who reluctantly remained behind, he entrusted the command of the army, with an injunction to keep up a bustle, as that frivolous nobleman expresses it, to divert a part of the enemy's attention to this country, while king Charles was preparing to cross the Tweed into England. Commissioners were soon after deputed by the parliament to treat with the assembly for a final submission of the nation, on favorable terms ; but the extreme loyalists scouted such an arrangement, although the Irish decidedly sacrificed their interests in rejecting it.

A D. 1651.—The new year found the assembly deeply engaged in the discussion of a project for mortgaging the town of Galway and some other places to the duke of Lorraine for a sum of money to be advanced for supporting the royal cause in Ireland. The abbot of St. Catherine arrived in Galway about the end of February as an envoy from the duke; but Clanrickard thought his demands exorbitant, and sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geoffrey Brown were sent to Flanders to treat with the duke himself. The bishop of Ferns went on the same errand, on the part of the clergy, and lord Taaffe, who had left Ireland before Ormond, had received instructions for the like purpose, long before this, from the duke of York—the king being in Scotland. The influence of the patriotic bishop of Ferns prevailed, it is said, with the lay agents, who, disregarding the instructions of Clanrickard, signed, in the name of the people and kingdom of Ireland, an agreement with the duke of Lorraine, who was to be invested with royal powers, under the title of Protector of Ireland, he, on his part, undertaking to prosecute the king's enemies, and to restore the kingdom, and the Catholic religion, to their pristine state. For the outlay which all this would require he was to be hereafter reimbursed ; and, as a guarantee, was to be placed in possession of Galway, Limerick, Athenry, and Athlone; and also of Waterford and Duncannon

* It is a curious fact that Inchiquin subsequently became a Catholic; and Borlase refers to his change of religion as the only cause of his being refused the presidency of Munster after the Restoration, a similar change preventing the appointment of Viscount Dillon of Costello as president of Connaught. (*Hist. of the Ir. Reb.* p. 278.) Inchiquin was created earl by Charles II., at Cologne, in 1654; he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General in the French service ; was made French governor of Catalonia ; and was captured by an Algerine Corsair when engaged on an expedition against Spain. He died in 1673, and by his will left £20 to the Franciscan friars of Ennis, and also a sum "for the performance of the usual duties of the Roman Catholic clergy, and for other pious uses." See Lodge.

when they could be recovered from the enemy. This agreement, which was signed on the 22nd of July, 1651, was repudiated by Clanrickard, and became a dead letter, although the duke of Lorraine had already advanced £20,000 on the strength of the negotiations. The affairs of Charles II. were reduced to a hopeless state after the battle of Worcester (September 3rd, 1651). The Irish towns mentioned as security soon fell under the power of parliament, and the duke of Lorraine left Ireland to its sad destiny.

The reduction of Limerick was the next object of importance to Ireton, who began his operations against that city early in 1651. The parliamentarians had as yet no footing on the Clare side of the Shannon, and until that was obtained Limerick could not be effectually invested. Coote made a feint to attack Sligo, and having thus drawn Clanrickard and his forces to that quarter, made a forced march across the Curlieu mountains and attacked Athlone on the Connaught side, taking that important fortress before any relief could be rendered to it. The road into Connaught being thus open, and Galway threatened, Clanrickard called Castlehaven to consult with him. In the absence of that general, who guarded the Clare side of the Shannon, Ireton forced the passage of the river at O'Brien's bridge, and Colonel Fennell, who commanded at Killaloe, abandoned his post, through cowardice or treachery, so that Castlehaven's troops were dispersed, and Ireton enabled to invest Limerick on both sides. Lord Muskerry raised a considerable body of men in the south to come to its relief; but lord Broghill hastened, by Ireton's orders, to intercept them; and, on the 26th of July, coming up with the advance guard of the Irish near Castleishen, in the county of Cork, drove them back upon their main body. A hard contested fight ensued, at Knocknaclashy, where the hastily collected masses of the Irish were routed with great slaughter. Most of the Irish officers were slain, and Colonel Magillacuddy was taken prisoner. In the meantime the siege was carried on with great energy. The castle at the salmon-weir having been attacked, its garrison retreated in boats, and some of them who surrendered on quarter were butchered in cold blood; so that even Ireton, fearing the Irish would be driven to desperation, discouraged this brutality on the part of his officers. The besiegers lost 120 men in the first attempt to land on the King's island, and 300 more were cut off in a sally of the besieged; soon after, however, a bridge was constructed to the island, and 6,000 troops marched over, and erected a strong fort there. The plague raged within the city, and many persons having

attempted to escape, some of them were taken by order of the merciless Ireton to be executed, and others were whipped back to the town. The authority of the governor, Hugh O'Neill, was rendered nugatory by the corporation and magistrates; and some discontented persons within the city commenced negotiations with the enemy for a capitulation At length, on the 27th of October, colonel Fennell, who betrayed the pass of Killaloe, combined with some other officers, and seizing St. John's gate and tower, turned the cannon against the city, and received 200 of Ireton's men into the gate that night. The acceptance of Ireton's hard terms was thus made compulsory; and 2,500 Irish soldiers having laid down their arms on the 29th in St. Mary's church, and marched out of the city, some of them dropping dead of the plague on the way, Limerick was delivered into the hands of Ireton, and sir Hardress Waller appointed governor. By the articles of capitulation twenty-four persons were excepted from quarter. Of these Terence O'Brien, bishop of Emly, general Purcell, and Father Wolfe, a Franciscan, were found concealed in the pest-house, and were among the first dragged to the scaffold. Purcell showed a faint spirit, and was held up by two soldiers at the place of execution. The bishop, on the contrary, exhibited heroic fortitude. All along he had strenuously exhorted the Irish to hold out against Cromwell's forces, and now addressing Ireton in a solemn tone, he summoned him to appear in a few days to answer for his cruelties and injustice before the tribunal of God. The words seemed prophetic, for eight days after Ireton caught the plague, and in less than a month he died "raging and raving of this unfortunate prelate, whose unjust condemnation, he imagined, hurried on his death."* Sir Geoffrey Galwey, alderman Thomas Stritch, alderman Fanning, and Geoffrey Barron, the latter having only just returned from Brussels, were executed; as was also the traitor, Fennell, although sentenced for other causes. O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick, escaped to Brussells, where he died. The governor, Hugh O'Neill, had, by his former defence of Clonmel, and his recent stand in Limerick, provoked Ireton too much to expect mercy. He was tried, and, at the instigation of the gloomy republican, sentenced to death; but as he had always shown himself a

* Dr. Burke's *Hibernica Dominicana*, p. 568. The bishop was ignominiously hanged and beheaded, and his head spiked on a tower in the centre of the city, on the eve of All Saints (October 31st), and Ireton was a corpse on the 26th of November. This dark-minded general was at the bottom of all Cromwell's counsels, and is held accountable for some of his cruelties. He was cold, reserved, absolute, and inexorable. During the siege of Limerick some of the Fathers of the Mission, sent by their founder, St. Vincent de Paul, were in the city, and their preaching produced extraordinary spiritual fruits.

brave soldier and an honorable foe, some of the officers expostulated, and Ireton reluctantly consented to a second trial, when the life of the gallant Hugh was saved by a single vote.*

A.D. 1652.—On the death of Ireton, lieutenant-general Edmond Ludlow was made commander-in-chief until the orders of parliament could be received. He marched to the aid of sir Charles Coote, who was besieging Galway, which town was surrendered on the 12th of May; general Preston, its governor, having some time before made his escape by sea. The few detached garrisons which the Irish still held were reduced in succession, and the isolated leaders who continued under arms made terms for themselves and their followers without any common concert. Colonel Fitzpatrick was the first to lay down his arms in this way; colonels O'Dwyer and Turlough O'Neill, the earl of Westmeath, and lord Enniskillen, acted in a similar manner. The terms generally were for permission to reside under the commonwealth, or to enter the service of a foreign prince in amity with England; but this mercy was not extended to those who took up arms in the first year of the war, or belonged to the first general assembly, or who had committed murder, or taken orders in the Catholic church. Lord Muskerry surrendered the strong castle of Ross, near Killarney, to Ludlow on the 27th of June. One of the last chieftains of note who capitulated was colonel Richard Grace, with whom 1,250 men laid down their arms. Clanrickard sent Castlehaven to Charles II. for his last instructions. That lord did not return, but sent the king's answer to the message, which was to make the best conditions he could for himself; and on the 11th of October, being then surrounded by the enemy at Carrick, Clanrickard accepted a pass from the parliamentarian authorities, with liberty to transport himself and 3,000 of his followers to a foreign country within three months. Thus was the last vestige of royal authority withdrawn from Ireland.†

The ruin that now overspread the face of Ireland must have been dark and sorrowful enough, but the measure of her woes was yet to be filled up. War, and famine, and pestilence had done their share, but the rapine and vengeance which assumed the name of law had yet to complete the work of desolation. "The sword of extermination, says

* Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 379.

† Clanrickard did not go to the continent, but retired to an estate which he had at Summerhill, in Kent, where he died in 1657. (*Archdall's Lodge*, i. 136.) He was courteous and humane, but not a man of shining abilities. His sympathies were wholly English; he was a Catholic, but his religion was merged in his loyalty; yet in the early years of the confederation he often expostulated with Ormond on his unyielding and hostile disposition towards the Catholic party.

an Irish historian, "had passed over the land, and the soldier sat down to banquet on the hereditary possessions of the natives."* Cromwell and his council had indeed seriously contemplated the utter extirpation of the Irish race; but that fiendish project appeared still too difficult, and even to them too revolting,† and accordingly, by the act for the settlement of Ireland, passed by the English parliament, August 12th, 1652, it was decreed that full pardon should be granted to "all husbandmen and others of the inferior sort not possessed of lands or goods exceeding the value of £10;" while persons of property were to be otherwise disposed of according to a certain classification. Those comprehended under the first six heads set forth in the act—and they comprised all the great landed proprietors and all the Catholic clergy—were excepted from pardon of life or estate; others, who merely held commissions as officers in the royalist army, were to be banished, and forfeit their estates, except the equivalent to one-third, which would be assigned for the support of their wives and children; those who, although opposed to the parliament, might be found worthy of mercy, and who were not included under any of the preceding heads, also forfeited two-thirds of their estates, but were to receive an equivalent to the remaining third wherever the parliament might choose to allot it to them; and, finally, all who were perfectly innocent, that is, who had no share whatever in the war, but yet were not in the actual service of the parliament, or had not manifested their "constant, good affection to it," forfeited one-third of their estates, and were to receive an equivalent to the remainder elsewhere.‡ Thus all the Catholic gentry of Ireland were indiscriminately deprived of their hereditary estates, and such as might be declared by Cromwell's commissioners innocent of the rebellion, and were to receive back any portion of their property, should transplant themselves and their families beyond the Shannon, where allotments of the wasted tracts of Connaught and Clare would be given to them. The other three provinces were reserved for Protestants; and any of the transplanted Catholics who might be found in them after the 1st of May, 1654, without a passport, might, whether man, woman, or child, be killed, without trial or order of magistrate, by any one who saw or met them. Moreover, those who by this "act of grace" received allotments in Clare or Connaught were obliged to give releases of their titles to their former estates in consideration of what was now assigned

* Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland.*

† *Clarendon's Life*, vol. ii. p. 116.

‡ See the Act, published from the original, in Lingard, vol. viii. Append. VVV.

to them, to bar themselves and their heirs from laying claim to their old inheritances; and they were sent into wild and uncultivated districts, without cattle to stock the land, or agricultural implements to till it, or houses to shelter them; so that many Irish gentlemen and their families actually perished of cold and hunger. They were not suffered to reside within two miles of the Shannon, or four miles of the sea, or of Galway, or in any garrison or market town.*

In the meantime the whole kingdom was surveyed and mapped out by Dr. Petty, and the forfeited estates distributed among the adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war under the confiscating acts of February and March, 1642, and in liquidation of the arrears of pay due to Cromwell's soldiery. According to the stipulations on which the money was borrowed, the adventurers were to receive for £200 a thousand acres of good land in Ulster, for £300 a thousand acres in Connaught, for £450 a thousand acres in Munster, and for £600 a thousand acres in Leinster; the bogs, woods, and mountains being thrown in gratis as waste or unprofitable land; but we are told by a cotemporary writer that the highest value set on the land at the time of the distribution was four shillings per acre, some being only valued at one penny.†

* See P. Walshe's *Reply to a Person of Quality*, pp. 33, 147, &c.; also the government proclamations; tracts on the Irish Transplantation, published in 1654; Thurloe's Papers, &c. Many of the transplanted Irish having erected cabins and creaghts, as the hurdle houses were then called, near Athlone, the military authorities were ordered to banish all "the Irish and other Popish persons" from that neighbourhood, so that no such gathering of them should be allowed within five English miles of Athlone. M.S. Orders of Council, Dublin Castle.

† Morrice's *Life of the Earl of Orrery*, vol. p. 39. Lord Antrim's estate of 107,611 acres was allotted to sir John Clotworthy, afterwards lord Massareene, and a few others whose adventures and pay did not exceed £7,000 (Carte's *Ormond*, vol. ii. 278). From sir William Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, and the official sources consulted by Mr. Bichenoup, we glean the following data relating to the Cromwellian Confiscation:—The surface of Ireland was estimated at 10,500,000 plantation acres, of which 3,000,000 were occupied by water, bogs, and coarse or unprofitable land. Of the remaining 7,500,000 acres, 5,200,000 belonged to Catholics and sequestered Protestants before 1641, 300,000 to the church, and 2,000,000 to Protestants planted by Elizabeth and James I. The Cromwellian government confiscated 5,000,000 acres, which they disposed of as follows:—to officers and soldiers who served before Cromwell's arrival in 1649, 400,000 acres, in Wicklow, Longford, Leitrim, and Donegal; to soldiers who served since 1649, 1,410,000 acres; to the adventurers who advanced money under the acts of 1642, about 800,000 acres; to certain individuals who were favorites of Cromwell, 100,000 acres; retained by government, but let on profitable leases to Protestants in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Cavan, and Kildare, about 800,000 acres, besides the house property in walled towns and cities; to the transplanted Irish in Connaught and Clare, 700,000 acres; to which Petty adds (writing, however, in 1672, long after the Restoration) "innocent Papists" 1,200,000 acres. This was called the Down Survey, or Down Admeasurement of Ireland; and, as an example of the complete desolation of the country at the time it was made, we are told that no one was left of the old inhabitants in Tipperary who could point out the bounds of the estates, so that an order from government was necessary to bring back from Connaught five or six families to accompany the surveyors and show them the boundaries. Privy Council Book, A 5.

The Irish soldiers who accepted banishment, on laying down their arms, numbered about 34,000, who left the country under different leaders, and entered the service of France, Spain, Austria, or Venice; and their faithful attachment to the fortunes of Charles II. obtained for that unhappy prince, when abandoned by almost all beside, honor and support in foreign courts.* But as the wives and families of these exiles were, for the most part, left behind, and were, besides a great many others, reduced to a state of destitution, the government adopted the heartless expedient of shipping them off in great numbers to the pestilential settlements of the West Indies. Sir William Petty states that 6,000 boys and girls were thus transported. But the total number of Irish sent to perish in the tobacco islands, as they were called, was estimated in some Irish accounts at 100,000. Force was necessary to collect them, but the government in England was, nevertheless, assured by their Irish agents that they could have any number of Irish boys or young women that they required.‡

For the punishment of "rebels and malignants," the regicide government established a new tribunal, which they called a high court of justice, in which the ordinary forms of law were laid aside, and everything contrived to confound and awe the accused person, and bring home the guilt laid to his charge. "From the iniquitous and bloody sentences frequently pronounced in these courts," says Dr. Curry, "they were commonly called Cromwell's slaughter-houses." The first was held in Kilkenny, on the 4th of October, 1652, the president being one justice Donnellan, with whom were joined Cook, who had acted as solicitor to the regicides on the trial of the late king, and commissary-general Reynolds. These judges made the circuit of Waterford, Cork,

* "The importance," says Mr. O'Callaghan, "then attached by the French government to the Irish regiments in its service was so great, that, even after cardinal Mazarin's treaty of alliance with Cromwell against Spain, by which the Stuart family were to quit the French dominions, various efforts were made by the cardinal and marshal Turenne to induce the duke of York (afterwards James II.) not to leave the French for the Spanish service. Nay, Cromwell's permission was asked and obtained for the duke to remain in the service of France, on account of the loss it would be to the combined forces of England and France, and the gain to Spain, that the Irish regiments should join the latter, as it was known they would, when the duke and his royal brother (Charles II.) should be both under the protection of that power."—*Macariæ Excidium*, p. 185.

† Bruodin, *Propug.* See Lingard, vol. viii., p. 175, note 3.

‡ Henry Cromwell, writing from Ireland to secretary Thurloe, says:—"I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there, and ours here, if you should think fit to send 1,500 or 2,000 young boys, of 12 or 14 years of age, to the place afore-mentioned. We could spare them, and they would be of use to you; and who knows but it may be the means to make them Englishmen—I mean rather Christians?" Thurloe answers:—"The committee of the council have voted 1,000 girls and as many youths, to be taken up for that purpose."—*Thurloe*, iv. pp. 40, 73.

and other towns; and in February, 1653, the first court, presided over by lord Lowther, was held in Dublin for the special purpose of trying "all massacres and murders done or committed since the 1st day of October, 1641." The confederate Catholics had, in their declarations at Trim and Oxford, and on other occasions, prayed that an inquiry might be made into the murders alleged to have been perpetrated on both sides during the troubles, and that justice might be vindicated without respect to creed or party; but these courts confined their inquiries to the accused Catholics, and the result of their labors affords a convincing proof of the falsehood of the statements made against the Irish Catholics at that period. Some of the lying historians of the time had asserted that a hundred thousand Protestants had been murdered in cold blood; yet with all the forged and corrupt evidence that could be procured, and the cry of blood that was raised, Cromwell's high courts of justice were only able to convict about two hundred persons in all Ireland for those alleged murders; while out of the whole province of Ulster, where the pretended massacres were said chiefly to have taken place, only one person was convicted, namely, sir Phelim O'Neill, who, nevertheless, was repeatedly, while in prison, and before the passing of his sentence, and finally on the steps of the scaffold, offered his life and liberty on the sole condition of admitting that the counterfeit document which he produced in October, 1641, was a genuine commission from the unfortunate Charles I.*

The parliamentary commissioners in Dublin published a proclamation, putting in force in Ireland the 27th of Elizabeth; and by this and subsequent edicts any Catholic priest found in Ireland, after twenty days, was guilty of high treason, and liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; any person harbouring such clergyman was liable to the penalty of death and loss of goods and chattels; and any person knowing the place of concealment of a priest, and not disclosing it to the

* *Vide supra*, p. 520, note. Also Carte's *Orm.* vol. ii. p. 181. Carte relates the fact of colonel Hewson having, in the name of Ludlow, made this offer to sir Phelim on the ladder, on the authority of Dr. Sheridan, afterwards Protestant bishop of Kilmore, who was present; and dean Ker is also quoted by Nalson (*Histor. Collet.*), as an eye witness. In the opinion of some, the heroic sense of honor displayed by sir Phelim, and his whole conduct at the melancholy close of his career, redeemed many of his past faults. Among the other persons executed, were viscount Mayo, and colonels O'Toole and Dagnal. The mother of colonel Fitzpatrick was burnt. Lords Muskerry and Clanmaliere, and MacCarthy Reagh, were acquitted, probably through the interest of friends. Looking to the number of persons convicted under all the circumstances by the high court of justice, O'Connell has said:—"To a thinking mind there is no quantity of written or verbal authority that would so coerce a conviction of the innocence of the Irish Catholic party as the result of the investigation of this sanguinary and energetic court."—*Memoir of Ireland*, p. 823.

authorities, might be publicly whipped, and further punished with amputation of the ears. Any person absent from the parish church on a Sunday was liable to a fine of thirty pence; magistrates might take away the children of Catholics, and send them to England for education; and might tender the oath of abjuration to all persons of the age of twenty-one years, who, on refusal, were liable to imprisonment during pleasure, and the forfeiture of two-thirds of their real and personal estates.* The same price of five pounds was set on the head of a priest and on that of a wolf, and the production of either head was a sufficient claim for the reward. The military being distributed in small parties over the country, and their vigilance kept alive by sectarain rancour and the promise of reward, it must have been difficult for a priest to escape detection; but many of them, nevertheless, braved the danger for their poor scattered flocks; and residing in caverns in the mountains, or in lonely hovels in the bogs, "they issued forth at night to carry the consolations of religion to the huts of their oppressed and suffering countrymen."† Well might an Irish writer who witnessed these things exclaim: "Neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Christians by Nero, or any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at that fatal juncture by those savage commissioners."‡

Some may say that it would be more patriotic to bury the woes and persecutions of that dark period in oblivion; but besides the wrong which any such omission would cause to the integrity of history, we must answer with Dr. Curry, "that British chronicles have rendered

* *Vide* Lingard, vol. viii. p. 178, and the authorities there quoted. At the same time the nuns were ordered to marry or to leave Ireland.

† *Ibid.* Dr. Lingard refers to MS. letters in his possession, and to Bruodin, 696. In Morison's *Threnodia* we are told how the Rev. Bernard Fitzpatrick, of the illustrious house of Ossory, was dragged from one of those caves and beheaded: and Ludlow relates in his *Memoirs* (vol. i. pp. 422, Ed. Vevay, 1698) how, when marching from Dundalk to Castleblaney, probably near the close of 1652, he discovered a few of the Irish in a cave, and how his party spent two days in endeavouring to smother them by smoke. It appears that the poor fugitives preserved themselves from suffocation, during this operation, by holding their faces close to the surface of some running water in the cavern, and that one of their party was armed with a pistol, with which he shot the foremost of the troopers who were entering the mouth of the cave after the first day's smoking. Ludlow caused the trial to be repeated, and the crevices through which the smoke escaped having been closed, "another smother was made." The next time the soldiers entered with helmets and breast plates, but they found the only armed man dead, inside the entrance, where he was suffocated at his post; while the other fugitives still preserved life at the little brook. Fifteen were put to the sword within the cave, and four dragged out alive, but Ludlow does not mention whether he hanged these then or not; but one, at least, of the original number was a Catholic priest, for the soldiers found a crucifix, chalice, and priest's robes in the cavern.

‡ *Morissoni Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, p. 14. "All these things," says O'Connell, "appear like a hideous dream. They would be utterly incredible only that they are quite certain" (*Memoir of Ireland*, p. 315). See also Hib. Dom. p. 706; Clarendon's *Rebellion*, iii. 434.

silence impossible." That was precisely the period when England displayed her utmost malice in heaping calumnies on her down-trodden victim. Like an ungenerous enemy, not satisfied with success, she added "insult to her guilt, meanness to her cruelty." "Everything that malice and bigotry could conceive, that craft or falsehood could invent, or that ignorance and national antipathy could believe, was attributed to the Irish name and nation, and repeated in all the drunkenness of success, and with all the cowardice of security."* And as the most illustrious of Irish statesmen has observed, these iniquitous calumnies against the Irish were calculated to gain certain advantages for the English, namely:—to make the massacres and other crimes committed by the latter appear in the light of retaliation; to serve as an excuse for seizing the estates of the Irish by the Cromwellian party; and as a further excuse for the restored Stuarts to leave these estates in the hands of the usurpers.†

As to the succession of events connected with government, while Ireland lay in this state of galling bondage, they affected but little the interests of this country. We may therefore dispose of them briefly. After the death of Ireton, Lambert was appointed lord deputy, but through the intrigue of Cromwell's daughter, the widow of Ireton, who had married colonel Charles Fleetwood, the appointment was set aside before Lambert came to Ireland, Cromwell having for that purpose suffered his own commission of lord lieutenant to expire, which involved the retirement of his deputy. Fleetwood was then made commander-in-chief in Ireland, joined in the civil administration with four commissioners:—Ludlow, Corbett, Jones, and Weaver. These governed the country according to certain instructions, one of which was, "to endeavour the promulgation of the gospel and the power of true religion and holiness;" and another, to allow no Papist or delinquent to hold any place of trust, to practise as barrister or solicitor, or to keep school for the education of youth.‡ The act proclaiming the "rebellion" in Ireland to be at an end was passed on the 26th of September, 1653. On the 16th of December, that year, Cromwell assumed the supreme authority under the title of lord protector, and his usurpation was supported in Ireland by Fleetwood and the army, although the stern republican, Ludlow, threw up his commissionership in disgust. Henry Cromwell, the usurper's second son, who was appointed to the government of Ire-

* Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*. Dedication.
† See O'Connell's *Memoir of Ireland*, pp. 303 and 304.
‡ Parliamentary Journals.

land in 1655, was naturally mild and just, and his administration would have materially altered the state of this country had he been suffered to follow the dictates of his own humane disposition. He is believed to have averted the infliction of fresh grievances; but he administered most of the cruel laws as he found them; and the practice of kidnapping the Irish youth for transportation to the West Indies was in full vigor under him; while, at the same time, his father was inviting in vain the settlers of New England and the Vaudois of Piedmont to replace the extirpated population of Ireland.* After the death of Oliver (September 3rd, 1658,) the weak shoulders of his son, Richard, did not long sustain the burden of the usurped power bequeathed to him; and on his retirement to his ancestral obscurity the cabals of the long parliament prepared an easy way for the restoration of royalty. Not a little of this drama was enacted in Ireland, where Broghill, lord president of Munster, and Coote, lord president of Connaught, both observing the turn in the tide, vied with each other in offering their support to Charles II. Both were renegades, both distinguished for their savage cruelties against the Irish; but in duplicity and utter want of principle the balance was on the side of Broghill, the son of the unprincipled earl of Cork. The race between them on this occasion, and their subsequent attempts to depreciate each other with the king, were ludicrous; but Broghill triumphed in the end, as he produced a letter of Coote's in which the latter admitted that the suggestion for supporting the king first came from him. It was the farce after the tragedy; and both these inveterate enemies were by the worthless Charles Stuart richly rewarded, Broghill being created earl of Orrery and Coote earl of Mountrath; while "the estates of the Irish who had fought for the king and followed his fortunes in exile, were confirmed to drummers and sergeants who had conducted his father to the scaffold."†

* Hutchinson's *History of Massachussets*, 190. Thurloe, ii., 459.

† Higgons, *Remarks on Burnet*, p. 103.

CHAPTER XL.

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

Hopes of the Irish Catholics at the Restoration—Their grievous disappointment.—An Irish parliament convoked after twenty years.—Discussions on the Act of Settlement in Ireland and England—The Act passed.—Establishment of the Court of Claims.—Partial success of the Irish Catholics—Consequent indignation and alarm of the Protestants.—Rumoured conspiracies.—Blood's Plot.—The Act of Explanation—Provisions of the Act grossly unjust to Catholics—The Irish parliament desire to make them more so.—The Irish Remonstrance.—Synod of the clergy in Dublin.—English prohibitory laws against the importation of Irish cattle.—General disaffection.—Alarming rumours.—Oppression of the Catholics.—Recall of Ormond.—Lord Berkley's administration—Catholic Petition of Grievances.—Colonel Richard Talbot.—Commission of Inquiry—Great alarm produced by it among the Protestants and New Interest.—Recall of lord Berkley and appointment of lord Essex.—Violent address of the English Parliament — Increased oppression of the Catholics.—Restoration of Ormond.—The Popish Plot.—Arrest of Archbishop Talbot.—Proclamations against the Catholics.—Puritan Attempts to raise a Rebellion in Ireland.—Arrest of Archbishop Plunkett—Frightful demoralization and perjury—Memoir of Dr. Plunket (*note*)—His Martyrdom.—Turn in tide of Persecution.—Irish Writers of the seventeenth century.—State of the Irish.—Death of Charles II

[A.D. 1660 to A.D. 1685.]

THAT the Irish should have regarded the overthrow of the regicide government and the restoration of the king as an assurance of their own restoration to their homes and estates was only natural: It was a consequence which every principle of justice demanded; and although serious obstacles were to be overcome, they had a right to expect that the king, for whom they had bled and sacrificed so much, would have taken some trouble in their behalf. Many of these plundered and expatriated people, inspired by this confidence, returned and claimed their own without waiting for the tedious process of an unfriendly law to reinstate them;* but never were the hopes of their injured race doomed to be more cruelly blasted. Acting on the mean and ungenerous policy of his family, Charles immolated his

* In England the old proprietors generally expelled the Cromwellian intruders without much ceremony; but any attempts at a like mode of proceeding in Ireland were immediately put down by a royal proclamation. See Carte's *Orm.* vol. ii. p. 398.

devoted friends to his own and his father's enemies; and the whole history of his reign, as far as Ireland is concerned, is made up of instances of the most scandalous injustice inflicted on the Irish Catholics, of persecutions against their religion, and of triumphs yielded to their unprincipled and inveterate foes.

Coote, now earl of Mountrath, and Broghill, now earl of Orrery—men who had slaughtered more Irish in cold blood during the war than any others, if we except Cromwell's massacres at Drogheda and Wexford—were appointed lords justices after the restoration, and to none but the determined enemies of the Catholics was any power entrusted. The first Irish parliament held for twenty years met on the 8th of May, 1661. The house of commons comprised two hundred and sixty members, who, with the exception of sixty-four, were all burgesses, and must, therefore, have been of the favored race, the towns having been filled with Cromwellians. In the upper house there were twenty-one Catholic and seventy-two Protestant peers; but such was the jealousy in both houses, of the admission of any Catholics, that the commons, who had chosen sir Audley Mervin as their speaker, tried to exclude them by requiring the oath of supremacy from all the members; while Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh, who was elected speaker of the lords, proposed with a like object that all the peers should receive the sacrament at his hands. This parliament voted the large sum of £30,000 to the now duke of Ormond,* who was appointed lord lieutenant in October this year, but did not come to Ireland until the following July; and the session was taken up with discussions on the Bill of Settlement, which was warmly opposed by the Irish Catholics through their counsel, but was passed by the Irish parliament on the 15th of September, and transmitted to England, where it underwent a second discussion before the king and council. Here, again, its injustice was ably argued by Irish agents, but all opposition to it was overruled; the claims of the dispossessed Irish loyalists were treated as unreasonable; their counsel was considered imprudent and extravagant in pressing their demands. The effeminate monarch becoming weary of the debates, sir Nicholas Plunket, the agent of the Irish Catholics, was at length excluded from his majesty's presence by an order of council, and this monstrous act of robbery—confirming as it did the most enormous of all the spoliations

* Ormond gained enormously by the war. Dr. French says the duke's estates were so encumbered as not to have produced more than £7,000 a year before the war, although worth £40,000, but that a few years after the restoration they produced him £80,000 a-year. (*Unkind Deserter*, chap. xii.) The earl of Essex says Ormond received over £300,000 in this kingdom, besides all his great places and employments. (*State Lett.*, 213-214.)

inflicted on Ireland by its English masters—was finally passed into law.* A court of claims was established under the act to try the qualifications of "nocent" and "innocent;" and notwithstanding all the hostility of the law and of government, several Catholics succeeded in making good their titles to a restitution of their property.† This gave rise to violent indignation and alarm among the Protestants. That any door should have been left open to the Catholics for the recovery of their estates was a thing not to be tolerated, and the duke of Ormond consequently refused to extend the time for investigating the claims, although comparatively a few only of them had been disposed of. Neither did the admission of a claim always imply the restoration of an estate, for the Cromwellian or new interest was not always disturbed, and the recovery of a right often amounted to no more than what might be deemed an equivalent, which depended on the amount of "reprisals," as they were called, that government might have in hands to allot for the purpose. The regicide judges, and others who had imbrued their hands in the late king's blood, were deprived of their estates by the Act of Settlement; but these lands, which were chiefly situated in the county of Tipperary, were given to the duke of York, and were therefore not available for reprisals.

A great outcry was now raised against the Irish Catholics. The vile calumnies about 1641 were revived and maliciously circulated, and every report against the Irish was received with avidity in England. The device of popish plots and conspiracies was resorted to, and the public mind kept in a state of ferment by the most unfounded rumours of intended popish risings and French invasions. It so happened that the only real plot was a Presbyterian one, got up by some Puritan ministers, a few military officers, and some members of the house of commons. One

* In his speech to the parliament after his restoration Charles told them "that he expected (in relation to the Irish) they would have a care of his honor, and of the promise he had made them;" this promise had been explicitly renewed by Ormond for the king before he left Breda; but it was thus the royal engagements to the Irish were generally kept. It is unnecessary to say that the articles of 1648 (as they were called, though signed by Ormond in 1649, new style) were wholly set aside.

† It is stated in Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana* that of the claims tried in the first three months 168 were adjudged innocent and only 19 nocent; and that in the subsequent sittings of the court 630 additional claims were decided, we are not told in what proportion of innocent and nocent, but only "to the great loss and dissatisfaction of the Protestants." (See Letter in Cox, continuing the history from 1653 to 1689). Some three thousand claims were left unheard for want of time, and Ormond, as stated above, refused to extend the sittings of the court for that purpose. Those Catholics who were named in the Bill of Settlement as objects of the royal favor (about 500 in number) were called "nominees;" those who served abroad under the king's standard were distinguished as "ensign-men;" and the adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers styled themselves "the new interest."

Thomas Blood, a person who subsequently became notorious for his exploits in England, conspired with some others to seize the castle of Dublin on the 21st of May, 1663; but the mad project was discovered before the attempt was made, and four of the conspirators were executed. The atrocious system of falsehood against the Catholics was, nevertheless, successful, and a motion for excluding Catholics from the general pardon and indemnity was passed in the English parliament. Ormond, moreover, who had repaired to England for the purpose, procured the passing of an Act of Explanation to satisfy the Protestants, and on his return prepared to organise a Protestant militia.

In all the discussions on the Bills of Settlement and Explanation the Catholics, although the most aggrieved, were the most moderate in their demands; and a suggestion having been made on their part that they would be content if the soldiers and adventurers resigned one-third of the lands which they enjoyed immediately before the restoration, the proposal was accepted, and made the ground-work of the Act of Explanation. By this act, however, it was provided that the Protestants were in the first place, and especially, to be settled; that any ambiguity which arose should be explained in their favor; and "that no Papist, who, by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent, should at any future time be reputed innocent, or entitled to claim any lands or settlements. Thus," continues Leland, whose words we quote, "every remaining hope of those numerous claimants whose causes had not been heard, was entirely cut off."* Yet, strange to say, this act, unjust as it was to the Catholics, did not go far enough to satisfy the Irish house of commons, which was composed chiefly of adventurers and soldiers, and whose speaker, Mervin, had all along distinguished himself by his furious hostility to the Catholic interest. Ormond found it necessary to exercise some rigor towards the refractory members.

* Leland, *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., p. 440. More than 3,000 Catholic claimants were thus condemned to the forfeiture of their estates, without any hearing at all; or, as Leland expresses it: "Without the justice granted to the vilest criminals—that of a fair and equal trial." See Carte's *Orm.* vol. ii., pp. 304, 314. Chief justice Nugent, afterwards lord Riverston, in a letter dated Dublin, June 23rd, 1686, and preserved in the State Paper Office, London, says: "There are 5,000 in this kingdome who were never outlawed, and out of theyre estates, yet cannot now by law be restored." See *Macariæ Excidium*, notes and illustrations, p. 192. The Act of Explanation gave the duke of Ormond liberty to name twenty Catholics for the restoration of their estates, and we may be sure that those who were too national in their sentiments were not included in his grace's list. The duke had given the strongest opposition to the claims of the earl of Antrim, whom he hated perhaps more than any other man in Ireland; but the earl was warmly backed by the king, and by other powerful friends, and, after repeated petitions and investigations, was ultimately restored to his estates by the Act of Explanation. Carte, *Orm.* vol. ii. p. 277, and Irish Council Books.

Seven of them were expelled for complicity in Blood's plot, and others were known to deserve the same punishment. They were also threatened obscurely with a dissolution, and the act was at length finally passed on the 15th of December, 1665.*

Hoping to remove the pretences for persecution against them, some of the Catholic nobility and gentry had signed a declaration of loyalty for presentation to the king. Several noblemen assembled for the purpose at the house of the marquis of Clanrickard in Dublin; among others, lords Castlehaven, Clancarty, Carlingford, Fingal, and Inchiquin, and there was no doubt with such names at the head of the list a great many subscribers to the address might be obtained throughout Ireland. This address or declaration is celebrated as the Irish Remonstrance. It was prepared by Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, who had been a most zealous partizan of Ormond in the confederation, and enjoyed the private friendship and confidence of that determined enemy of the Catholics. He was a restless and factious man, impatient of spiritual authority, and it was well known that any document from his hands could hardly be unexceptionable. The remonstrance contained, in fact, along with the strongest protestations of loyalty, expressions derogatory to the authority of the Pope, and therefore offensive to true Catholic feeling; but it suited Ormond's purpose precisely on that account; and on the pretence that it was yet only a private address, possessing no official character, Ormond desired that it might be signed by all the Catholic clergy of the kingdom. A national congregation of the Irish bishops and clergy for the consideration of the matter was held in Dublin on the 11th of June, 1666. The meeting took place by the connivance of Ormond, who had privately obtained the sanction of the king; and the primate, Edmond O'Reilly, who had been in exile since 1657, when he was arrested in London at the instance of the aforesaid Peter Walsh, and sent

* One of the motives for the clamours raised by the Protestants in the discussions referred to above was the constant discovery of abuses in the Cromwellian distribution of the lands. Sir William Domville, the attorney-general, in overhauling the details of this distribution, discovered, among many other irregularities, that there were "great abuses in the manner of setting out the adventurers' satisfaction, in which the proceedings were very clandestine and confused. For they had whole baronies set out to them in gross, and then they employed surveyors of their own to make their admeasurements. Thus they admeasured what proportions they thought fit to mete out to themselves; and what lands they were pleased to call unprofitable, they had returned as such, let them be never so good and profitable. In the county of Tipperary alone he had found by books in the surveyor's office above 50,000 acres returned as unprofitable, and in the moity of the ten counties, wherein their satisfaction was set out, he had found 245,207 acres so returned by the adventurers as unprofitable." Carte's *Orm.* vol. ii. p. 301. Moreover, Domville found that the soldiers had returned 665,670 acres as unprofitable, and it was not without reason they now feared to have the accuracy of their returns inquired into. These soldiers, says Carte, "were for the most part Anabaptists, Independents, and Levellers." *Orm.* vol. ii.

out of the kingdom, received permission to come to Ireland and presided at the meeting.* Promises were held out by Ormond that whoever signed the remonstrance would be more favorably considered in their claims, and enjoy other privileges. The discussions on the subject were carried on with great caution; but, to the eternal honor of the Irish clergy, the insulting instrument was rejected, and another remonstrance adopted, to which no objection whatever could be raised, if only an expression of the most devoted loyalty were required. On the 16th of June this Catholic remonstrance was delivered by two of the bishops to Ormond, with a prayer that it might be presented to his majesty; but the duke rejected petition and remonstrance, sent Peter Walsh to order the synod to dissolve immediately, and subjected the Catholic bishops and clergy to a more rigid persecution than before. The primate was seized on the 27th of September, and carried prisoner to London, whence he was sent into banishment until his death, which took place at Louvain in 1669.†

The propensity of English statesmen to treat Ireland as an alien country, and to legislate in a spirit hostile to her interests, was such that even the Cromwellian settlers had scarcely fixed themselves in this country when they felt the galling pressure of this national injustice. Prohibitory laws relating to Irish commerce had long been usual in England. The Irish wool trade had been restricted within the narrowest limits; but at this time the prohibition against the importation of Irish cattle into England was the grievance that pressed most heavily on Irish commercial interests. A law on this subject was passed for a

* Before the primate's return at this time there were but three Catholic prelates in Ireland, two of whom, namely, Dr. John Burke, archbishop of Tuam, and Dr. Owen M'Sweeny, bishop of Kilmore, were too aged and infirm to perform any of their public functions. The third was Dr. Patrick Plunket, bishop of Ardagh. It appears from Dr. French's *Elenchus Episcoporum*, quoted in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, that of the twenty-six Irish prelates who were resident in their respective sees in 1649, nine had died at home, ten had died in exile, three had suffered martyrdom, and four were still living in 1667; Dr. Nicholas French himself, bishop of Ferns, and Dr. Andrew Lynch, bishop of Kilfenora, still in banishment; and Dr. Burke, of Tuam, and Dr. Patrick Plunket, just mentioned. Dr. O'Reilly, the primate, had only been consecrated in 1657.

† There can be no doubt that Ormond's object in encouraging the synod of 1666 was to sow discord among the Catholic clergy. Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, shows in his castigation of Walsh (*The Friar Disciplined*, p. 92) that he was well aware such was the case. In fact the duke himself frankly acknowledged, some years later, "that his aim in permitting that meeting was to work a division among the Romish clergy" (Carte's *Ormond*, ii., Append.); and soon after the synod was dispersed lord Orrery, writing to Ormond, says:—"I humbly offer to your grace whether this may not be a fit season to make that schism, which you have been sowing among the Popish clergy, publicly break out, so as to set them at open difference, as we may reap some practicable advantage thereby." (*Orm. State Letters*, vol. ii.) But Ormond's arts did not succeed, for we are told by Walsh himself that although there were then in Ireland 1,100 secular priests and 750 regulars, yet that of these 1,850 clergy only 69 signed his remonstrance, these being chiefly friars of his own order, over whom he had great influence.

limited period in 1663, but the question was agitated from year to year; and when, in October, 1666, the lord lieutenant, seconded by the Irish gentry, proposed to send over 15,000 bullocks as a contribution for the sufferers by the great fire of London, their kindness was maliciously interpreted; and the English commons, displaying what Leland calls "a violent and almost unaccountable rage of oppression," voted a bill making the prohibition permanent. In the preamble to the bill the importation of Irish cattle was termed a "nuissance," which description the lords modified by substituting the words "detriment and mischief." Lord Ashley, a member of the cabal ministry,* proposed that it should be declared a felony and præmunire. The measure gave rise to violent debates in both houses. The duke of Buckingham asserted that "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings;" and lord Ossory, son of the duke of Ormond, resented this insult by a challenge, which Buckingham declined to accept; and Ossory was sent to the tower. At another part of the debate, when Ashley inveighed against the Irish contribution for the sufferers, Ossory protested that "such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's counsellors," and several noble lords on both sides were on the point of drawing their swords; but the commons insisting on their favorite expression being retained, Charles requested the lords to yield the point, and the bill received the royal assent with the word "nuissance" restored in the preamble.

At home disaffection prevailed among all parties. The landed interest was ruined by the prohibitory laws just referred to. The army complained that their pay was in arrears; and some soldiers having mutinied and seized Carrickfergus castle, a considerable military force was required to reduce them; ten of their number being executed. The Irish Puritans carried on secret correspondence with their friends in England, so that government was perpetually alarmed with rumours of new plots. The Irish Catholics, infinitely more aggrieved than any other party, were objects of suspicion to all; and although they had engaged in no conspiracy, anonymous accusations were daily made against them. They were charged with inviting the French to invade Ireland; and Ormond, who affected to believe these malicious rumours, made them an excuse for ruling the unhappy Catholics with a rod of iron. He could not forgive the Irish clergy for refusing to sign the remonstrance, and was resolved, as he said, to keep them up to the letter

* The name of "cabal" was given to the ministry of Charles II.—Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale—the initials of their names composing that word.

of that document, "or to a sense equivalent." He distributed 20,000 stand of arms to his Protestant militia, and in July, 1667, reviewed the Leinster corps in the Curragh of Kildare. The appearance of an English squadron about the same time off Kinsale threw the country into a state of violent excitement, as it was supposed to be the expected French fleet; but the king, provoked by these repeated alarms, and by the many complaints which reached him, removed Ormond, who had gone to England in 1668, and the following year appointed lord Robarts of Truro as lord lieutenant. This man remained but a few months, and was succeeded in May, 1670, by John lord Berkley, a nobleman of moderate principles and upright intentions.*

Colonel Richard Talbot, who possessed great influence at court, and was subsequently created duke of Tirconnell by James II., went to England in 1671 to lay before the king and council a petition from the Irish Catholic gentry who had been plundered of their estates.† Colonel Talbot had for several years past acted as the advocate of his injured fellow-countrymen with the king, and on this occasion he was so successful as to induce his majesty to appoint a committee of inquiry, notwithstanding the opposition given to the petition by Ormond. The report of the committee was unfavorable; but a commission was issued, which was superseded in January, 1673, by one of a more comprehensive character, to inquire concerning the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, the manner in which these acts were executed, the disposal of the forfeited estates, the state of his majesty's revenue in Ireland, &c. The appointment of this commission gave occasion to a violent outcry among the Puritans and the new

* The moderation of lord Berkley inspired the Irish Catholics with the deepest gratitude, and a convocation of the clergy was held in Dublin in 1670 to give expression to their feelings in an address to his excellency. On this occasion the two most illustrious men in the Irish church of that day were present, namely, Oliver Plunkett, archbishop of Armagh, and Peter Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, both of whom had been elevated to the archiepiscopal dignity in 1669. These two eminent men differed considerably in their disposition. Dr. Plunkett, more calm and forgiving, objected to the severity exercised by Dr. Talbot against the remonstrant clergy, or those who had signed Walsh's remonstrance; and at the same time entertained so strict a sense of his own duty to sustain the rights of his high position as primate, that he refused to sign the address unless his name were placed first, while Dr. Talbot insisted on the claim long before set up to the primatial dignity for his diocess. The dispute forms an interesting topic in Irish church history, and gave occasion to very learned treatises on the subject from both those prelates.

† Among the plundered Irish gentry of that time we find our great antiquary, Roderick O'Flaherty, who was most assuredly innocent, thus mildly complaining in his Ogygia:—"The Lord hath wonderfully recalled the royal heir to his kingdom, with the applause of all good men, and without dust and blood; but he hath not found me worthy to be restored to the kingdom of my cottage (sed me non dignum invenit, cui tugurii mei regnum restituat). Against thee alone, O Lord, I have sinned; may the name of the Lord be blessed for ever." *Ogygia*, p. 180; and elsewhere he says:—"I live a banished man within the bounds of my native soil; a spectator of others enriched by my birthright; an object of condoling to my relations and friends, and a condoler of their miseries." *Ogygia Vind.* p. 153.

interest in Ireland. Anything that threatened to disturb the Act of Settlement, and to drag before the public view all the atrocious injustice and secret dishonesty connected with that most appalling spoliation, was a sufficient cause of dismay. The toleration and justice extended by lord Berkley to the Catholics also excited alarm.* The cry of "popery" was raised. The "mystery of iniquity," it was said, had begun to appear. Yielding to this storm, the king recalled lord Berkley in May, 1672, and appointed in his stead lord Essex, with instructions to take a different course. On the 9th of March, 1673, the English house of commons presented a most violent address to his majesty, calling upon him to expel by proclamation all who exercised spiritual jurisdiction under the Pope in Ireland; to prohibit Irish Papists from inhabiting any part of that kingdom, unless duly licensed; and to encourage by all means the English planters, and the Protestant interest there. The result was that the weak king hastened to recall his commission of inquiry, and did all he could to appease the awakened zeal of his Protestant subjects.

Ormond was restored to favor, and Essex having been recalled, the duke was sent to Ireland as lord lieutenant in August, 1677. The following year the diabolical fabrication known as the Popish plot made its appearance. England was at that time drunk with fanaticism. The outcry against Popery had driven the people mad, and the contrivance of the infamous Titus Oates and his flagitious associates was a fitting climax to the national frenzy. The duke of Ormond was at Kilkenny when he received the first notice of the plot, October 3rd, 1678; but although he treated the matter in his official capacity as one of awful magnitude, and adopted all the cruel measures towards the Catholics that might satisfy the fanatics, still his private correspondence proves that he placed no faith in the plot, but regarded it on the contrary with contempt; observing that no such thing existed in Ireland, where the Catholics were so much more numerous than in England.† On the 7th of October he received a further communication from the secretary of state, announcing that the plot did extend to Ireland, and that Peter Talbot was concerned in it; although it was known that that prelate was then in a dying state, having only a few months before obtained private permission to return to Ireland that he might breathe his last in

* It was charged against lord Berkley that popery was tolerated, and that archbishop Talbot celebrated High Mass publicly in Dublin during his administration; and also that he allowed some papists to hold the commission of the peace.

† See his correspondence at the close of the second volume of Carte.

his own country. Ormond, however, on the 8th of October issued a warrant for his apprehension, and the venerable archbishop was taken from his sick bed, at Cartown, near Maynooth, the house of his brother, colonel Richard Talbot, and carried in a chair to Dublin, where he was kept a close prisoner in the castle, until death removed him from his lingering martyrdom two years after.

Proclamations against the unoffending Catholics now appeared in quick succession. One on the 16th of October commanded, "all titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, and other dignitaries of the Church of Rome, and also all Jesuits, and other regular priests, to depart by the 20th of November; and that all Popish societies, convents, seminaries, and Popish schools, should dissolve." The masters of outward-bound ships were required to take on board all the Popish clergy who should present themselves for transportation. A proclamation of the 20th of November forbid Papists to come into the castle of Dublin or any other fort or citadel; and ordered that the markets of Drogheda, Wexford, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Galway should be held without the walls, to prevent the recourse of Papists to the interior of the towns. The same day a reward was offered of £10 for every commissioned officer, £5 for every trooper, and 4s. for every foot soldier who could be discovered to have gone to mass since he took the oath of supremacy and allegiance. On the 2nd of December orders were issued for a strict search after the titular bishops and regular clergy who had not transported themselves. To increase the alarm and quicken the vigilance of government, anonymous letters about Popish conspiracies were dropped in the streets The Protestant militia was revived and disciplined. In March, 1680, a proclamation issued, ordering that the nearest relations of tories should be seized and imprisoned until such tories were killed or taken;* and that parish priests should be apprehended and transported, upon any robbery or murder being committed in their respective parishes, unless the criminals were killed, taken, or discovered within fourteen days. A reward of £10 was promised at the same time for taking a Jesuit or titular bishop; and soon after the lord lieutenant and council ordered the removal of the Popish inhabitants from Galway,

* Dr. O'Conor (*Bib. Stowensis*, ii. 460) derives the name "tory" from the Irish word *toirighim*, to pursue for prey. Many of these robber outlaws were by birth Irish gentlemen, who had been unjustly stripped of their estates, and who levied contributions in their own wild way on the Cromwellian settlers who occupied their ancient patrimonies. The most celebrated of them was Redmond O'Hanlon, the hero of many a traditional tale. About this time the name of tory came into use in England, where it was applied to the court party by the Puritans, or popular party, who were designated whigs.

Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny and Drogheda, "except some few trading merchants, artificers, and others necessary for the said towns."* Thus did the rulers of Ireland vainly hope to extirpate the Catholic religion from the land of Patrick, Bridget, and Columbkille; and designing impostors try to urge the Irish to resistance, and afford an excuse for another confiscation.†

Colonel Talbot was arrested, as well as his brother, the archbishop, but was suffered to go into exile, and an order also came over to seize lord Mountgarret, then an octogenarian, and in his dotage; but all this time no testimony came from Ireland to support the plot, to the great disappointment of lord Shaftesbury and the other patrons of Oates.‡ This was not to be endured, and accordingly all possible methods were resorted to, says Carte, "to provoke and exasperate the people of that kingdom." New measures of coercion were devised; "it was proposed to introduce the test act and all the English penal laws into Ireland; and that a proclamation should be forthwith issued for encouraging all persons that could make any further discoveries of the horrid Popish plot to come in and declare the same."§ For more than a year after the proclamation banishing the Catholic prelates out of Ireland, archbishop Plunkett continued to reside in his diocese. He was so good a man, and so useful as a promoter of peace and order, that Ormond was most unwilling to have him apprehended; but he was at length seized in his

* See in *Cox* the continuation of the reign of Charles II., where the substance of all these proclamations will be found; also *Carte*, vol. ii., pp. 430, &c. To what the exclusion of Catholics from the principal towns would then amount we may gather from the statement of lord Orrery, who in a letter to the duke of Ormond, of February 26, 1662, says "it was high time to purge the towns of the papists, when in most of them there were three Papists to one Protestant." About the same time the Catholics in the rural districts were to the Protestants in the ratio of fifteen to one. Sir William Petty, writing in 1672, estimates the total population of Ireland at 1,100,000, of whom 800,000 were Irish, 200,000 English, and 100,000 Scotch. All the Irish, he says, were Papists; all the Scotch Presbyterians; and of the English, one half Protestants, and the other half Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, and other dissenters. There were thus, according to him, eight Papists to one Church of England Protestant; but it is quite clear that owing to the remoteness of the districts in which many of the Irish dwelt he had no means of knowing their actual numbers, which were unquestionably much greater than he states. See Petty's *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 8, ed. 1719.

† "There were," says Carte (vol. ii., p. 432), "too many Protestants in Ireland who wanted another rebellion, that they might increase their estates by new forfeitures."

‡ "It was a terrible time," says Carte, "upon the strain of the Popish plot in England, that after it had made such a horrible noise and frightened people out of their senses to a degree, where there was scarce one Papist to an hundred Protestants, the resolution, for above a year together, appear so much as one witness from Ireland to give information of any conspiracy of the like nature in that kingdom, where there were fifteen Papists to one Protestant, as that charged upon the Papists of England, whose weakness would naturally make them apply for assistance from their more powerful brethren in Ireland." Vol. ii., p. 495.

§ Carte, vol. ii., p. 494.

humble retreat, a few miles from Drogheda, on the 6th of December, 1679, and committed to prison, solely for his religion and for exercising the functions of a Catholic prelate.* The arrest of the primate gave a new turn to things in Ireland. Hetherington, Shaftesbury's agent, came over to concoct evidence of a plot, and a number of the most abandoned characters—cow-stealers, rapparees, and gaol-breakers—were soon found ready for the purpose. These vile miscreants vied with each other in swearing away the lives of innocent men; and several of them came forward to make the most outrageous charges of treason against the venerable archbishop. Foremost among these infamous witnesses were two degraded priests and as many apostate friars. In those turbulent times, when there was so much to disorganise society and encourage vice, it is not extraordinary that men should have been found capable of any degradation; and these wretched ecclesiastics were persons who, after fruitless efforts to reform them, had been subjected to canonical censures; the two seculars having been excommunicated by the primate, and the friars declared apostates by their superior. As the evidence of these men would obtain no credit in Ireland, the primate was taken to London, where the incredible, inconsistent, and indeed impossible statements of the false witnesses were received as gospel truth by the judges, jury, and people of England, and Dr. Plunkett was immolated at the shrine of English fanaticism.†

* See on this point the admirable life of Dr. Plunkett, published in *Duffy's Catholic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 144.

† Dr. Oliver Plunkett belonged to a branch of the ancient family of the earls of Fingal, and was born at Loughcrew, in Meath. He went to Rome when a young man, in 1649, and studied in the Irish college founded by cardinal Ludovisius, and which was then administered by Jesuits. About eight years after he became professor of divinity in the Propaganda, and so continued for twelve years; and on the death of Edmond O'Reilly, archbishop of Armagh, in 1669, he was nominated to the primacy of Ireland by Pope Clement IX. It was then a perilous as well as an exalted dignity; but he hastened to his afflicted country, where he arrived about the end of October the same year, and an immediate, but fruitless, search was made for him by order of the government. Lord Robarts, who was soon after recalled, was then lord lieutenant; but during the administrations of lords Berkley and Essex Dr. Plunkett continued to exercise his functions without molestation. He was indefatigable in his apostolic labors, holding numerous ordinations, and exerting himself with prudence and assiduity to correct abuses among clergy and laity. He was an ardent lover of his country and of her venerable antiquities, and composed an Irish poem about Tara, which is mentioned by O'Reilly, in his *Irish Writers*. In the persecution which followed the outbreak of the pretended Popish plot, he removed from his usual residence, at Ballybarrack, near Dundalk, to a small house at a place called Castletownbellew, a few miles from Drogheda, where he was arrested. At his trial he stated that he had lived "in a little thatched house, wherein was only a little room for a library, which was not seven feet high; that he had never more than one servant, and that he was scarcely ever able to support even one." As to his income it never exceeded "three score pounds per annum." It was six months after his confinement in Newgate that the charge of treason was trumped up against him, and when it was then investigated before the Irish council it was scouted as utterly absurd. A reward of £500 was, it is said, offered for Hetherington, the infamous concocter of the perjuries, but he had fled to his employer, Shaftesbury; and when the primate came to be arraigned at the Dundalk assizes, although every man, both on the grand and petty jury, was a

It has been truly said by a great Protestant statesman that "the Popish plot must always be considered an indelible disgrace upon the

Protestant, not one of the miscreants who had made depositions against him would come forward. No one was more active, says Carte, in procuring those witnesses than Jones, the Protestant bishop of Meath, "who had been scout-master-general to Oliver Cromwell's army" (*Orm.* ii. 498); and it was at his suggestion that Shaftesbury got the primate's trial removed from Dundalk, where he would, assuredly, have been acquitted, to London, where anything sworn against a Popish bishop could not be too monstrous for the popular credulity. The Irish government was required to assist the witnesses for the plot, of one of whom (James Geoghan) who was sent to beat up the country for swearers, Ormond writes that "at length, his violences, excesses, debaucheries, and, in effect, his plain robberies, committed on Irish and English, Protestants and Papists, were so manifest, as raised a great disturbance in all places," and it became necessary to put him in gaol (see letter in *Carte*, ii. 514); yet such was the general character of the degraded men produced as witnesses against the holy archbishop—profligates and apostates, to whom a free pardon was offered as an inducement to add perjury and murder to their other crimes. Dr. Plunkett was removed to London about the close of October, 1680, and was so rigorously confined in Newgate that no friend could have access to him. Here he spent his time in almost continual prayer, and his keepers were surprised to see him always look so cheerful and resigned. When brought up for trial he obtained five weeks to procure evidence from Ireland; but in those days of slow travelling, when weeks were sometimes lost in waiting for a passage from Holyhead to Dublin, the time was insufficient; and when the trial at length came on on the 8th of June, 1681, the primate's witnesses had not arrived, and certain records which he desired to obtain from Ireland to show the character of the witnesses brought against him, would not be given to his agents without an order from the court; but a single day longer would not be granted to him. He was browbeaten by a bench of partizan judges; six of the most eminent lawyers in England were arrayed against him; and he stood alone, without one to speak a word in his defence or procure for him fair play; for as the law then stood he was not allowed the benefit of counsel. A host of abandoned wretches, who, says the great Charles Fox, would have been unworthy of credit, even in the most trivial matter, made charges against him that were not only incredible but absolutely impossible (*Fox's Historical Works*, p. 40). In vain did he pray for time and declare:—"If I had been in Ireland I would have put myself on my trial tomorrow, without any witnesses, before any Protestant jury that knew them and me." He, who was so poor and meek, and had such a horror of mixing himself up in any temporal concern, was convicted of plotting to raise an army of 70,000 men; of collecting some enormous fund for that purpose among the clergy; of practising to bring over 40,000 French troops; and of inspecting the harbours round the coast of Ireland, and selecting Carlingford as the place for the debarkation of the invading army! On the 15th, when brought up to receive sentence, the brutal chief justice addressing him, said:—"Look you, Mr. Plunkett, you have been indicted of a very great and heinous crime....The bottom of your treason was your setting up your false religion....a religion that is ten times worse than all the heathenish superstitions." The earl of Essex went to the king to apply for a pardon, and told his majesty "the witnesses must needs be perjured, as what they swore could not possibly be true;" but his majesty answered in a passion:—"Why did you not declare this, then, at the trial? I dare pardon nobody. . . .His blood be upon your head and not upon mine" (*Contin. of Baker's Chronicle*, p. 710, and *Echard's Hist. of Engl.* iii. 631). The address which the holy primate read at Tyburn was an able and beautiful vindication. On the 1st of July he was hanged and quartered; his heart and bowels were thrown into the fire, but his body was obtained from the king and interred in the church-yard of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, except the head, and the arms to the elbows, which were enclosed in two tin cases. In 1683, when the quarters of his body were exhumed by his friend Father Corker, they were found entire, and all his relics were translated to Lambspring, in Germany; but Hugh MacMahon, one of his successors in the primacy, having obtained the head from cardinal Howard, brought it to Ireland, and subsequently deposited it in the convent which he founded, in 1722, for Dominican nuns, at Drogheda, in which the first prioress was Catherine Plunkett, a relative, it is presumed, of the holy primate; and in this house, known as the Sienna convent, the precious relic is enshrined in a small ebony temple decorated with silver. An authentic portrait of the illustrious martyr, taken after his condemnation, has been engraved, and published by Mr. Duffy. (See the excellent and learned memoir of Oliver Plunkett published, with the report of his trial, &c., in *Duffy's Catholic Magazine;* also the notices of him in the *Theologia Tripartita* of his cotemporary

English nation;"* and if the lessons which history teaches are to have any effect, such a blot ought assuredly to humble national pride. It is a remarkable fact that Dr. Plunkett was not only the last victim of that atrocious imposture, but that the tide of persecution ebbed immediately upon his death. He was executed at Tyburn on the 1st of July, 1681, and the very next day Shaftesbury, the patron of the gang of perjurers and the chief promoter of the plot, was himself dragged to the tower for high treason; nor was it long after when some retribution overtook the infamous Titus Oates, who was whipped by the common hangman and pilloried for his perjuries.† The severity of the penal laws was relaxed in Ireland. Ormond, whose growing moderation had drawn upon him the violent attacks of Shaftesbury and the Whigs, now more openly befriended the Irish Catholics. Whether influenced by some remorse for the past, or revolution in his own sentiments, or change which he observed in the feelings of the king, it is certain that he became liberal at the close of his long career. Charles II., who was received into the Catholic church a few hours before his death, expired on the 6th of February, 1685, and was succeeded by his brother James, duke of York, who had for several years past openly professed the Catholic faith, and suffered for it many persecutions and even banishment from England. Thus did a new vista of hope dawn upon the Irish.

The seventeenth century, towards the close of which we now approach, though brimful of calamity to Ireland, was illumined by innumerable lights of Irish history and literature. Its first quarter

and friend, Arsdekin; the *Hib. Dominicana;* Harris's Additions to Ware's *Irish Writers;* the Thorpe Collection of Pamphlets; the State Trials; Mr. Thomas Darcy M'Gee's Irish Writers, &c.) All subsequent Protestant writers have admitted that he was unjustly executed. Bishop Burnet, who was certainly no friend to Catholics, writes:—"Lord Essex told me that this Plunkett was a wise and sober man, who was always in a different interest from the two Talbots;" and he adds, that the foreman of the grand jury who had investigated his case in Ireland, and "who was a zealous Protestant," told him the witnesses "contradicted one another so evidently that they would not find the bill" (Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 502-3). "Of his innocence," says Fox, "no doubt could be entertained" (*Hist. Works*, p. 40). "He was," says the writer of the memoir quoted above, "the last victim of the Popish plot, and the last martyr who was directly put to death for the Catholic religion in these countries" (*Cath. Mag.* ii. 231). It will interest Irish antiquaries to know that Florence MacMoyer, one of the witnesses against Dr. Plunkett, was the hereditary keeper of the celebrated Book of Armagh, and that being reduced to beggary at the close of his life he pawned, for £5, that celebrated relic of antiquity, which thus came into the possession of an ancestor of lord Brownlow, its present proprietor.

* Charles J. Fox's Historical Works, p. 33.

† "Titus Oates," says Grainger, "was restrained by no principle, human or divine, and like Judas, would have done anything for thirty shillings. He was one of the most accomplished villains that we read of in history." (*Biographical Hist. of Eng.*, vol. iv., p. 201.) Oates obtained for his perjuries a pension of £1,200 a-year, of which he was deprived by king James, but William III. granted a pardon to the miscreant and conferred on him a pension of £400 a year.

witnessed the labors of Philip O'Sullevan Beare, Stephen White, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Messingham; the Four Masters (Michael, Conary, and Cucogry O'Clery, and Ferfeasa O'Mulconry) were compiling their celebrated Annals of Ireland from 1632 to 1636; Geoffry Keating, who has been called the Irish Herodotus, died about the middle of the century; archbishop Ussher, that wonderful compound of great learning and intolerant bigotry, and the honest and learned sir James Ware, flourished at the same time; the eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, Duald MacFirbis, was Ware's Irish amanuensis; father John Colgan, the greatest of our hagiographers, published his invaluable *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, at Louvain, in 1645; and during the same century flourished Patrick Fleming, Hugh Ward, David Roth, Luke Wadding, Dominic O'Daly, Thomas Carve, Anthony Bruodin, Nicholas French, Oliver Plunkett, Richard Arsdekin, archdeacon Lynch (Gratianus Lucius), and the learned author of the *Ogygia*, Roderick O'Flaherty. The list might be much extended, and to the preceding, who with two or three exceptions were ecclesiastics residing abroad, might be added a long array of other Irishmen who confined their labors in the foreign monasteries and colleges exclusively to sacred subjects. At the same time the Irish at home preserved their traditions and some of their ancient records in their woods and mountains, where their priests found hiding places from persecution, and where we can fancy that the wild strains of the native music, devoted to the utterance of so much sorrow, became more exquisitely plaintive in their character.

CHAPTER XLI.

REIGN OF JAMES II.

Temper of parties in Ireland at the Accession of James II.—Hopes of the Catholics and alarm of the Protestants—Clarendon lord lieutenant—Refusal to repeal the Acts of Settlement.—Colonel Richard Talbot created earl of Tirconnell, and appointed to the command of the army in Ireland—Succeeds Clarendon as lord lieutenant.—Numerous Catholic appointments.—Alarming rumours—Increased disaffection of the Protestants.—Birth of the Prince of Wales.—William Prince of Orange invited to England—The league of Augsburgh—William's dissimulation—His arrival at Torbay.—James deserted by his English subjects and obliged to fly to France.—Disloyal Association of the Protestants of Ulster—The Protestants in general refuse to give up their arms.—The Rapparees.—Irish troops sent to England and the consequence.—Closing the gates of Derry.—The Irish alone faithful to king James—He lands at Kinsale and marches to Dublin.—Siege of Derry—The town relieved and the siege raised—Conduct of the Enniskilleners.—James's Parliament in Dublin—Act of Attainder.—Large levies of the Irish.—Landing of Schomberg—He encamps at Dundalk and declines battle with James.—Battle of Cavan.—William lands at Carrickfergus—Marches to the Boyne.—Disposition of the hostile forces.—The Battle of the Boyne—Orderly retreat of the Irish.—Flight of king James—He escapes to France.—William marches to Dublin.—Waterford and Duncannon reduced.—Gallant defence of Athlone by the Irish.—Retreat of the Williamite army under Douglas.—William besieges Limerick—Noble defence of the Garrison—The English ammunition and artillery blown up by Sarsfield—The city stormed—Memorable heroism of the besieged—William raises the siege and returns to England.—Arrival of St. Ruth.—Loss of Athlone.—Battle of Aughrim and death of St. Ruth.—Siege and surrender of Galway.—Second siege of Limerick—Honorable capitulation.—The Irish army embark for France.

[FROM A.D. 1685 TO A.D. 1691.]

UNBOUNDED was the joy of the Irish Catholics on the accession of James II., and in a like proportion was the depression produced among the Protestants by that event. For the feelings of both parties at a time when so many elements of discord were rife due allowance should now be made. On the one side we see men who had so long groaned under oppression and ruin suddenly raised to the hope of restored fortunes and religious liberty; on the other, a dominant party enriched with the spoils of their antagonists, but now dreading the loss of power and of estates so dubiously acquired, and what was worse than all, the extension of favor towards a creed to which they entertained a fanatical aversion. The old English had become almost identified in sympathies and interest with the Irish, and between both and the new interest, as the Cromwellian

planters were styled, there existed all the jealousy and antipathy which could spring from antagonism in religion and race. From the beginning James's acts relating to Ireland tended to strengthen the corresponding hopes and fears of the two parties. Colonel Richard Talbot, whose imprudent zeal and rash and impetuous disposition were often injurious to the cause which he wished to serve, was raised to the peerage with the title of earl of Tirconnell, and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, with an authority independent of that of the lord lieutenant. He proceeded to reorganise the army by the introduction of Catholic officers, and hastened with unconciliating abruptness to disarm the Protestant militia. The appointment early in 1686 of the earl of Clarendon as lord lieutenant, and sir Charles Porter as lord chancellor, might have reassured the Protestants had not their disaffection been too deeply rooted, and their fears too keenly alarmed. Tirconnell endeavoured to procure a repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, but his proposal was scouted by the English council, who declared that the king would not sacrifice his English Catholic subjects to the interests of the Irish; and Clarendon, in his speech on assuming the sword of office, tried to remove all doubts on this subject by stating that "he had the king's commands to declare on all occasions that his majesty had no intention of altering those acts."

In February, 1687, Tirconnell was sworn lord lieutenant, and contributed materially by his administration of affairs to increase the discontent and alarm of the Protestants. In each court two Catholic judges were appointed, the third being a Protestant; Catholics were made high sheriffs and privy councillors; commissions of the peace were granted to a number of Catholic magistrates; a great many Catholic officers obtained commissions in the army; and quo-warrantos were issued to all the corporations, which had become nests of Puritan exclusiveness and corruption, fresh charters being granted which admitted Catholics into the corporate bodies. These measures might have been taken by another with less offence to Protestant prejudice; but there was still nothing in them that was not consistent with a fair balance of religious toleration. Catholicity might with justice have been made the state church in Ireland, as Presbyterianism was in Scotland; but the acts of James's government in Ireland did not go to that extent, and there is no reason why we should disbelieve his own assurance that he never intended to overturn the Protestant establishment in these countries.*

* Mr. Lesley thus puts the argument on this subject:—"Suppose, say they, it were true, which Dr. King asserts, as it is most false, that king James, while he was in Ireland, did endeavour totally

Bickerings and mutual provocations between the parties were incessant. The Protestants complained that the Catholics sued them for old debts, and that they instituted prosecutions for fictitious treasons; but the most fertile source of irritation arose from the constant rumours on both sides of apprehended massacres. In some places the Catholic peasantry deserted their dwellings for several nights successively, through fear of an attack by the Protestants; and on the other hand a panic seized the Protestants in Dublin and elsewhere; congregations armed themselves against imaginary "Popish massacres," and placed sentinels outside the church gates during service; and many of the Protestant merchants and traders deserted the country for England and Scotland.*

It may be doubted whether James could, by any amount of moderation, and the most cautious policy, have averted the revolution which deprived him of his kingdom. The temper of England was such that a Catholic sovereign would not have been endured, had he even confined his religion to his closet and enforced the penal laws of his predecessors. James is accused of great indiscretion in exercising so freely the power of dispensing from religious tests, in having mass celebrated openly in the palace, and in the favor shown to Catholics by his Irish government; but the arguments drawn from those acts only prove a foregone conclusion. The event which, more than any other, expedited the impending blow, was the birth of the prince of Wales in June, 1688.† Up

to overthrow the church established by law there, and set up that which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the major number of the people in that kingdom, who are Roman Catholics, the Jacobites ask, if this were so, whether it be not fully vindicated in the fourth instruction of those which king William sent to his commissioners in Scotland, dated at Copt Hall, May 31, 1689, in these words?—'You are to pass an act establishing that church government which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.' By which rule, they say, that it was as just to set up Popery in Ireland as Presbytery in Scotland." (*Preface to his Answer to Archbishop King.*) Many of the Catholic appointments mentioned above were made by Clarendon, and before Tirconnell became lord lieutenant.

* The work of Dr. William King, afterwards successor of Dr. Marsh as archbishop of Dublin—"*The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's Government*"—is the great text book of Protestant writers on this period of our history; but it was ably refuted by Charles Lesley, a cotemporary Protestant divine; and it may be questioned whether there be any other authority on Irish history less reliable for facts or more envenomed by prejudice, if we except sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion.* Nevertheless, taking all Dr. King's enumeration of Protestant grievances for granted, they form a marked contrast to the smallest portion of those inflicted on the Catholics in the preceding reigns. "In all the time the Protestants of Dublin were in king James's power," observes Mr. Lesley, "he did not hang one of them, though some of them deserved it by the law then, as Dr. King could witness."

† James's two daughters by his first wife, the daughter of chancellor Hide, were educated Protestants, and their uncle, Charles II., took care to provide for them Protestant husbands; Mary, the elder, being married to her first cousin, William prince of Orange and Nassau, and stadtholder of the united provinces of Holland; and Anne, the younger, to George, prince of Denmark.

to that time the only impediment in the line of a Protestant succession was the king's own life, and as he was in the fifty-second year of his age at his accession, it was possible that his removal, in the natural order of things, might have been waited for; but the birth of a Catholic heir to the crown determined his enemies to take a different course, which, however, had long before been contemplated, namely, an immediate invitation from England to William Prince of Orange.

Of the circumstances which promoted William's designs on the crown of England, not the least important was the confederation of European princes, known as the league of Augsburgh. In this league were united the emperor and all the Germanic princes, the king of Spain, and even the Pope. The object which they professed in common was to resist and limit the enormous power of Louis XIV., but the Protestant members of the league were still more strongly actuated by a desire to avenge the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The prince of Orange organized the league, and he soon turned it adroitly to his own private account, employing for that purpose an amount of meanness and deception quite unworthy of his position. It was known that the king of England was little better than the vassal of Louis; such, at all events, the late king, Charles II., had effectually made himself; and William, in preparing an expedition for England, pretended that his only objects were to reconcile James with his disaffected subjects and then to induce him to join the league against France. The prince's letter to the emperor on the subject displays a most reckless disregard for truth, and the money received from the Pope for the purposes of the league was unscrupulously converted by William to the dethronement of the Catholic king of England and the establishment of a Protestant succession. Of a piece with these artifices to overreach the Catholic powers was the pretence which William held forth to the people of England, that he was coming to investigate the birth of the prince, which he affected to consider surreptitious, but about which no question was afterwards raised.*

The Prince of Orange arrived in Torbay, in Devonshire, on the 5th

His first wife having died in 1671, James married in 1673 Mary Beatrice, the daughter of the duke of Modena. She was then but fifteen years of age, and was as remarkable for her piety and virtue as for her singular beauty. Their four first children died in infancy, and as an interval of some years then elapsed and James was growing old, those who expected that he would not leave any male issue were grievously disappointed at the birth of the young prince. The most unfounded statements were then put forth, to the effect that the child was suppositious, although there were forty-two witnesses of the birth, most of them belonging to the Protestant nobility. The prince was baptized James Francis Edward, and in after years was called the "Pretender."

* *Dalrymple's Memoirs*, append. to vol. ii.; *Memoirs of King James II.*, vol. ii.; *Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England from the Revolution to the Death of George II.*, vol. i., pp. 16, 47.

of November, 1688, with a Dutch fleet of 52 men-of-war, 25 frigates, 25 fire-ships, and about 400 transports, which conveyed a land army of nearly 15,000 men. James had an army amply sufficient to oppose him had his officers been faithful, but the great bulk of these were known to be disaffected, and numbers of them went over at once to William. In a little while the king had no force upon which he could rely to bring into the field; and having sent the queen and infant prince privately to France, in the beginning of December, and escaped himself from the Dutch guards, by whom he was held a prisoner at Rochester, he embarked along with his illegitimate son, the duke of Berwick, in a small vessel, on the 23rd of December, and landing at Ambleteuse, on the French coast, early on Christmas morning, old style, claimed the protection and hospitality of Louis XIV.

Ireland was at this time in a most disorganised state. Government was not strong enough to suppress popular manifestations on either side. The Protestants of the north had formed themselves into an armed association with clearly disloyal views, and organised a system of local authority of their own. In other parts of the country, the Protestants had refused to give up their arms; several of them collecting into strong bawns and castles which they garrisoned, and others proceeding in armed bands to join their brethren in Ulster. On the other hand many of the Catholics armed themselves in an irregular manner, and they were unjustly held responsible for the conduct of the bands of marauders, called rapparees,* who traversed the country, plundering villages, and carrying off whole herds of cattle. Tirconnell had sent the king a reinforcement of 3,000 troops, but the appearance of Irish soldiers in England was made an excuse for the most absurd alarm; and although they were immediately disarmed, the monstrous falsehood was circulated that they designed to massacre the people of England, and the most extravagant consternation was thereby produced in London. Nor was the sending of these troops the only blunder which Tirconnell committed in the matter. He had withdrawn the garrison from Londonderry to make up the complement of men; and when the earl of Antrim's regiment was sent, in a few weeks, to repair this mistake, the young men of Derry resolutely closed their gates against the royal troops. This was done on the 7th of December, 1688, before affairs in England had taken a decided turn against the king, and the Protestants of

* The rapparees are said to have been so called from the rapary or half pike, which was their principal weapon, besides the *sgian* or long knife. Many of the peasantry who were guiltless of any social crime were, in the sequal, mercilessly slaughtered as rapparees by the Williamites.

Ulster having already assumed a position hostile to James, are admitted to have been the first of his subjects who rose in arms against him. No portion of Irish history is more familiar to the public than that at which we have now arrived, and it will suffice to state briefly the order of events.

In England the flight of James was pronounced to have been an abdication, and William was thereupon invited to fill the throne.* Scotland followed the example of England, and Ireland alone remained faithful to the king; the Irish considering themselves quite as well entitled, on every ground, to retain James for their sovereign as the English and Scotch were to call a foreigner to the throne.

Tirconnell issued commissions to several of the Catholic nobility and gentry to raise troops for the king's service; and the people responding readily to the call, above fifty regiments of foot and several troops of horse and dragoons were soon raised; but in proportion to the abundance of men was the scarcity of means to equip and maintain them. The country had been impoverished, and the Catholics reduced to ruin by the recent wars and confiscations; there was a miserable supply of arms and ammunition; few of the officers were skilled in military affairs; and there was not sufficient time to train and discipline new levies.† The Protestants, on the other hand, were well supplied with arms; and all that was most valuable of their moveable property had been transferred by them to England or Scotland, or to the quarters of their friends in Ulster. Enniskillen, as well as Derry, had refused to admit a garrison of James's forces; and although the latter town was induced by lord Mountjoy, a Protestant who still adhered to king James, to receive six companies of his regiment, half Protestants and half Catholics, under lieutenant-colonel Lundy, the Catholics were soon sent about their business, and on the 20th February, 1689, the prince of Orange was proclaimed king within the walls of Derry. The whole of Ulster, except Charlemont

* If James had abdicated, which he certainly did not do, still his son, the prince of Wales, would have been the legitimate heir to the crown. If he had no son, his eldest daughter Mary would have inherited; and it was the intention of the majority in the convention assembled to dispose of the matter, that she should be proclaimed queen, with her husband William as regent, but the latter declared that he would never consent to be the subject of his wife, and the convention, therefore, decided that William and Mary should reign as king and queen, but that William should govern in the name of both. The mother of the prince of Orange was Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I., and sister of James II., who was, therefore, the uncle as well as the father-in-law of William. James's other daughter, Anne, deserted him and joined her husband, George prince of Denmark, in William's camp.

† Abbé Mageoghegan's *Hist. of Ireland*. Tirconnell found in the government stores only 20,000 arms to distribute among the new levies; but most of them were so old and unserviceable that not above one thousand fire arms were found to be of any use. Neither had they artillery nor ammunition, and there was no money.—*King James's Memoirs*, vol. ii. 327.

and Carrickfergus was now in the hands of the Williamites. Tirconnell sent lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton, with about 2,500 men, against them, and for this step he is blamed by Protestant writers as having precipitated hostilities and caused the first shedding of blood; but the truth is, the Ulster Protestants had already declared war against their legitimate sovereign. Lieutenant-general Hamilton came up with some of the Williamite forces at Dromore, on the 14th March, and having routed them, marched against Coleraine, where the Protestants mustered so numerously, and were so strongly entrenched, that he durst not venture an attack.

Hoping to encourage his friends by his presence among them, and resolved to strike a blow for the recovery of his throne, James landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689, bringing with him some Irish troops from France, and about a hundred French officers, with a supply of money. Proceeding to Cork, he was there met by the viceroy, Tirconnell, whom he then created duke, and from whom he received an account of affairs that must have been discouraging enough. The Protestants of Bandon had shortly before imitated the example of their brethren in Derry, but they were soon compelled to submit, and a deputation from them now sued for pardon at the king's feet, and were fortunate enough to escape any other punishment than a fine of £1,000. James hastened to Dublin, where he arrived on the 24th, and was received with great demonstrations of joy. He ordered a parliament to be summoned, and issued proclamations commanding all those who had abandoned the country and gone to England or Scotland to return under the penalty of being treated as traitors, and calling upon all to aid him against the usurper of his throne; also for the suppression of robbery; and ordering Catholics who were not in the army not to carry arms outside their houses; and for the raising of money, &c.

Believing that his presence before Derry would bring back that town to its allegiance, James proceeded thither contrary to the advice of Tirconnell; and appeared with his army before the town on the 9th of April, attended by the duke of Berwick and general de Rosen, a French officer who came with James to act as second in command to Tirconnell. The actual presence of James was not believed until a deputation from the town authorities came to the camp, and negociations for a surrender were then set on foot; but the military ardor of the towns-people being aroused, and de Rosen having marched his troops nearer to the walls than the preliminaries of the treaty stipulated, the royal army was received with a shower of cannon and musket balls, and an officer stand-

ing near the king was killed. Thus the negociations were broken off, and James, having ordered lieutenant-general Hamilton to besiege the town, returned with de Rosen to Dublin.

The investment which ensued partook more of the nature of a blockade than a siege. The beleaguering army was imperfectly supplied with cannon, and had but two mortars, one of which was large, but became unserviceable in the progress of the siege.* The men were wretchedly equipped, and it was on the whole absurd to attempt, with such inadequate means, the reduction of a town strongly fortified, well supplied with artillery and ammunition, and defended by a garrison amply numerous and animated by the most determined resolution. The besiegers having no heavy guns to breach the walls, directed their few cannon against the houses which were exposed to their range; but it was obvious from the beginning that they could only hope to reduce the place by starvation, and such being the case, general Hamilton sacrificed his duty to his humanity by allowing a large number of the useless population to depart, and thus enabling the besieged to protract the defence. A major Baker was chosen governor of the town, Lundy, who had urged the garrison to capitulate to king James, having been obliged to make his escape in disguise at the commencement of the siege; and the reverend George Walker, a Protestant clergyman, who had raised a regiment of his own, and who, alternately in the pulpit and on the ramparts, fired their energy by his addresses, was made assistant governor, but obtained the chief command on the death of Baker. The garrison, which amounted in the beginning to nearly 7,500 men, including officers, was organised into eight regiments, to each of which was confided a bastion; according to Walker's account they had twenty-two cannons, of which two were planted on the flat roof of the church, and the others on the walls and bastions; and many of the townspeople soon proved expert gunners. At the same time a numerous, resolute, and

* The duke of Berwick, who was present, states in his Memoirs that the besiegers had only six guns; and a contemporary Irish authority says there were "eight pieces of cannon in all, of which two were eighteen pounders, and the rest petty guns." The authority to which we here refer is that known as the Plunkett MS., a contemporary History of the Civil Wars in Ireland, preserved in the library of the earl of Fingal, at Killeen castle, and recently brought under public notice by Dr. Wilde, who communicated an analysis of its contents, with copious extracts, to the Royal Irish Academy. The title of the work is, "A light to the blind, whereby they may see the determenement of James II., king of England: with a brief Narrative of the Wars in Ireland, and of the Wars of the emperor and the king of France for the crown of Spain; anno 1711." It is in two vols. 4to., and its author, who, according to the tradition in lord Fingal's family, was one Nicholas Plunkett, was an ardent Jacobite. It was borrowed by sir James Mackintosh, who made extracts, which were also employed by the late Lord Macaulay, who quotes it as "Light to the Blind," in his *History of England:* and we are indebted to the analysis and extracts made by Dr. Wilde for much valuable information used in the following pages.

merciless force of the Enniskilleners was in the field in another quarter, and gave such occupation to the royal arms as to prevent the sending of reinforcements to the besiegers; and, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the successful defence of Londonderry does not seem to be a matter for much surprise. In some encounters which took place before the walls extraordinary bravery was displayed on both sides. A sortie was made by the garrison with 5,000 men on the 24th of April and another in the beginning of May, in both of which the Irish suffered considerable loss; the French lieutentants-general, Pusignan and Momont, major-general Taaffe, son of the earl of Carlingford, and captain Maurice Fitzgerald being among the slain. Two vigorous attacks were made by the besiegers on the strong entrenchments with which the garrison had enclosed their outpost on Windmill hill; but the reckless valor displayed by the assailants, who rushed to the enemy's breastwork, only resulted in a useless sacrifice of life on their own side, for the besieged suffered few casualties behind their works.

At the commencement of the hostilities Culmore fort, at the narrow entrance to the river Foyle, capitulated to the Irish, who constructed two other small forts on the banks, and drew a boom across the river, thus preventing the passage of shipping to convey provisions to the town. On the 13th of June, a fleet of thirty ships from England arrived in Lough Foyle with supplies of men and provisions; but major-general Kirke, the officer in command, failing in his first attempt to enter the river, anchored in the lough, and contented himself by sending messages to the town with the assurance that relief was at hand, while in the mean time famine and disease had begun their ravages among the besieged. Uneasy at Hamilton's want of success before Derry, king James sent de Rosen, marshal-general of Ireland, with some reinforcements, to take the management of the siege into his hands. De Rosen complained, in his letters to the king, of the utter want of all the necessaries of war in which he found the army, and of the total neglect of his majesty's commands which he witnessed. Above all, there was a fatal deficiency of heavy artillery, and he saw that the only resource still was to starve the garrison into submission. To hasten this result he resorted to the cruel expedient of collecting all the Protestants whom he could find in the neighbouring country, to the number of three or four hundred, and driving them to the gates of the town. He calculated that the garrison would surrender rather than see their relatives and friends perish under the walls, while, if they admitted them into the town, their provisions would be the more speedily consumed, and the same

result rendered inevitable. These poor people, who were chiefly those whom general Hamilton had allowed to escape from the town, lay all night before the gates; but the next day the besieged erected a gallows on the ramparts, and sent notice to de Rosen that they would forthwith hang their prisoners, some of whom were men of rank, unless the people before the gates were allowed to return immediately into the country. The threat had the desired effect, and de Rosen's barbarous plan, which disgusted the Irish, and was strongly disapproved of by James, only served to exasperate the besieged still more, and to enable them to send off with the others a great many feeble persons who were a burden on their resources in the town.*

While Kirke's squadron lay at anchor in lough Foyle, it is presumed that the effect of English gold was tried successfully on the officers commanding the river forts; for, on the 30th of July, three ships laden with provisions passed the forts and boom nearly unscathed, although some shots were fired at them; and when the garrison was reduced to the last straits by famine, and should inevitably have capitulated within forty-eight hours, the town was relieved. The abortive siege, the failure of which secured Ireland to William of Orange, was now raised, and the royal army finally decamped on the 5th of August.†

We now return to James, who, as already stated, hastened back to

* Neither king James nor the Irish were responsible for de Rosen's cruel proceeding (Plunkett MS.; also Leslie's *Answer to King*, and Graham's *Derriana*, p. 169); nor does it follow that that general would have carried out his barbarous menace; and Plowden very justly reminds those writers who dwell upon it, of the bloody and treacherous massacre of Glencoe, the warrant for which bore king William's own sign-manual.

† The reverend colonel Walker, in his diary, admits that the garrison was diminished by 3,000 men during the siege, and that 7,990 persons in all died of disease in the town in that time. The reverend John Mackenzie, a presbyterian clergyman who was present, and has also left an account of the siege, shows that no reliance can be placed on Walker's facts or figures, and states that "it was thought 10,000 had died during the siege, besides those that died soon after:" and a report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1705 makes the number of those who perished on the Protestant side by sword or famine in that siege, 12,000. Walker gives a tariff of the prices paid during the latter days of the siege for horses' flesh and other carrion. The Irish admitted a loss on their own side of 2,000 (Plunkett MS.), but Walker's estimate of 8,000 is a gross exaggeration. The duke of Berwick says the Irish blockading force before Derry did not exceed 5,000 or 6,000 men; and according to Macaulay it amounted at no time to more than 10,000. The regimented force within the city was, by Walker's account, between 7,300 and 7,500; but the entire armed force within the walls, including the non-regimented men, was over 10,000. (See the authorities collected by Mr. O'Callaghan in his invaluable notes and illustrations to the *Macariæ Excidium*, or *Destruction of Cyprus*, pp. 318-322, a work of profound and elaborate research, and will must be the indispensable text-book of future historians of the Williamite wars in Ireland). Governor Walker had advised a capitulation, and the negociations for the purpose had been on foot some days before the relief arrived. The discrepancies in the dates of these events are singular. Thus various accounts give the 28th, 30th, and 31st as the date of the relief of Derry, and the 1st or 5th of August as that of the siege being raised.

Dublin on giving orders for the investment of Derry. On the 7th of May he opened his parliament in person, wearing on the occasion a crown newly manufactured for him in Dublin.* This Irish parliament declared itself independent of the parliament of England, and passed the first act made in these realms for liberty of conscience. To the Catholic clergy it granted the right to receive the tithes payable by the members of their own communion; and after a violent opposition from the Protestant members, it repealed the Act of Settlement, and passed an Act of Attainder against those who had taken up arms against king James, or who, having gone to England or Scotland, or to the Protestant quarters in Ulster, had refused to comply with the king's proclamation calling on them to return to their homes and their allegiance. To form a just appreciation of these latter measures a slight retrospect is necessary.

Had the Irish, in the war of 1649, succeeded in vanquishing their regicide enemy, their triumph would have been universally celebrated, and no one would have questioned the justice of their cause; but being unfortunate in the contest, they were subjected to a frightful and merciless spoliation, which the annals of no other country can parallel, and which no law could justify. We have seen how, by the sole right of the strong hand, the Irish Catholic nobility and gentry were deprived of their estates; how their wide ancestral domains were divided among rude soldiers and unprincipled adventurers; how the very fact of being Irish in race and Catholic in religion was a crime involving expulsion from home and country; how the English parliament of Charles II., and an Irish parliament, composed chiefly of the Cromwellian plunderers themselves, ratified the atrocious spoliation; and, finally, how the sittings of the Court of Claims were suspended when it was found, after a few cases had been heard, that a door was opened to the Catholic Irish to obtain even a modicum of justice, although more than 3,000 claims still remained to be investigated. Twenty-six years elapsed, and king James's Irish parliament, representing the true feelings of the nation, seized the very first opportunity which presented to repeal the infamous act of robbery. As to the Act of Attainder, passed on the same occasion, its results, so far as the question of property was concerned, would

* Plunkett MS. This parliament, which sat in the King's Inns, was attended by 46 peers and 228 commoners. Among the former were the Protestant bishops of Meath, Ossory, Limerick, and Cork and Ross, two others (the primate and bishop of Waterford) acting by proxy; but no Catholic prelates were summoned. The parliament was prorogued on the 18th of July, having sat about ten weeks.

have been nearly identical with those of the Act of Settlement, the persons who would be affected by both being nearly the same; but as neither of these acts came into operation their grievances are speculative. The reader will balance the original injustice against the projected measure of reprisal; and when he finds English historians lavishing their eloquent vituperations on the latter, while they either ignore the former or dispose of it with a word of contemptuous pity, his reliance on the statements of men so shamefully blinded by prejudice may well be shaken.*

James was utterly averse to these measures of the Irish parliament. He considered that the commons were accelerating his destruction. Their legislation, it is true, was precipitate and reckless, and it would have been better had they waited till they held a surer footing. The Act of Attainder even curtailed the royal prerogative, by depriving the king of the power to pardon the persons attainted; and it is doubtful whether James would have given his consent to that or to the repeal of the Act of Settlement but for the influence of the French ambassador, Avaux. James's great want was money. The sum which he had brought from France went but a short way; and his difficulties compelled him to resort to the most desperate and arbitrary expedients. Old guns and bells were melted down and converted into coin, which was made current by proclamations imposing the severest penalties on those who would refuse to accept it in exchange for commodities. Some of this coin was subsequently called in and restamped for a higher value. At length even pewter was employed for the coinage, and money degenerated into mere tokens representing a fictitious value, which, however, James's government pledged itself to make good at a future day. In the end, the loss by this base coinage fell almost exclusively on the Catholics; but that Protestants should have been at any time compelled to receive it has been a subject of unmeasured declamation against James.†

* On this particular subject no writer has been more unjust than the late lord Macaulay; nor has any English historian ever treated this country more unfairly or ungeneriously than that eloquent writer has generally done in his historical works. He revived the exploded calumnies and fanatical bigotry of a past age, and not only did he seize every opportunity to sully the character of the Irish, and to insult their religious and national feelings, but in innumerable instances he went out of his way to do so. Unfortunately the talents of the writer only aggravate the error or dishonesty of the historian.

† The use of a base coinage for Ireland was a favourite resource with many of James's predecessors on the English throne. Henry VIII. made a severe law to prevent the introduction into England of any of the base money which he coined for Ireland; and Elizabeth's Irish coin, at the close of her reign, was so bad that the shilling was only valued at two pence by the goldsmiths (*Nicholson's Irish Hist. Library*, p. 79, fol.). The mixed metal used by James II. in his Irish

The same day that Londonderry was relieved, an Irish army, under lieutenant-general Justin MacCarthy, lord Mountcashel, was defeated by the Enniskilleners at Newtown-Butler. This overthrow, 'tis said, was mainly caused by an unlucky mistake of the word of command. At the onset the Irish dragoons, who were already dispirited by a repulse which they had received that morning near Lisnaskea, were easily thrown into confusion by a supposed order to retreat, and the ill-disciplined foot seeing themselves, as they believed, deserted by their cavalry, were panic-stricken. The Enniskilleners were commanded by colonel Wolseley, an English officer; they were well armed, were experienced marksmen, and already inured to war. Their watchword was "No Popery;" they determined to give no quarter; and during the evening, and the whole night, and a great part of the next day they continued with the most inveterate fury to slaughter the unarmed fugitives whom they hunted down in the bogs and woods with a savage ferocity that has made even the Williamite historians blush. Five hundred of the flying Jacobites plunged into Lough Erne, to escape the carnage, and perished all but one man. Lord Mountcashel, who sought death in vain, was carried prisoner to Enniskillen, whence he made his escape on the 17th of December, before he had recovered from his numerous wounds; and such was the consternation which the disaster produced, that brigadier Sarsfield, who commanded a detachment at Sligo, was obliged to retire to Athlone, and leave the northern frontier of Connaught open to the Enniskilleners.*

These reverses were followed by the arrival of the duke of Schom-

mint was valued by the workmen at no more than four pence per pound, so that the actual value of the metal which was coined into more than a million and-a-half of this base money was only about £6,500 sterling. Still, the scheme of James was not worse, at least in its design, than that of the assignats or paper currency of more modern provisional governments. In the proclamation of 3rd William and Mary, dated Feb. 23rd, 1690-91, declaring James's mixed-metal coin to be no longer current, it is expressly stated that the Irish then had in their possession "the whole or the far greater part of the said coin." (See Simon's *Essay on Irish Coins*, pp. 56-64, and Append. p. 111).

* The author of the Plunket MS. asserts that the route at Newtown-Butler arose, as stated above, from a mistake in the command. Lord Mountcashel fearing that his right flank would be turned by the enemy, gave the order "right face" to the dragoons; but this was unfortunately repeated by the subordinate officers as "right about face," which made the other troops suppose that these were retreating, and a general panic ensued. The Williamite historian, Story, relates the circumstance in the same way; and colonel Anthony Hamilton and captain Lavallin having been subsequently tried by a court-martial for the blunder in Dublin, the latter officer was shot. Colonel Hamilton was brother of the general who commanded before Derry, and in later years became famous in the French court as a brilliant poet, novelist, and wit. The father of these Hamiltons was son of the earl of Abercorn, and their mother a sister of the first duke of Ormond, who used to say that all his relatives were Roman Catholics. Lord Mountcashel was tried by a court of honor in France, and acquitted of any breach of parole in his escape from Enniskillen.

berg, who landed at Bangor, in Down, on the 13th August, 1689, with an army composed of Dutch, French Huguenots, and new English levies. On the 17th he marched to Belfast, and on the 27th, after a siege of eight days, Carrickfergus was surrendered to him on honorable terms by its Jacobite governor, colonel Charles MacCarthy More, whose garrison consisted only of his own regiment and of nine companies of the regiment of colonel Cormac O'Neill, and who was reduced to his last barrel of powder before he yielded. On the 7th of September Schomberg marched to Dundalk, near which he strongly entrenched himself; but the situation was most unhealthy, and his army soon began to suffer so fearfully from dysentry, and the effects of a wet season that he dared not give battle to king James, who had arrived from Dublin, and who in vain challenged the Williamite general from his lines, two or three miles distant. The Enniskilleners and Dutch in Schomberg's army suffered comparatively little, but the English were reduced to a-fourth of their original number, and it has been estimated that 10,000 men or fully one-half of the entire Williamite force perished of sickness, scarcity, and the badness of the season in that fatal encampment. James has been censured for neglecting to attack Schomberg's camp at such a juncture, and for abandoning his position too soon; for he retired to winter quarters in November, and thus permitted the enemy to remove from a camp where the mortality which prevailed must soon have destroyed them even without fighting. Neither energy nor wisdom was, however, to be expected from that ill-fated king, who unfortunately retained in his own hands the chief command of his army, and whose natural vacillation was increased by the conflicting counsels of his generals. Thus terminated the campaign of 1689.

Stimulated by his recent losses, and by complaints of his inaction, and well supplied by sea from England with every necessary, Schomberg was able to take the field early in the eventful year 1690: while, on the other hand, James's army was in want of everything and could not be mustered or put in marching order till the season was far advanced. James's orders were neglected; he had scarcely any magazines along his frontier; and so destitute was his army of fodder that they should wait till the grass grew to enable their horses to render any service even for draught. He was strongly urged by the French officers to withdraw into Connaught and act on the defensive, with the Shannon for his frontier until he could receive succour from France; but to this course

he was resolutely opposed, and he was supported in his views by Tirconnell. His hopes of aid from France must have been very slender. His friend and ally, Louis XIV., required all his resources to employ against his own numerous enemies. Louvois, the French minister of war, was bitterly opposed to James, and always argued that it was more the interest of France to attack William on the Flemish frontier than in Ireland: and although Seignelay, the minister of marine, was James's friend, the service which he could render was not sufficient. The French officers did not relish their duties under James, and were constantly sending to their court despondingaccounts, often but too true, and which supported the views of Louvois. Neither Avaux nor the energetic and aspiring de Rosen, who was a Livonian by birth, would show the fallen monarch even common respect, and both of them were, at James's desire, recalled to France. In March this year six battalions, or 6,000 men, arrived from France under the command of count de Lauzun, who was also to act in the capacity of ambassador; but these French troops were rather an exchange than a reinforcement, for James sent by the same conveyance to France as many of his best-equipped and best-trained soldiers, forming the division of lord Mountcashel, whom Tirconnell disliked, and therefore caused to be removed. The French brought twelve field pieces and some arms and clothing for the Irish, but Louvois took care that the clothing and arms should be of the worst description.*

In February, 1690, the Jacobites suffered some loss in an affair at Cavan;† and soon after the fort of Charlemont was invested by a strong

* On these matters, as well as on the events related in this chapter generally, we may refer the reader to the authorities collected by Mr. O'Callaghan in his elaborate annotations to the *Macariæ Excidium*, and to the researches of the same laborious investigator in the second edition of his *Green Book*.

† The battle of Cavan, which has been but slightly noticed by other historians, is minutely described in the Plunkett MS. After relating how marshal Schomberg had sent brigadier Wolseley with a detachment of Enniskilleners and English to Cavan, to extend his quarters in that direction: and how king James, being informed of this movement, dispatched brigadier Nugent with 800 men from Westmeath and Longford, and the duke of Berwick with a like quota from the county of Dublin, the author continues: "Both the royal corps for the most part arrived at the open town of Cavan on the 10th of February. They were all foot except a troop or two of horse. Brigadier Wolseley came to the place on the 11th, in the morning, with 700 foot and 300 horse and dragoons. The duke of Berwick being alarmed and not well prepared, drew his men out of the town to an open ground, by which he gave an advantage to the enemy, who, seeing their position, placed their foot between the hedges of the avenues of the town, and took the defensive. The king's forces being divided into two wings, assaulted the rebels within their fences. The charge being given and maintained smartly, a party of the Irish horse broke another of the enemy's; but the left wing of the royalists being so overcome with fighting that they were forced to retire into a fort that was near them, the right, fighting at the like disadvantage, retreated also thither, by which the rebels

detachment of Schomberg's army. Teige O'Regan, the veteran governor of Charlemont, defended the place with obstinate bravery, and only thought of capitulating when reduced to the last extremity by starvation. At length on the 14th of May the fort was surrendered on honorable terms, the garrison, consisting of 800 men, being allowed to march out with arms and baggage, and with them about 200 women and children. As an instance of the distress to which they were reduced, we are told by Story that only a few fragments of decayed food were found in the fort, and that some of the men as they marched out were chawing pieces of dry hide with the hair on. The Enniskilliners treated the Irish soldiers and their families with great brutality as they passed along, but Schomberg humanely directed that a loaf of bread should be given to each man at Armagh.

It was well known for some time that William intended to conduct the Irish campaign of 1690 in person, and the spirits of his army and adherents in this country were consequently raised to a high pitch. He embarked near Chester, on the 11th of June, and landed at Carrickfergus on the afternoon of the 14th, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Wurtemberg, the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Portland, Scarborough, and Manchester, lord Douglas, the Count de Solmes, Major-General Mackay, and other persons of distinction. He immediately took horse, and at the Whitehouse, half-way between Carrickfergus and Belfast, was met by Schomberg, whose carriage he entered, and thus drove to Belfast, where he was received with loud shouts of "God bless the Protestant King." Notice of his arrival was soon transmitted through the country by bonefires, and the discharge of cannon at the different Williamite quarters His army, combined with that of Schomberg, amounted, according to the most probable estimate, to between forty and fifty thousand men, and was composed of a strange medley of nations, English, Scotch, Irish Protestants, French Huguenots, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, and Brandenburghers or Prussians, with smaller recruitments from Switzerland and Norway; more than half were foreigners, and on these William

gained the field. Of the royal party there were about 200 killed, amongst whom was brigadier Nugent, much regretted for his bravery. So were adjutant Geoghegan and captain Stritch, and a few other officers. There were ten officers made prisoners, of which were captain Netterville, captain Daniel O'Neill, captain O'Brien, and captain George M'Gee. Of the enemy there were slain Trahem, captain Armstrong, captain Mayo, and near fifty private men, and about sixty wounded. Brigadier Wolseley returned to his own quarters, having first burnt the town of Cavan, not being able to keep it because the castle was in possession of the Irish." See Dr. Wilde's Extracts from "Light to the Blind," in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

placed his chief reliance, the fidelity of the English in a struggle against their old king being somewhat doubtful. All, however, were well trained, and most of them veteran troops, and all were armed and equipped in the best possible manner. They were supplied with everything requisite for war, and more especially with a numerous train of artillery.

On the 16th of June James left Dublin to march against his adversary with an army of about 20,000 men, imperfectly disciplined, and scantily supplied with even the most necessary requirements for a campaign. He had many brave officers; his French division was composed of first-rate troops, well equipped and appointed; the Irish horse were admirable; but the dragoons were not so well trained; the Irish infantry consisted for the most part of raw levies, scarcely half armed; and for artillery he was only able to take with him the twelve field-pieces which he had recently received from France.*

James advanced to Dundalk, while William was encamped a few miles beyond Newry; and, in order to ascertain the strength of the enemy, the former dispatched, on the 22nd of June, colonel Dempsey with 60 horse and lieutenant-colonel Fitzgerald with a few companies of grenadiers to lie in wait for one of William's reconnoitering parties. This duty was so well performed that a Williamite detachment of between 200 and 300 foot and dragoons was routed with great loss at the half-way bridge between Dundalk and Newry. An English officer, who was made prisoner, represented William's army as 50,000 strong; and, although this was supposed by James to have been a gross exaggeration intended to have the effect of inducing him to fly, it is probable that it was not very remote from the truth. This slight success cheered the Irish, but their spirits were damped on the following morning, when James commenced his retrograde movement and retired to Ardee. The army retreated by easy marches, and on the 28th commenced recrossing the Boyne, on the right bank of which river James resolved to make a stand. Irish historians are loud in their condemnation of James's tactics His irresolution, they argue, destroyed the confidence of his men; his retreat from Dundalk made them feel all the discouragement of defeat; and then they say he should not have

* Lord Macaulay, who quotes from the despatches of Avaux several passages describing the condition of the Irish army, says:—"Almost all the Irish gentlemen who had any military experience held commissions in the cavalry; and by the exertions of these officers some regiments had been raised and disciplined, which Avaux pronounced equal to any that he had ever seen. It was, therefore, "he admits," evident that the inefficiency of the foot and of the dragoons was to be ascribed to the vices, not of the Irish character, but of the Irish administration."—*Hist. of Eng.* vol. v. p. 42.

hazarded a battle against such superior forces, or on a line so defenceless as that of the Boyne. From James's memoirs, however, it appears that his original design was to protract the campaign as much as possible, and that when he determined to fight at the Boyne it was because he would have been obliged to abandon all Leinster to the enemy had he left the passage of that river open.

On the 30th of June the hostile forces first confronted each other on the opposite banks of the Boyne. The Jacobite army was encamped on the declivity of the hill of Donore, with its right wing towards Drogheda and its left extending up the river. As there are no considerable inequalities in the surface, the whole of James's lines must have been visible from the heights on the opposite side of the river, and to a great extent exposed to the fire of the enemy's artillery. James's centre was at the small hamlet of Oldbridge, close to the bank, where he caused some entrenchments to be hastily thrown up to defend the principal fords, of which there are four near this point, a fifth being a little lower down the stream, and two or three others a few miles higher up in the direction of Slane. There are two islands in the river near Oldbridge which facilitate the passage; and at that season, which was remarkable for drought, and at the time of low water, the Boyne was fordable throughout a great part of its course. The king himself took up his position at a small ruined church on the top of the hill of Donore, where a tuft of ash trees now forms a conspicuous landmark.

On the northern side of the Boyne the high land of the interior terminates in a steep and lofty bank, which almost overhangs the river for several miles, but recedes opposite the angle which the stream forms at Oldbridge, so as to leave a small plain between the heights and the water; the line of hills being also at this point intersected by three deep ravines, one of which is now known as king William's glen. Thus the Williamite army, approaching from the north, was completely screened from view until it appeared on the brow of the hill, or debouched through the ravines into the plain: the character of the country being therefore highly favorable to William, who planted batteries along the heights and kept up an incessant fire from his artillery on the Irish lines during the afternoon of the 30th.*

The precise numerical strength of the two armies is a matter of some controversy, but all agree in admitting a vast superiority in numbers,

* See second edition of *Wilde's Boyne and Blackwater* for the best topographical description of the battle field, as well as for an excellent and connected account of the battle.

equipment, and artillery on the side of the Williamites. The duke of Berwick, who was one of James's commanders, and whose statements are generally found to be accurate and free from exaggeration, tells us that his father's army amounted to 23,000 men, while that of William was at least 45,000, and this account is perhaps as near the exact truth as we can hope to arrive.* The disparity of numbers was, however, one of the least disadvantages under which the Jacobite army laboured. They were, as we have seen, ill provided with any of the necessaries of war; many of them were raw levies; they could have no confidence in their imbecile commander; and their only artillery consisted of the twelve French field guns: whilst against them was marshalled a numerous and veteran army, abundantly supplied with everything; commanded by one of the greatest generals of the age, with a host of experienced officers under him, among whom the veteran Schomberg was perhaps his equal in military skill; and with a train of artillery comprising more than fifty field pieces and some mortars.

An incident occurred in the course of the afternoon of the 30th which was near determining the issue of the contest. William rode close to the river side to reconnoitre, and the group of officers attending him having attracted the attention of Tirconnell, the duke of Berwick, and some other Jacobite officers who were riding on the opposite bank, the latter, or king James himself, as the royal memoirs intimate, ordered two guns to be brought to bear upon the distinguished party. At the second shot a six-pound ball grazed William's right shoulder, carrying away a portion of the skin; and the effect having been observed from the Irish side the rumour spread that William was mortally wounded.

* Story, the Williamite historian, admits that William had 36,000 men that day in the field, but adds that the world reckoned the number at least one-third greater, that is 48,000. Now, weighing all the circumstances, there is good reason to believe that "the world" was nearer to the truth than Story. Mr. O'Callaghan has shown from foreign Williamite cotemporary authorities that William's army at the Boyne consisted of 62 squadrons of horse and dragoons and 52 battalions of infantry; and he has concluded from his laborious researches among military papers in Trinity College, the State Paper Office, and the British Museum, that whatever may have been the actual number of William's troops in the field, his army on this occasion amounted by the regimental roll to 51,000, including officers. The author of the Plunkett MS., who, however, has fallen into several errors in his account of the battle of the Boyne, agrees very nearly with Story, for he makes the forces of the prince of Orange consist of 36,000 effective men, forming 2 troops of guards, 23 regiments of horse, 5 of dragoons, and 46 of foot; while, according to him, James had but 8 regiments of horse, 2 troops of guards, 7 of dragoons, and 50 regiments of foot, besides 6 regiments of French, the whole amounting to 26,000 men. (Compare Dr. Wilde's extracts from Plunkett MS. as before quoted, with the copious authorities collected by Mr. O'Callaghan from James's Memoirs, the Memoirs of the duke of Berwick, Story's History, and various Williamite sources, in his Annotations to *Macariæ Excidium;* also second edition of the *Green Book*.)

To remove the alarm which was produced among his own men he rode that evening through every part of his camp, and seemed to make light of the occurrence; but in the mean time the news that he had been hit by a cannon ball and, as it was supposed, fatally, was transmitted to Dublin and thence to France, and so became known throughout Europe some time before the account of the battle was received, the effect being such as might have been expected according as it reached friends or foes.

With an unaccountable infatuation James appeared resolved to destroy any hope of success which his army might still have cherished. One moment he determined on a general retreat, and for that purpose ordered the camp to be raised; but the next, he altered his plan, and having sent off the baggage and six of his twelve field pieces to Dublin, he apparently made up his mind to risk a battle. The removal of the baggage was a good preparation for an orderly retreat, but it was a plain intimation to the army that a retreat was contemplated; and the loss of the artillery was a fatal diminution of strength. The king indeed thought of nothing but the means to keep the way open in his rear; and all his anxiety was that the enemy should not by a flank movement cut off his retreat to the south, where some say he had already privately directed preparations for his flight to France. Still, with such apprehensions for his personal safety, it is strange how difficult it was to persuade him to take any precautions for the defence of the fords up the river; for late on the eve of the battle he could only be induced to send Sir Niall O'Neill with his regiment of dragoons to defend the pass of Rossnarce about four miles from the Irish camp towards Slane.

The morning of Tuesday, July 1st (old style), 1690, dawned bright and unclouded on the hostile camps. The first movement observed in the Williamite army was the march, at sunrise, of a division of 10,000 picked men under the command of lieutenant-general Douglas, count Schomberg (the marshal's son), and lord Portland, the last commanding the infantry, along the heights in the direction of Slane. James's Irish officers had prepared him for this movement the night before, and he now saw his fatal error in rejecting their advice to provide against it. He hastily ordered the whole of his left wing, which included Lauzun's French division, with part of his centre, and his six remaining field pieces, to march with all possible expedition to oppose the flanking division; but it was too late to obstruct their passage. The enemy had made all their preparations the night before, and had got the start.

The Williamite cavalry forced the passage of the river at Rossnaree, which was gallantly defended by sir Niall O'Neill, who was mortally wounded and lost seventy of his men. Portland's infantry and the artillery crossed at Slane, where the bridge had been broken but the river was fordable.* James accompanied, or rather followed, Lauzun and the left wing, and professed to expect that the brunt of the fighting would be in that quarter, where, however, no action did take place; for the two hostile corps found themselves separated within half cannon range by a ravine and a bog, which neither attempted to pass, and thus they did not come into actual collision during the day. Their subsequent movements we shall presently notice.

About ten o'clock William having learned that his manœuvre on the right had succeeded, already felt assured of the victory.† It was the time of low water and the hour for attempting the fords of Oldbridge had arrived. A tremendous fire from all his batteries was opened on the whole line of the Irish, who had not a single gun to reply, but who nevertheless steadily awaited the attack. William had directed his men to wear green boughs in their caps; while James in compliment to his Bourbon ally had decorated his with strips of white paper. Marshal Schomberg had opposed William's plan of battle in the council of war, but his views were deemed old fashioned and were over-ruled, and he was the man commanded by William to direct the passage of the centre at Oldbridge. The Dutch blue guards, described as some of the most effective infantry in the world, were the first, marching ten a-breast, to enter the stream, under count de Solmes, at the highest ford, opposite Oldbridge. So shallow was the water here that the drummers only required to raise the drums to their knees. The Londonderry and Enniskillen horse next plunged in, and at their left the French Huguenots entered, under Caillemot, brother of the marquis de Ruvigny. The English infantry came next under sir John Hanmer and the count Nassau; lower down were the Danes; and at the fifth ford, which was considerably nearer to Drogheda, and at which the water was deeper than at any of the former, William himself crossed with the cavalry of his left wing. Thus was the Boyne, for nearly a mile of its course, filled with thousands of armed men, struggling to gain the opposite bank, in

* Plunkett MS.

† "Had the Irish," observes a military authority, "even thrown their opponents back into the river, still William's advancing on their flank, which was uncovered, could not be remedied. The attack by Slane was the grand manœuvre." Lieut. General Keatinge's *Defence of Ireland*, chap. v., p. 19.

the face of a foe their equals in gallantry, but greatly inferior in numbers, discipline, and arms.

The duke of Berwick, whose words we translate, tells us that the king, his father, having marched in the direction of Slane "with the greater part of the army," "left to guard the passage of Oldbridge eight battalions of infantry, under lieutenant-general Hamilton, and the right wing of the cavalry, under his (the duke of Berwick's) orders." "Schomberg," he continues, "who remained opposite us, attacked and took Oldbridge in spite of the resistance of the regiment which was stationed there, and which lost 150 men killed on the spot; whereupon Hamilton went down with the seven other battalions to expel the enemy. Two battalions of the (Irish) guards scattered them; but their cavalry having managed to pass at another ford, and proceeding to fall upon our infantry, I brought up our cavalry, and thus enabled our battalions to retire; but we had then to commence a combat very unequal, both in the number of the squadrons, and in the nature of the ground, which was very much broken, and where the enemy had slipped in their infantry. Nevertheless, we charged again and again ten different times, and at length, the enemy, confounded by our boldness, halted, and we re-formed before them, and marched at a slow pace to rejoin the king."* This is the honest narrative of a soldier who was in the thick of the fight. The few Irish foot left to defend the fords were, in point of numbers, utterly inadequate; and it is admitted that very few of them had muskets, their principal arm being the pike. At the onset they saw themselves unsupported, and had already suffered severely before the horse came to sustain them; so that, under the circumstances, it does not detract from their character as brave men that they should have given way. Tirconnell, who held the chief command, in the absence of James, behaved like a gallant soldier; but it would have required more consummate generalship than he possessed to retrieve the fortune of the day against such fearful odds. The Irish cavalry fought with desperate valor, the only exceptions being Clare's and Dungan's dragoons; and the latter regiment having lost their gallant young com-

* Memoirs du maréchal de Berwick, i. 70. From this passage of the duke's memoirs it will be observed that king James, as already stated above, had accompanied Lauzun and the left wing, and consequently that he could not have been a spectator of the battle from the top of Donore, according to the commonly received notion. The same also appears from Lauzun's despatch of the 26th of July, from Limerick, and from James's own memoirs, vol. ii. p. 395, &c. James, therefore, witnessed none of the fighting at the Boyne, and the common error on the subject originated probably in the Williamite accounts.

mander by a cannon shot at the commencement of the action, their discouragement was perhaps excusable. It was also unfortunate for the Irish that Sarsfield's horse accompanied the king that morning as his body guard, and were thus prevented from taking any part in the conflict. By one of the charges of the Irish cavalry the Danish brigade was driven back into the river. The Huguenot regiments were so hotly received that they also were compelled to recoil, and their commander, Caillemot, was mortally wounded. Old Schomberg, who watched the struggle from the northern bank, now plunged into the river with the impetuosity of a young man, although he was then in his eighty-second summer. He refused to buckle on his cuirass, although pressed to do so by his staff, and hastened to rally the wavering Huguenots at Oldbridge; but at that moment a troop of the Irish horse guards dashed furiously into the thick of the enemy, and although most of their own number were cut down, it was found when they retired that the greyheaded marshal was no more. He received two sabre wounds on the head, and a carbine bullet in the neck.* About the same time Dr. Walker, to whom William had just given the see of Londonderry, was shot dead in the ford while urging forward the Ulster Protestants, and when William heard of his death, he gruffly asked, "What brought him there?" Where there were gallant officers enough to lead the men, he thought the churchman was out of his place. The battle raged with terrific fury; the tide had begun to flow, and the passage of the river was becoming more difficult; but the Irish horse of one wing had to resist, unsupported, the advance of the whole horse and foot of William's left and centre, and mere human valor was not equal to the task. Richard Hamilton, who behaved like a hero all that day, was wounded and taken prisoner. William, who did not cross the river until late in the action, came up, and leaving his English Cavalry, placed himself at the head of the Enniskilleners, saying that they should be his body-guard that day, although one of them in the excitement of the moment mistook him for an enemy, and was on the point of killing him. A little later in the

* There are various accounts of the death of Schomberg. King James asserts that he was killed at Oldbridge "by Sir Charles Take or O'Toule, an exempt of the guards;" but the Williamite report was that he was shot by a trooper of his own guard who deserted the year before (*Captain Parker's Memoirs*). Berwick says it was the blue ribbon which he wore that made him a special object in the melée. Story says he was "four score and two" when he was killed, and that his loss "was more considerable than all that were lost on both sides." His remains were taken to Dublin, embalmed, and deposited in St. Patrick's Cathedral until they should, at a future time, be removed to Westminster Abbey—but they have since remained in their first resting place.

day those same Enniskilleners were put to flight, rather ignominiously, by the Irish horse at Platten, and were only rallied by William himself. At length the retreat of the Irish became general; but the cavalry retired in admirable order, and covered the broken masses of the infantry. Long before this an aid-de-camp brought news to James that the enemy had made good their passage at Oldbridge, whereupon the luckless king ordered Lauzun to march in a parallel direction with that of Douglas and young Schomberg towards Duleek, which place he reached before the flying throng of the Irish foot. Tirconnell came up next; and now the French infantry for the first time rendered good service by their admirable discipline, preserving their own order and co-operating with the Irish cavalry in covering the retreat. Berwick's horse was the last to cross the narrow pass of Duleek with the Williamites close in their rear; but beyond the defile the Irish rallied and once more presented a front to the enemy. Five of the six field-pieces which James had taken with him in the morning towards Slane were still available, the sixth having been bogged on the way; and the Williamite pursuers reined up their steeds, although at this time William was rejoined by young Schomberg and Douglas with the right wing. Again the retreat was resumed in good order, and William's horse pursued, keeping still a respectful distance; and at the deep defile of Naul the last stand was made. It was now nine o'clock; the fighting had lasted since ten in the forenoon; the Irish and French at bay showed a grim and determined front, and the foe, wearied with the day's work, gladly received orders to return to Duleek.

Thus was the Boyne lost and won. Let no partizan feelings prevent the reader from doing justice to the heroic men on either side. We have given a calm narrative of facts; and we consider that we are justified in concluding from them, that however important in its results—the least of which, as far as Ireland was concerned, was the setting of a dynasty aside—there seldom has been a victory which gave less right to the victors to exult over the vanquished; or a defeat in which the vanquished had less cause to fell the blush of dishonor. As to the loss on both sides, the duke of Berwick states that of the Irish to have been about 1,000 men in all, including, of course, those who were left wounded on the field, and the few stragglers killed in the retreat. Of the Williamite loss it is strange that there was no official report; but Story, who was present in the English camp, admits a loss of 400 slain, which would make, according to the usual proportion, at least 1,200 killed and wounded;

and Captain Parker, one of William's officers in the battle, says they had above 500 killed and as many wounded. Thus at the lowest calculation the Williamite loss was about equal to that of the Irish, which can only be accounted for by considering the orderly style of the retreat, and the want of energy displayed in the pursuit, which Berwick attributed to the death of Schomberg. Story complains of the "incompleteness of the victory," and says, that only one or two Irish standards were captured. Lauzun's French lost but six men that day; and on William's side it is confessed that the battle was won by the foreign mercenaries, and by the northern Anglo-Irish, while the English troops had very little share in the honors of the day.

James, first in the retreat, arrived in Dublin with some horse early in the evening, and bodies of the Irish infantry coming in, in the course of the night, confirmed the news of the defeat. Next morning the French reached the metropolis, and the Irish cavalry arrived in such excellent order, with martial music, that it was for a moment doubted whether they had lost the battle. On a rumor that the enemy was approaching, the Irish army was again drawn out on the north side of the city to oppose them, but, in truth, William's army did not enter Dublin until late in the evening of the following day, Thursday, July 3rd. To dispose, in the first place, of the fugitive king, we have to mention that having called together a hasty meeting of the civil and military authorities at the castle, being either so dull as not to have perceived the effect of his own blunders, or so ungenerous as to try to palliate them at the expense of others, he delivered a short address, in which he cast the blame of his defeat on his Irish soldiers.* He also showed some concern lest the discontented soldiery should pillage and burn Dublin; but on the contrary, we are not told of any act of insubordination or violence which these men committed. At five o'clock on Wednesday morning he set out, and leaving two troops of horse which he had taken with him, to defend the bridge at Bray, as long as they could, should the enemy come up, he continued his journey with a few followers, through the Wicklow mountains. At the house of a Mr. Hackett, near Arklow, he bated his horses for about two hours, and then pursued his way to Duncannon, where, after travelling all night, he arrived at sun-rise. Here he embarked on board a small French

* There is a well-known anecdote related of lady Tirconnell, who having, it is said, met James on his arrival at the castle, and hearing him reflect sarcastically on the fleetness of the runaway Irish, observed, that his majesty had, at least, the advantage over them in that respect.

vessel, which took him by the following morning to Kinsale, whence he sailed with a French squadron, which had been provided for his service by the queen, and which landed him at Brest on the 20th of July, he himself being the first bearer of the news of his misfortune.*

The news of the king's flight disheartened the Irish soldiers, but Tirconnell, to whom James had entrusted the chief command, gave orders that they should immediately march to Limerick, each colonel to take his men by the route which he thought best. A great many of the Catholic citizens left Dublin at the same time, together with their families; and in the evening of Wednesday, the 2nd of July, Simon Luttrell, the Jacobite governor, evacuated the city with the militia. William entered Dublin on Sunday, when he was received with every demonstration of joy by the Protestant inhabitants, many of whom had been confined as objects of suspicion by James; and he proceeded to St. Patrick's cathedral, where he heard a sermon from Dr. King. He returned to his camp at Finglas for dinner, preferring the small portable wooden house, which he used in campaigning, to the state apartments in Dublin castle.

The day after the passage of the Boyne Drogheda submitted to William's forces. On the 16th Kilkenny having been evacuated by a small Irish garrison which held it, opened its gates to a detachment sent under the duke of Ormond, with whom William dined on the 19th at his castle in that city; Duncannon was surrendered; and on the 25th of July, Waterford capitulated, its garrison of 1,600 men marching out with arms and baggage for Limerick, towards which city William next directed his course. The Irish having now made the Shannon their line of defence, lieutenant-general Douglas was sent by William, on the 9th of July, with an army of about 12,000 men, twelve cannons, and two mortars, to lay siege to Athlone, of which colonel Richard Grace was

* *King James's Memoirs*, ii. 397-406. The coast was at this time clear from English ships; the combined English and Dutch fleets having been beaten off Beachy-Head, on the 30th of June, by the French admiral Tourville. It is not true that James, before leaving Dublin, gave orders that each person should shift for himself, or that the army should make the best conditions it could and disperse, although his conduct might seem to imply such orders. After his arrival at St. Germain he importuned the French king for fresh succour to send to Ireland, or for an expedition to be sent into England, but Louis saw how useless it was to make any further sacrifice for James, who tells us, that finding he could obtain no succour, he was then obliged to send an order to Tirconnell to come away himself if he chose, and to bring with him as many as were willing to accompany him, or otherwise to make conditions for their remaining in Ireland, if they so preferred. *Memoirs*, ii. p. 413. James blames Tirconnell for having advised his hasty flight from Ireland, but admits that the duke's only motive was his solicitude for his (James's) personal safety, and for the queen's peace of mind. Vide notes to *Macariæ Excidium*.

governor. Douglas appeared before the fortress on the 17th, and after seven days vainly spent before its walls, having nearly exhausted his supply of gunpowder, and heard that Sarsfield was coming up with the Irish horse from Limerick, he raised the siege and withdrew to Mullingar. Thence he proceeded to join William near Limerick, ravaging the country as he passed, and slaying many defenceless people whom he assumed to be rapparees;* but the expedition cost William on the whole a loss of over 400 men.

The garrisons of Waterford and other places having been collected into Limerick, there were now in that city, according to the duke of Berwick, about 20,000 foot soldiers, only one-half of whom, however, were armed, and the Irish cavalry, amounting to about 3,500 men, encamped five miles from the city, on the Clare side of the river. M. Boisseleau, a French officer, was governor: but Lauzun having surveyed the fortifications, pronounced the place to be untenable, swearing that it might be taken with roasted apples, and ordered the entire French division to march to Galway, there to await an opportunity to embark for France. It was supposed that this disgraceful desertion, which took place as William's army was approaching the city, would have the effect of preventing further resistance on the part of the Irish: but its only result was to leave to the Irish foot soldiers, so unjustly censured for their conduct at Oldbridge, the undivided honor of the subsequent memorable defence of Limerick.†

* Mr. Lesley tells us that "those who were then called rapparees, and executed as such, were for the most part poor harmless country people; that they were daily killed in vast numbers, up and down the fields; or taken out of their beds and shot immediately; which many of the Protestants did loudly attest" (*Answer to King*). And in Story's list of those who died in this war, 'tis said that there were "of rapparees killed by the army or militia, 1,928; of rapparees killed and hanged by the soldiers without any ceremony, 122." *Vide* Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, &c., part i., p. 176.

† To view in its true light the conduct of the French in Ireland, during this war, one must bear in mind that they were the allies not of the Irish but of the dethroned king of England, whose cause they deemed hopeless, and for whose interests they could have felt little sympathy. It is therefore unjust to their chivalrous nation to assert that either on this occasion, or at any time in the course of this war, they betrayed the Irish, in whose national cause they had not been called on to act. The case would have been different, and so, also, we may presume would have been the conduct of the French troops, had they been sent to aid the Irish as a nation against England: but the cause of James was already lost. As to Lauzun, his proper sphere was a court, with its intrigues, not a camp, with its hardships. He was no general. King James plainly intimates in his memoirs, that Lauzun wished Limerick to fall, in order that his own conduct might be excused. He desired to get back to Versailles at any hazard, and had so inspired his officers and men with his own sentiments, that there was among them a general cry to be re-called to France. They complained that they could get in Ireland no bread, without which they could not live, although the Irish managed to dispense with it very well. The opinions of Louvois on that war and his hostility to the unhappy James were also well understood: and to countenance them some of the officers wrote home that

William's forces, when mustered at Cahirconlish, about seven miles south-east of Limerick, on the 7th of August, after the junction of Kirke and Douglas, amounted to 38,000 effective men.* On the 9th the whole army approached Limerick and encamped at Singland, in the south-eastern suburbs. Next day they occupied the post called Ireton's fort; planted a few field pieces on Gallows-green to annoy the town, and sent a summons to the governor, who consulted with Tirconnell, Sarsfield, and other officers, as there was some doubt what course should be pursued. The answer, however, was worthy of brave men. It was addressed to William's secretary from a sense of politeness, as the governor could not give William himself the title of king; and was to the effect that he hoped to merit the good opinion of the prince of Orange better by a vigorous defence than by a shameful surrender of the fortress with which he had been entrusted by his master king James.

At this time William had only his field artillery, but his heavy battering train, consisting of six twenty-four pounders and two eighteen pounders, together with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, tin boats to convey troops on the Shannon, and other necessaries for the siege, was coming from Dublin, under a convoy, and was immediately expected in the camp. This important intelligence was conveyed by a French gunner who deserted to the city the day after William appeared before the walls, and it was soon turned to good account. Whether solely at his own suggestion, according to the generally received opinion, or acting on the orders of Tirconnell, as Berwick relates, brigadier-general Sarsfield flew to the horse camp, obtained a party of 500 picked men, and with them disappeared that night in the direction of Killaloe. The next day (Monday, the 11th), he halted unobserved at Silvermines, on the northern slope of the Keeper mountain, waiting for information through his scouts from the plain below. In the mean time one Manus O'Brien, whom Story describes as "a substantial country gentleman," came to the English camp, and told how Sarsfield had left the night before, on what was believed to be some desperate enterprise; but his statement attracted at first little attention. At length it came to the ears of William, who then gave O'Brien an interview, and who, although he did not seem to think much

all the French in Ireland were doomed men if not re-called immediately. Yet to letters dictated by such obvious prejudices lord Macaulay has unfairly referred in his history as a testimony against the Irish!

* Griffith's *Villare Hibernicum* a Williamite authority.

of the matter, nevertheless ordered out 500 horse to meet the artillery. Again Sarsfield's good fortune prevailed, and the party of Williamite cavalry, which was commanded by sir John Lanier, was not ready to march until two o'clock in the morning. The artillery convoy, on their route from Cashel, had halted that night at the small ruined castle of Ballyneety, near the borders of Tipperary.* Being now only a few miles in the rear of William's camp, while the Irish enemy were closely besieged in Limerick, they felt secure, and the men having turned their horses out to graze, retired to rest, leaving only a few sentinels on guard. Meanwhile, Sarsfield, led by faithful guides, had been pursuing devious and difficult paths throughout the night, and it was near morning when his approach aroused the sleeping convoy. The English bugles sounded to horse, but the conflict which ensued was very brief. Every man who resisted was cut down to the number of about sixty, and the rest, all but one, took to flight. The heavy cannons destined to batter down the walls of Limerick were then charged with powder, and their mouths being fixed in the earth, they were fired, and burst; the boats were broken; the waggons and other articles which could not easily be carried off, were collected into a heap and burned; and the magazine of gunpowder being fired by train exploded with a terrific sound which shook the earth to a distance of miles around. Sir John Lanier's party saw the flash, and heard the rumbling noise, about an hour after they had left the camp. They rightly guessed the cause, and only arrived in time to find that everything was reduced to ashes, and that their efforts to intercept the intrepid Sarsfield and his gallant band were in vain.

The success of this hazardous enterprise animated the besieged with fresh resolution, while in the camp of the enemy it produced mingled rage and consternation. William, nevertheless, determined to press the siege with the utmost vigour, and sent to Waterford for more heavy artillery; two of the great guns found dismounted among the debris which Sarsfield had left at Ballyneety proved to be still available; and the walls of Limerick were so weak that even field pieces were sufficient to make an impression on them. One of William's first proceedings before Limerick was to send generals Ginkell and Kirke, with about 5,000 horse and foot, to effect the passage of the Shannon. This was performed

* The site of this castle is marked on the ordnance map, about three and a-half miles south of the Pallas station of the Limerick and Waterford Railway, and between two and three miles nearly west of the Oola station on the same line. Though it is about fifteen statute miles from Limerick, the outposts of William's army were, probably, not much more than seven miles distant.

by the aid of pontoons near St. Thomas's island, north of the city, without any opposition. Tirconnell, who was old and feeble, and had no hope in the defence of Limerick, had joined Lauzun in Galway, and withdrawn the Irish horse to a remote distance; and Sarsfield had set out on his own famous expedition. It was feared that Limerick would be invested on both sides, but Ginkell's and Kirke's division recrossed the Shannon that night, the demonstration being apparently intended only against the Irish cavalry; and Berwick ordered the destruction of the corn on the north side, that the enemy might not have the inducement to come again to that quarter for forage. On the 13th brigadier Stuart was sent by William to take Castleconnell, which was surrendered after a slight resistance by its governor, captain Barnwall, and the garrison of 120 men made prisoners of war.

The trenches before Limerick were opened on the 17th of August, and the approaches were pushed forward with all possible energy. The high towers from which the besieged could fire into the trenches were battered down, and two redoubts and a small fort were taken, though not without considerable loss on the part of the besiegers. On the 20th a vigorous sortie was made, which somewhat retarded the enemy's works; but by the 24th all the Williamite batteries were completed, and a fire from 36 pieces of cannon was opened upon the walls and town; some of the guns pouring red-hot shot, and a battery of four mortars throwing a shower of shells among the houses: yet not the least effect was produced upon the resolution either of the citizens or the garrison. At length on Wednesday, the 27th, the trenches having been carried within a few feet of the palisades, and a breach 36 feet wide having been made in the wall near John's Gate, William commanded the assault to take place. Ten thousand men were ordered to support the storming party; and at half-past three in the afternoon, at a given signal, 500 grenadiers leaped from the trenches, fired their pieces, threw their grenades, and in a few moments had mounted the breach. The Irish were not unprepared, although at that moment the attack was not expected. The governor, Boisseleau, had caused an entrenchment to be made inside the breach, and behind this he had planted a few pieces of cannon, a cross fire from which told with murderous effect upon the assailants, after they had filled the space between the breach and the entrenchment. For one instant they halted, but the next they pushed forward, and many of them actually entered the town. The advantage, however, was momentary, and cost the intruders dearly. The Irish

rallied, and at the point of the sword and pike drove the storming party back over the breach, where a most terrific conflict now ensued. Few there were, indeed, of the first assailants who were not hors de combat, but thousands of their comrades were in possession of the counterscarp, and ready to supply their place; they were under the eyes of king William himself, who was looking on from Cromwell's battery; and they fought hard to regain the advantage which they had just lost. On the other hand, the Irish soldiers behaved with the most desperate intrepidity; they were animated by the townspeople; and the very women, says the Williamite chaplain, Story, rushed boldly into the breach, and stood nearer to the enemy than to their own men, hurling stones and broken bottles into the face of the former. For nearly three hours was this deadly struggle maintained, and during that time never was breach more fiercely assailed or more nobly defended. The Brandenburg regiment, which showed great determination, had gained the Black Battery, but at that moment a mine was sprung by the Irish, or, as Story would have it, "the powder happened to take fire," and the Brandenburghers were blown up, "men, faggots, stones, and what not, flying into the air with a most terrible noise." The duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, adds another important incident. He says brigadier Talbot, who was then in one of the outworks, called the horn-work, with 500 men, ran along the wall on the outside, and charging the enemy in the rear routed them, and then entered the town through the breach. It was probably against Talbot's party that colonel Cutts was engaged when sent, according to Story, by the duke of Wurtemberg towards "the spur at the south gate." "From half an hour after three till after seven," continues the Williamite historian, "there was one continued fire of both great and small shot, without any intermission, insomuch that the smoke that went from the town reached in one continued cloud to the top of a mountain" (the Keeper hill) "at least six miles off. When our men drew off, some were brought up dead, and some without a leg, others wanted arms, and some were blind with powder; especially a great many of the poor Brandenburghers looked like furies with the misfortune of gunpowder ... The king stood nigh Cromwell's fort all the time, and the business being over, he went to his camp very much concerned, as indeed was the whole army; for you might have seen a mixture of anger and sorrow in every bodys countenance." Well, indeed, might William have been "concerned," for he lost over 2,000 men in killed and wounded that day.*

* The account in the *London Gazette* makes William's loss on the 27th of August alone, 455 killed, and 1,293 wounded, or 1,748 in all, without including the Brandenburghers, who, according

Various reasons are assigned by the Williamites for the discontinuance of the siege. The ammunition, they say, was running low; the ground was swampy, and the season rainy; but we are told with more probability by Jacobite authorities that the Ulster Protestants objected to a second assault, as its failure would have caused a general rising of the Catholics, and the risk would have been therefore too great, and they add that William showed excessive bad humour at the council of war. On Sunday, the 31st of August, the besieging army marched off rather precipitately, fearing a pursuit, which, however, the garrison had no means to attempt, as their cavalry were not at hand. William went by Clonmel to Waterford, and at Duncannon took shipping on the 5th of September for England, leaving the command of the army to count de Solmes, who was succeeded soon after by de Ginkell, and entrusting the civil government to lord Sidney, sir Charles Porter, and Mr. Coningsby as lords justices.

As soon as the siege of Limerick was raised, a French squadron arrived at Galway and took off Lauzun and his division, and with him departed the duke of Tirconnell, who went to represent to James the actual state of affairs in Ireland, having committed to the duke of Berwick, who was then only twenty years of age, the chief command, with a council of regency and a council of war to assist him. Scarcely, indeed, had the enemy disappeared from before the walls of Limerick when the jealousies that had long existed among the Irish leaders broke out into open and most fatal dissension. Tirconnell had become exceedingly unpopular. His overbearing manner was never calculated to gain friends; the partiality of which he was accused in the exercise of his patronage was sure to create many enemies; his incapacity as a general, aggravated as it was by the dullness and feebleness of age, provoked the contempt of his military colleagues; his friendship for Lauzun, of whom the army had such good cause to complain, was

to the Williamite accounts, had 400 *hors de combat* at the Black Battery, which would give a total of 2,148. The author of the Plunkett MS. says the besieged had not above a hundred men killed, but the report which makes the total Irish loss in that glorious affair 400, is more to be relied on. Mr. O'Callaghan (*Macariæ Excid.*, p. 378, and *Green Book*, p. 117) cites a MS. Jacobite account of the siege, in his possession, which makes the loss of the enemy from the beginning to the end of the siege 5,000 men, and that of the Irish during the same period 1,062 soldiers and 97 officers killed and wounded. The Limerick historian, O'Halloran, and, following him, Dalrymple, relate that the victorious Irish having pursued the English into the camp, assisted them to extinguish a fire that had broken out in the English hospital; but this probably refers to the period of the raising of the siege, three days after, when, according to Mageoghegan, the enemy on departing set their hospital on fire. O'Halloran, *Introduct. to Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i., chap. v., p. 407, ed. 1819; *Dalrymple*, vol. iii., p. 42; Abbé Mageoghegan, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 591, Duffy's ed.

injurious to his popularity; his Anglo-Irish sympathies displeased the native Irish, who were now the most important element in the Jacobite party, and whose views were becoming daily more national; all these circumstances lowered him in the estimation of the people, and strengthened the faction which was formed against him among the leaders. Subsequent events, however, enable us to appreciate at its just value this opposition to Tirconnell; and while we admit his faults, it is enough for us to know that the chief organiser of the cabal against him was the traitor, Henry Luttrell; and that English writers who have shown the bitterest enmity to the Irish, have been also unanimous in endeavouring to depreciate Tirconnell's character. One or two unprincipled enemies found it easy to kindle the flame of popular displeasure against such a man; and in the chivalrous Sarsfield, whose unsophisticated mind was readily imposed on, they found an influential ally. As to the charges against Tirconnell of holding secret correspondence with the Williamite authorities, and intending to betray the Irish interests, they are the unsupported assertions of enemies, and we are assured by the most diligent investigator of this portion of our history that he has never been able to discover any authentic confirmation of them.*

An expedition conducted by the duke of Berwick and Sarsfield marched on the 14th of September to attack the castle of Birr, but retired on the 19th before a greatly superior force under the command of generals Douglas, Kirke, and sir John Lanier. If it served no other purpose the expedition had at least the effect of occupying and dividing the Williamite army, which would otherwise have been concentrated against Cork, before which town the celebrated John Churchill, then earl, and afterwards duke, of Marlborough,† appeared on the 22nd of September with an army of 15,000 men, composed chiefly of the duke of

* See the authorities adduced on this subject by Mr. O'Callaghan in his annotations to the *Macariæ Excidium*. It is evident that the confidence of king James and the duke of Berwick in Tirconnell never suffered any diminution, although they survived him long enough to witness the results of his conduct, and to hear all the charges against him. Hallam's statement about Tirconnell's alleged plans to separate Ireland and make himself king, is supported by some curious evidence, and appears to be such a wild project as the ambitious Richard Talbot might at some time for a moment have entertained. See Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. iii., p. 530, ed. 1829.

† The duke of Marlborough was uncle to the duke of Berwick, whose mother, Arabella Churchill, Marlborough's sister, was mistress of James II. when duke of York. The duke of Marlborough was the bosom friend of James II., and is taxed with base ingratitude for turning immediately to William's side. Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton, mentioned a little farther on, was an illegitimate son of Charles II., and was therefore the nephew of James, against whom he fought.

Wurtemberg's division and of 8,000 fresh troops which he himself had brought from England. Marlborough urged the siege with vigor, and his great military genius was more keenly stimulated by a claim which the duke of Wurtemberg had the presumption to set up to the chief command. The garrison was numerous but was badly supplied with the munitions of war; and the town being unfit to stand a siege, the governor, lieutenant-colonel M'Eligot, was blamed for not evacuating it and retiring to Kerry, as he had been directed by the Jacobite authorities in Limerick to do. On the 27th the walls were breached, and the following day an assault was ordered. The grenadiers of the storming party were led by the duke of Grafton, who had been vice-admiral of England under James, and who was mortally wounded by a ball in advancing to the breach, and died a few days after in Cork. At the last moment the governor beat a parley, and the garrison, to the number of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, became prisoners of war. Their ammunition had been reduced to two small barrels of powder, so that further resistance was impossible; and to the disgrace of the English military authorities, the conditions on which these brave men surrendered were most shamefully violated.*

From Cork Marlborough marched the very same day to Kinsale, which the garrison set on fire at his approach, retiring into the old and new forts, which they were determined to defend. The English extinguished the fire, and Marlborough applied all his energies to the siege of the forts, which he found stronger than he expected; the season

* The Rev. Charles Leslie informs us that general MacCarthy narrowly escaped being murdered after the surrender, and could get no satisfaction on his complaint to the English general; and he goes on to state "that the garrison, after laying down their arms, were stripped and marched to a marshy wet ground, where they were kept with guards four or five days, and not being sustained were forced through hunger to eat dead horses that lay about them, and several of them dyed for want. That when they were removed thence they were so crowded in jails, houses, and churches that they could not all lye down at once, and had nothing but the bare floor to lye on, where, for want of sustenance, and lying in their own excrements, with dead carcases lying whole weeks in the same place with them, caused such infection that they dyed in great numbers daily. And that the Roman Catholic inhabitants, tho' promised safety and protection, had their goods seized, and themselves stripped and turned out of the town soon after." (Leslie's *Answer to King*, p. 162.) King James's memoirs confirm those statements, while Williamite authorities would attribute the sufferings of the Irish prisoners to the destitution and disease which even the Williamite garrison endured; but the monstrous barbarities practised towards both the prisoners and the inhabitants remain unexplained. It is a remarkable fact, exemplified in all the wars in this country since the Anglo-Norman invasion, that the English were notorious for not keeping faith with the Irish in treaties and capitulations, so that it became a settled principle with the Irish to place no reliance even on the most solemn promises of their English foes. To this circumstance may be attributed many a protracted struggle where resistance was kept up long after all hope must have been extinguished.

being already so far advanced that he feared the consequences of a protracted resistance. The old fort was stormed on the 3rd of October, and its garrison killed or taken prisoners. The new fort was valiantly defended by sir Edward Scott, who, in reply to the enemy's summons to surrender, said "it would be time enough to capitulate a month hence." He hoped to be relieved by the duke of Berwick, who, after mustering seven or eight thousand men at Kilmallock for that purpose, feared to make the attempt, the besieging army being too powerful. On the 15th the garrison, numbering 1,200 men, capitulated, and were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage for Limerick. The winter passed off without any other military operations of importance, except simultaneous attempts by the Williamite army to cross the Shannon at Lanesborough, Jamestown, and Banagher, all which were successfully resisted by Sarsfield and Berwick, who were most accurately informed, through their spies, of all the movements of the enemy. The rapparees gave the Williamites a good deal of annoyance during the winter, and some treasonable projects for the delivery of Galway to the enemy, and for the passage of the Shannon, were timely discovered by Sarsfield.

A meeting of those opposed to Tirconnell having been held in Limerick, an attempt was made to induce the duke of Berwick to alter the form of government left by Tirconnell as being unconstitutional, and to accept a council composed of two representatives from each of the provinces; but Berwick resolutely refused to yield to this request; consenting, however, that four agents should be sent to France to express the opinions of the leaders and explain the state of the army. Two of these agents were brigadier Henry Luttrell and colonel Purcell, whom Berwick expressly selected that they might be detained in France as persons whom he deemed turbulent and dangerous; and he sent Brigadier Maxwell as his private emissary to explain his wishes on the subject to his father, king James. On the voyage Henry Luttrell and Purcell suspecting the object of Maxwell's journey proposed to throw him overboard, but were prevented by the bishop of Cork and the elder Luttrell, who were the other two deputies; and at St. Germain James was made sensible of the danger which his cause in Ireland would incur should any of the agents be forcibly detained.*

* *Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, tom. i. pp. 88, 90; *Memoirs of K. James II.*, vol. ii., pp. 422 &c. "Events proved," says Mr. O'Callaghan, "how just was the duke of Tirconnell's aversion to Henry Luttrell, a bad man, the father of a bad man, and the grandfather of a bad man."—*Macarise Excid.* p 397, note.

The representations of Tirconnell at Versailles and St. Germain were ultimately successful, notwithstanding the impeachments against him, and he received most encouraging promises; but unhappily the orders of Louis were not carried out by his ministers and their subordinates; and Tirconnell returned to Ireland about the middle of January, 1691, with a very inadequate supply of money, and some provisions, but no men. He appears to have received but 28,000 louis d'or, of which he left 10,000 at Brest to purchase provisions; but notwithstanding the smallness of the sum which he brought, he ventured, on his arrival, to cry down the copper money, a proceeding which revived public confidence and greatly improved trade. He also brought from king James a patent creating Sarsfield earl of Lucan, viscount of Tully, and baron of Rosberry.* The duke of Berwick left Ireland the following month for France.

On the 8th of May, 1691, a French fleet arrived in the Shannon, bringing a large quantity of provisions, clothing, arms and ammunition for the Irish troops, but neither men nor money. In this fleet came

* Patrick Sarsfield, whose memory is so justly and proudly cherished by his countrymen, was descended paternally from an ancient and respectable Anglo-Norman family of the Pale, and maternally from a most ancient and illustrious Irish stock; his father being Patrick Sarsfield, Esq., of Lucan, in the county of Dublin; and his mother, Ann, the daughter of the brave and high-minded patriot of 1641, colonel Roger O'More. His elder and only brother, William, dying without male issue, he inherited the estate of Lucan, producing an income of about £2,000 a-year. He commenced his military career early: serving first as an ensign in France, in the regiment of Monmouth, and then as lieutenant of the Guards in England. He went with king James to France in December, 1688, and returned with him to Ireland, in 1689, when he was made a privy councillor, a colonel of horse, and a brigadier. We have seen above some of the important duties in which he was subsequently engaged, and shall find him employed in the same active manner up to the close of this war. Subsequent to the first siege of Limerick, he was made major-general. After the treaty of Limerick, in October, 1691, we shall see him sacrificing his fine estate and rejecting offers of advancement in the Williamite army, to accompany the Irish army to France, where he was appointed by James to the command of his second troop of Irish horse guards. In July, 1692, he distinguished himself at the battle of Steenkirk, in which the allies under William III. were defeated by the French under the Marshal de Luxembourg. He was created marechal-de-camp or major-general in the service of France by Louis XIV., and in that rank was killed in July, 1693, in the great battle of Landen, in which the allies under William III. were again overthrown by Luxembourg. His character," says Mr. O'Callaghan, "may be comprehended in the words, simplicity, disinterestedness, honor, loyalty, and bravery."—(*History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*, vol. i. p. 135.) He married the lady Honora de Burgo, second daughter of William, 7th earl of Clanrickard; by whom he left one son, who served under the duke of Berwick (who married Sarsfield's widow), and died in Spain without issue. Sarsfield's brother, William, who had married Mary, a daughter of Charles II. and sister of the duke of Monmouth, left a daughter, Charlotte, who was married to Agmondesham Vesey, and their daughter, Anne, was married to sir John Bingham of Mayo, whose son, sir Charles, was created earl of Lucan by George III., in 1776.—(*Archdall's Lodge*, vol. vii. p. 107.) In stature Sarsfield was exceedingly tall. There is a French portrait of him, engraved after a picture painted by "Mylady Bingham," who was no doubt the above-named Anne, grand-niece of the illustrious Irish soldier.

lieutenant-general St. Ruth, a French officer of great bravery, ability, energy, and experience, who was sent to take the chief command of the Irish army; and with him were two other French officers of rank, major-generals d'Usson and de Tessé; but it will be observed that James's army in Ireland was at this time exclusively composed of Irish soldiers. Tirconnell was still viceroy, but with private instructions from James not to interfere in any way with St. Ruth in the management of military affairs. Hitherto the Irish army had been in a most wretched state; the men were clothed in rags; the officers were scarcely better off; food was so scarce that the use of horse-flesh was frequently resorted to; and the ordinary pay of the Irish foot soldier, when money could be procured for the purpose, was only one penny per day! Let us compare this state of the Irish army with that of the magnificent force which baron de Ginkell was then organising in Leinster, preparatory to a campaign, in which all the resources of England were to be employed to bring the war in Ireland to a close. "The greater part of the English force," says Macaulay, "was collected before the close of May, in the neighbourhood of Mullingar. Ginkell commanded in chief. He had under him the two best officers—after Marlborough—of which our island (England) could then boast, Talmash and Mackay. The marquis of Ruvigny, the hereditary chief of the refugees, and elder brother of that brave Caillemot who had fallen at Boyne, had joined the army with the rank of major-general. The lord justice Coningsby, though not by profession a soldier, came down from Dublin to animate the zeal of the troops. The appearance of the camp shewed that the money voted by the English parliament had not been spared. The uniforms were new; the ranks were one blaze of scarlet, and the train of artillery was such as had never before been seen in Ireland."*

Such was the army which, on the 7th of June, commenced the campaign of 1691, with the siege of Ballymore castle, in Westmeath, the most advanced outpost of the Irish in that direction. The castle, which stands on the verge of lough Sendy, was defenceless towards the lake, and as the besiegers not only battered it with their artillery on the land side, but approached it on that of the water by boats, the governor, colonel Ulick Burke, deemed it right to surrender on the following day; having, as Story says, only "two small Turkish pieces, mounted upon old cart-wheels," to reply to the battering train of the enemy. Ginkell remained until the 18th, at Ballymore, repairing and strengthening the

* Lord Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. vi, p. 82.

works; and having been joined by the duke of Wurtemberg and count Nassau, with 7,000 foreign mercenaries, he then marched against Athlone. The English town or Leinster side of Athlone was never of much military strength. Ginkell, with an army then about 18,000 strong, appeared before it on the 19th of June, and soon effected such a breach in its slender wall that he was able to assault it the following day with 4,000 men; and the small Irish garrison posted at that side of the river, having lost 200 of their number, retreated by the bridge, which they held in the face of the enemy until they had broken down two arches on the Connaught side. The Shannon, at this place, is wide and rapid, but was fordable a little below the bridge, at a point not then known to the English, and breastworks were thrown up along the river at the Connaught side. Late on the 20th St. Ruth was informed of the fall of the English town, and advancing with the Irish army, which he had just got into marching order, and which amounted, according to the most probable account, to 15,000 horse and foot, he encamped two or three miles from the Irish town of Athlone.* The English raised their works, on the Leinster side of the river, to a great height, and by the aid of fifty battering cannon and ten mortars, from which they kept up an incessant fire, night and day, they were soon able to beat down the face of the castle which lay next to them, and to level the works of the Irish along the water side. Besides shells, they threw from their mortars implements of destruction, called "carcasses," which were filled with combustible materials, and which set the thatched houses on fire; and both houses and everything in the shape of masonry were so levelled on the Connaught side, that the Irish soldiers had no breastwork from behind which they could fire; and the besiegers, according to their own account, could stand with impunity on the river side and look over.† The town was, in fact, reduced to a mass of rubbish, through which it was impossible for two men to walk abreast in any part; and we are told by the Williamite Story, that the besiegers threw into it 12,000 cannon bullets, 600 bombs, and many tons of stones shot from the mortars, and that the siege cost them "nigh 50 tons of powder." The Irish, who had only a few field pieces, nevertheless prevented the English from constructing a

* *Macariæ Excidium*, p. 118. Mr. O'Callaghan says the best estimate he has been able to form of the largest force St. Ruth had about Athlone, during the siege, including the garrison and the troops encamped with himself, some miles to the rear of the place, is from 22,000 to 23,000 infantry and cavalry. *Ibid.* p. 421.

† *Memoirs of Captain Parker* and *Rawdon Papers*, quoted in Annotations to *Macariæ Excid.* pp. 422, 423.

bridge of boats. The besiegers then endeavoured to throw planks over the broken arches of the bridge, and they had nearly succeeded in this design, when eight or ten intrepid Irishmen undertook to pull down the planks and beams again, and performed their task under the terrible fire of the enemy—most of them, of course, being killed in that fearful duty. "The 26th," says the Williamite historian just cited, "was spent in firing, from seven batteries, upon the enemy's works, and a great many were killed in endeavouring to repair them. About 30 waggons laden with powder came to the camp; and that night we possess ourselves of all the bridge except one arch at the farther end, on the Connaught side, which was broke down, and we repair another broken arch in our possession; and all night our guns and mortars play most furiously . . . . We labour hard to gain the bridge; but what we got here was inch by inch, as it were; the enemy sticking very close to it, though great numbers of them were slain by our guns." Well might the French generals, who witnessed this heroism of the Irish soldiers, acknowledge that "they never saw more resolution and firmness in any men of any nation; nay, blamed the men for their forwardness; and cried them up for brave fellows, as intrepid as lions."*

It was the general opinion in both armies that the attempt to pass the Shannon at Athlone would not succeed, but Ginkell was resolved to persevere. He made a final attempt to cross the bridge by means of a close gallery, which however, the Irish contrived to set on fire, and he was once more foiled. At length it was suggested that owing to the dryness of the season the river might be fordable, and three Danes, who were sent on that dangerous duty, succeeded in finding the ford already referred to, which would admit twenty men to march abreast, and where for the greater part of the way the water would not then reach above the knee, nor at the deepest part above the middle. But for this discovery the siege would have been raised, and St. Ruth still believed the enemy would not attempt the ford.

While every energy of the besieging army was thus directed with precision by the will of one commander, there was no one in the Irish camp whose authority was implicitly obeyed, and fatal jealousies and divisions prevailed. Tirconnell intermeddled with military matters to the great annoyance of St. Ruth, and with neither St. Ruth nor Tirconnell was Sarsfield in favor. To prepare against an assault, however

* Letter of Colonel Felix O'Neill to the Countess of Antrim, in the *Rawdon Papers*, p. 346.

desperate he believed such an attempt would be, St. Ruth ordered the ramparts on the western or Connaught side of the town to be levelled, that a whole battalion might enter abreast to relieve the garrison when the assault took place; but d'Usson, who had been made governor, first opposed the plan, and then neglected to have the orders executed when St. Ruth insisted on the demolition. On the other hand d'Usson wished to have the defences on the river side entrusted to a particular corps of picked men; but St. Ruth required that each battalion should take the duty in turn, in order that all might be accustomed to the enemy's fire. At the critical moment to which we have now come it happened that this important post was entrusted to two regiments composed mostly of recruits, and that the officer in command was major-general or colonel Thomas Maxwell, a Scotchman, the same who had been sent on a private embassy to France by Berwick, and who was therefore a partizan of Tirconnell and was unpopular in the army. Maxwell, as we are told by one party, observed certain preparations among the besiegers and demanded a reinforcement of troops, but was answered that if he were afraid another general officer would be sent in his place: while by the other, or St. Ruth party, it is stated that Maxwell refused to supply his men with ammunition, and asked them when they demanded some if they wanted to shoot larks? and they also insinuate that he had an understanding with the enemy to betray his post. The Williamite historians say that at this juncture two Irish officers swam over the river and assured Ginkell that "now was his time; that the Irish were mighty secure; and that three (rightly two) of the most indifferent Irish regiments were only then upon guard, the rest being secure in their camp."* At length all was prepared for the assault. Two thousand chosen men were set apart. Ginkell distributed a gratuity of guineas among them. The command was given to major-general Mackay, assisted by major-general Tettau, the prince of Hesse, and brigadier la Melloniere; the grenadiers were commanded by colonel Gustavus Hamilton, and with these latter major-general Talmash went as a volunteer. The signal was the tolling of the church bell a few minutes past six o'clock, p.m., on the 30th of June. The detachment of grenadiers first took the ford, and they were supported by six battalions of foot. The bastion which commanded the ford on the Irish side had been already breached, and during the passage of the river an incessant fire was kept up from all the English

* Harris's *Life of William III.*; Story, &c.

batteries, and from the musketry in the trenches. Taken by surprise, the Irish soldiers who guarded the opposite side could do little more than discharge their muskets once and fly. They believed themselves to have been betrayed. Maxwell was made prisoner by the English ; and the fording party having laid planks over the broken arches as soon as they gained the other side, the besiegers poured in their columns across the bridge. The garrison fled in disorder. D'Usson had been a cannon shot from the town at the time of the attack, and in hastening to the gate he was overturned and severely hurt by the flying multitude. Thus in half an hour the besiegers were masters of the mass of rubbish and ruins which then occupied the site of the Irish town of Athlone; and the surprise had been so complete that the Williamites, according to their own account, lost in the assault only forty-six men killed and wounded.* The means of defence which the Irish possessed during this memorable siege may be judged from the fact that the enemy found in the works when taken only six brass field-pieces and two mortars!

St. Ruth, who was not aware of the attack until all was over, sent some regiments of infantry from the camp to succour the town, but they saw their own ramparts manned with English soldiers. He then moved his army to Ballinasloe, twelve miles off, and encamped with the river Suck between him and the enemy. A council of war was held, and it was resolved that they should there give battle; but St. Ruth, who was anxious to come to an engagement to blot out the disgrace of Athlone, subsequently removed the camp to Aughrim, a place about three miles distant on the road to Galway, and which he preferred to the banks of the Suck. As to Tirconnell, the outcry against him having become louder and more general, he left the camp immediately after the surprise of Athlone, and repaired to Limerick.

The choice of ground which St. Ruth made on this occasion evinced the skill of the general. The Irish army encamped along the ridge of the high land called Kilcommadan Hill, which runs nearly N.W. and S.E., then bounded towards Ballinasloe by a morass, through which flowed a small stream, and which was practicable for foot but not for cavalry. On the right flank was the tolerably open pass of Urraghree; and the Irish left rested on the then insignificant village of Aughrim, where there was another pass, or rather causeway, through the bog, but so narrow in one part that only two horsemen could ride abreast, while

* Leslie says the English killed a hundred men in cold blood in the castle of Athlone and in an outwork, after they had become masters of the place.

it was moreover commanded by the ruinous castle of the O'Kellys, in which St. Ruth posted colonel Walter Burke with 200 men. The infantry were disposed in the centre in two lines; the front line having formed several breastworks of hedges which ran along the bottom of the slope, near the verge of the morass. In the right wing the principal portion of the Irish horse were placed to defend the important pass of Urraghree; in the left wing there were also some horse and dragoons, but St. Ruth appeared to think that the enemy would not attempt the narrow causeway at that side. Some of the cavalry were posted behind the second line of the foot in the centre, as a reserve.

The advanced guards of the Williamites came in sight of the Irish on the 11th of July, and the following morning, which was Sunday, while the Irish army was assisting at mass, the whole force of the enemy drew up in line of battle on the high ground to the east, beyond the morass. As nearly as the strength of the two armies can be estimated, that of the Irish was about 15,000, horse and foot, and that of the Williamites from 20,000 to 25,000; the latter having besides a numerous artillery, while the Irish had but nine field pieces.*

The morning having been hazy, it was past eleven o'clock before Ginkell could obtain a clear view of the Irish position, and commence his own operations. He then saw that he had no ordinary difficulties to

* Story says that Ginkell's army at Aughrim was not more than 17,000, horse and foot, while the Irish, according to him, had 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse. Bishop Burnett rates the Irish army at 28,000, and the English at 20,000; while captain Parker, who served under Ginkell, and was present at the battle, says the two armies were nearly equal, but elsewhere tells us that the English at Mullingar mustered 23,000, and their loss in the interval was said to be trifling. King James's *Memoirs* state that in the retreat from Athlone the desertion from the Connaught regiments was so great that the foot were reduced from 17,000 to about 11,000, and colonel O'Kelly, author of the *Macariæ Excidium*, reckons the Irish infantry at Aughrim as only 10,000, and the horse and dragoons as 4,000. It is stated in *Light to the Blind*, that the English had double the number of cavalry, though the Irish had some advantage in the infantry; but there can be no doubt that this statement, as far as regards the infantry, is erroneous; and it is indeed obvious that the author of that MS. in many instances takes his data as to numbers from the Williamite authorities, without sufficiently testing their accuracy. O'Halloran, who must have often conversed with persons who had a distinct personal recollection of the war, and whose account agrees with that traditionally received by the Irish to this day, makes the numbers of Irish and English 15,000 and 25,000 respectively. Mr. O'Callaghan, who has devoted a great deal of research to the subject, shews that the Williamite army consisted of 27 regiments of infantry, 19 regiments of horse, and 2 regiments and 14 troops of dragoons; and that if all these regiments had been complete the numbers would have been, infantry, 24,495; horse, 6,837; dragoons, 2,607; total, 32,939. The Williamite writers admit a loss of less than 600 men between the muster of the army at Mullingar and the eve of the battle of Aughrim, and hence it is clear that the numerical strength of the army at Aughrim must have been considerably greater than what the Williamite historians assert. As to the artillery on both sides, the disparity was also very great. Ginkell had 4 batteries, and we know that two of these mounted 6 guns each, whence we might conclude that there were 24 guns in all; while it is admitted that St. Ruth had no more than 9 field pieces.—See *Macariæ Excid.*, p. 442, note 223.

encounter; but knowing his own great superiority in artillery, he hoped by the aid of that arm alone to dislodge the Irish centre from their advantageous ground, and as quickly as his guns could be brought into position opened fire upon the enemy. He also directed some cavalry movements on his left at the pass of Urraghree, but with strict orders that the Irish should not be followed beyond the pass, lest any fighting there should force on a general engagement, for which he had not then made up his mind. His orders on this point, however, were not punctually obeyed; the dragoons sent on that duty having suffered themselves to be lured forward by the Irish horse where a number of musketeers were placed in ambush, and the consequence being some hot skirmishing, which brought larger bodies of the Williamite cavalry into action, and thus led to some sharp fighting, that continued from about two to three o'clock, when the Williamites retired from the pass. Still it appeared very improbable that a general action would take place that evening. Ginkell held a council of war, and the prevalent opinion seemed to be that the attack should be deferred until an early hour next morning. The uncertainty which prevailed on this point may be conceived from the fact, that the deliberations were kept up until half-past four o'clock, when the final decision of the council was for an immediate battle. At five o'clock the fighting was renewed at Urraghree, and for an hour and a-half there was considerable firing in that quarter; several attempts to force the pass having been made in the interval, and the Irish cavalry continuing to maintain their ground gallantly, although against double their own numbers. Up to this time there was no action between the centres of the two armies, or the wings which confronted each other near the pass of Aughrim, with the exception of the cannonade which was kept up on both sides, and in which the Williamites had, as has been observed, the advantage of a much more numerous artillery. Indeed, it was plain to the enemy that St. Ruth could not turn his admirable position to its full advantage, owing to the great deficiency of his field train.

At length, at half-past six, Ginkell, having previously caused the morass, in front of the Irish centre, to be sounded, ordered his infantry to advance on the point where the fences at the Irish side projected most, and where the morass was, consequently, narrowest. This, it appears, was in the Irish right centre, or in the direction of Urraghree. The four regiments of colonels Erle, Herbert, Creighton, and Brewer were the first to wade through the mud and water, and to

advance against the nearest of the hedges, where they were received with a smart fire by the Irish, who then retired behind their next line of hedges, to which the assailants, in their turn, approached. The Williamite infantry were thus gradually drawn from one line of fences to another, up the slope from the morass, to a greater distance than was contemplated in the plan of attack, according to which they were to hold their ground near the morass until they could be supported by reinforcements of infantry in the rear, and by cavalry on the flanks. The Irish retired by such short distances, that the Williamites, "disdaining to suffer their lodging so near," as their own historians express it, pursued what they considered to have been an advantage, until they found themselves face to face with the main line of the Irish, who now charged them in front; while, by passages cut specially for such a purpose through the lines of hedges by St. Ruth, the Irish cavalry poured down with irresistible force and attacked them in the flanks. The effect was instantaneous. In vain did colonel Erle endeavour to encourage his men by crying out, that "there was no way to come off but to be brave." They were thrown into total disorder, and fled back towards the morass, the Irish cavalry cutting them down in the rear, and the infantry pouring in a deadly fire, until they were driven beyond the quagmire, which separated the two armies. Colonels Erle and Herbert were made prisoners; but the former, after being twice taken and retaken, and receiving some wounds, was finally rescued. Whilst this was going forward towards the Irish right, several other Williamite regiments crossed the bog nearer to Aughrim, and were in like manner repulsed; but, not having ventured among the Irish hedges, their loss was not so considerable, although they were pursued so far in their retreat that the Irish, says Story, "got almost in a line with some of our great guns," or in other words, had advanced into the English battle-ground. It was no wonder that at this moment St. Ruth should have exclaimed with national enthusiasm, "the day is our's, my boys!" "le jour est à nous mes enfans!" He witnessed the triumph of his own generalship, and the heroic bravery of his Irish troops, and at that time he had every reason to feel sure of victory.*

* With reference to this part of the day's conflict, king James's memoirs assert "that never was assault made with greater fury or sustained with greater obstinacy, especially by the foot, who not only maintained their posts and defended the hedges with great valor, but repulsed the enemie several times, particularly in the centre, and took some prisoners of distinction; insomuch that they looked upon the victory as in a manner certain, and St. Ruth was in a transport of joy to see the foot, of whom he had so mean an opinion, behave themselves so well, and performe actions

The manœuvres of the Dutch general, on the other side, evinced consummate ability, and the peril of his present position obliged him to make desperate efforts to retrieve it. His army being much more numerous than that of the Irish, he could afford to extend his left wing considerably beyond their right, and this causing a fear that he intended to flank them at that side, St. Ruth ordered the second line of his left to march to the right, the officer who received the instructions taking with him also a battalion from the centre, which left a weak point not unobserved by the enemy. St. Ruth had a fatal confidence in the natural strength of his left, owing to the great extent of bog and the extreme narrowness of the causeway near Aughrim Castle. The Williamite commander perceived this confidence and resolved to take advantage of it. Hence his movement at the opposite extremity of his line, which was a mere feint, the troops which he sent to his left not firing a shot during the day, while some of the best regiments of the Irish were drawn away to watch them. The point of weakening the Irish left having been thus gained, the object of doing so soon became apparent. A movement of the Williamite cavalry to the causeway at Aughrim was observed. Some horsemen were seen crossing the narrow part of the causeway with great difficulty, being scarcely able to ride two abreast. St. Ruth still believed that pass impregnable, as indeed it would have been but for the mischances which we have yet to mention, and he is reported to have exclaimed, when he saw the enemy's cavalry scrambling over it, "They are brave fellows, 'tis a pity they should be so exposed." They were not, however, so exposed to destruction as he then imagined. Artillery had come to their aid, and as the men crossed they began to form into squadrons on the firm ground near the old castle. What were the garrison of the castle doing at this time? and what the reserve of cavalry beyond the castle to the extreme left? As to the former, an unlucky circumstance rendered their efforts nugatory. It was found on examining the ammunition with which they had been supplied that while the men were armed with French firelocks the balls that had been

worthy of a better fate."—(*Memoirs of K. James II.*, ii. 457.) The Abbè Mageoghegan says, "the royal (Jacobite) foot performed prodigies of valor. They repulsed the enemy's infantry three times, up to their very cannon; and it is said that at the third time general St. Ruth was so well pleased that he threw his hat into the air to express his joy."—(*Hist. of Ireland*, p. 595.) It is expressly stated, in *Light to the Blind*, that the Irish not only drove the enemy back to their lines beyond the morass, but completely broke their centre, and occupied a portion of the enemy's ground; and this statement appears to be amply borne out by other accounts, English as well as Irish.

served to them were cast for English muskets, of which the calibre was larger, and that they were consequently useless.* In this emergency the men cut the small globular buttons from their jackets and used them for bullets, but their fire was ineffective, however briskly it was sustained, and few of the enemy's horse crossing the causeway were hit. This was but one of the mischances connected with the unhappy left of St. Ruth's position. We have seen how an Irish officer, when ordered with reserves to the right wing, removed a battalion from the left centre.† This error was immediately followed by the crossing of the morass at that weakened point by three Williamite regiments, who employed hurdles to facilitate their passage, and who meeting with a comparatively feeble resistance at the front line of fences, succeeded in making a lodgment in a corn field on the Irish side. Nearly cotemporary with this success of the enemy was the passage of the morass by Kirke's and Hamilton's regiments of foot, which were enabled to drive in the Irish outposts at the old castle, and to place obstructions in the way of the reserved Irish cavalry, whose charge from behind the castle on the extreme left was thus foiled; and these movements of infantry, it should be observed, preceded the passage of the causeway by the English cavalry.

It was still easy to remedy the mishaps which thus threatened to mar the success of the Irish, and St. Ruth, for that purpose, left his position in front of the camp, near the top of Kilcommadan hill, and placing himself at the head of a brigade of horse, hastened down the slope. He paused at one of his batteries to order a gunner to direct his fire to a particular point, and then resuming his place with the cavalry, rode towards the hostile squadrons which were forming near Aughrim; observing, says king James, to those about him:—"they are beaten, let us beat them to the purpose." But the words were scarcely spoken when he was hit by a cannon ball, which carried off his head—and all was lost! Yet why should all be lost if victory just before had been so

* Such is the version given in *Light to the Blind*, and it is more probable than that of Mageoghegan, who says the garrison of the old castle were supplied by mistake with cannon instead o musket balls.

† "Through this mistake—which, from the connection of cavalry as well as infantry with the movement," says Mr. O'Callaghan, "I suppose to have been made between brigadier Henry Luttrell, who was a colonel of horse, and some subordinate infantry officer in this transfer of troops, and to be the foundation of the national tradition about the 'treachery of the general of the Irish horse, that enabled the English to cross the bog'—three battalions of the enemy were enabled to slip over the skirt of the morass and the rivulet, into a corn field on the Irish side, and establish themselves there until they could be assisted."—*Green Book*, p. 211, second edition.

certain? It appears to be the destiny of Ireland that her leaders cannot agree; and on this fatal occasion it happened that a coolness existed between Sarsfield, the second in command, and St. Ruth. Their disagreement dated from the surprise of Athlone; and owing to it the only man who could have supplied the place of the French general was left with some of the choicest cavalry as a reserve in the rear of the camp, with positive instructions not to move until he received further orders. Sarsfield conceived that under the circumstances he was bound to the strictest obedience, and St. Ruth on the other hand communicated his plan of battle to no one; so that when he fell there was no one left who understood the disposition of the forces, and no one to issue any orders. One of his attendants threw a cloak over the body, which was then removed to the rear of the camp;* but it was impossible to conceal his death long. The cavalry who saw him fall halted, and soon left the field. The Irish horse to the rear of Aughrim castle were the next to relinquish their ground. No attempt was made to resist the Williamite cavalry in crossing the narrow causeway. Their numbers were increased and their infantry strengthened. The disorder in the Irish lines was observed from the hostile camp, and a general attack on all points was commanded. Still the Irish centre and right wing maintained their ground obstinately, and the fight was renewed with as much vigor as ever. The Irish infantry were so hotly engaged that they were not aware either of the death of St. Ruth, or of the flight of the cavalry, until they themselves were almost surrounded. At the same time Dr. Alexius Stafford, the chaplain of king James's Irish foot guards, was killed; and the death of this pious and heroic priest had as disheartening an effect on the infantry as that of the general had on the horse.† A panic and confused flight were the result. The cavalry of

* What finally became of the body of St. Ruth has been a matter of doubt. English writers say that it was cast into a neighbouring bog, or left stripped on the field with the nameless dead; but the author of the *Light to the Blind* informs us that it was removed by the attendants to Loughrea, and there privately buried. A bush marks the spot where tradition says he fell, and at some distance in the field is a place traditionally called St. Ruth's Flag. The shot by which he was killed was fired from one of the guns sent to aid the English cavalry in crossing the causeway at Aughrim; and tradition tells that it was aimed by the advice of an Irishman who knew the personal appearance of St. Ruth, and who desired to be revenged for the loss of a few sheep taken by the Irish soldiers.

† This distinguished clergyman was dean of Christ Church, master in chancery, member of parliament, and preacher to the king's inns. Mr. Dahigg, the historian of the king's inns, says:—"His voluntary services and heroic death exact even from a firm opponent of his political and religious creed a ready belief of Stafford's personal virtue and humanity;" and the same Protestant writer, referring to Dr. Stafford's conduct at Aughrim, observes—"There the genius of his country triumphed over professional habits; a peaceful preacher became a warlike chief; the awful ceremo-

the right wing, who were the first in action that day, were the last to quit their ground. Sarsfield, with the reserve horse of the centre, had to retire with the rest without striking one blow, "although," says the Williamite captain Parker, "he had the greatest and best part of their cavalry with him." St. Ruth fell about sunset,* and about nine, after three hours' hard fighting, the last of the Irish army had left the field. The cavalry retreated along the high road to Loughrea, and the infantry, who mostly flung away their arms, fled to a large red bog on their left, where great numbers of them were massacred unarmed and in cold blood; but a thick misty rain coming on, and the night setting in, the pursuit was soon relinquished. After the battle the old castle of Aughrim was taken, and the greater part of its brave garrison put to the sword; colonel Walter Burke, with twelve of his officers and forty of his soldiers only being made prisoners.

Of the loss on both sides in this sanguinary battle the accounts are, of course, conflicting. The English official returns make that on the Williamite side 73 officers and 600 soldiers killed, and 111 officers and 906 soldiers wounded, or the total of killed and wounded 1,690; but there is good reason to think that these numbers are too low; while we may set down as gross exaggerations the English and Anglo-Irish statements, which represent the number of Irish killed as 7,000 or 8,000. The slaughter of the Irish was, no doubt, very great, as in general no quarter was given by the victors, and as the wounded would appear to have been either massacred or left to perish on the field; but we believe that the estimate in king James's Memoirs, which may be regarded as the official authority on the Irish side, and according to which "the Irish lost near 4,000, nor was that of the English much inferior," is not far from the truth.† The Irish prisoners taken were only 526 of all ranks; and

nies of religion were dispensed to a submissive flock, and their courage strengthened by an animating harangue. Then, with the crucifix in hand, Stafford passed through the line of battle, and pressed into the foremost ranks, loudly calling on his fellow soldiers to secure the blessings of religion and property by steadiness and attention to discipline on that critical day. Success crowned his manly efforts until death interrupted his glorious career; then, indeed, the infantry was panic-struck."—*History of the King's Inns*, pp. 233, 238, 239.

* The 12th of July, old style, on which the battle was fought, corresponded with the 22nd of July, new style, on which day sunset at Aughrim would be about ten minutes past eight.

† It is remarkable that captain Parker, who fought in the Williamite ranks at Aughrim, agrees very nearly with king James's estimate, for in his memoirs he says, the loss of the Irish was near 4,000 killed; and adds, "we had above 3,000 killed and wounded." Other accounts, also from Williamite sources, would confirm captain Parker's estimate of the Irish loss. Story, however, who makes their loss at least 7,000, says: "There could not be many fewer, for looking among the dead three days after, when all our own and some of their's were buried, I reckoned in some small inclosures 150, in others 120 &c., lying most of them in the [illegible] where they were shot;"

all the Irish tents, baggage, and artillery; a vast quantity of the small arms; 32 pair of colors, and 11 standards, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The bodies of the Irish were, with few exceptions, left unburied, and became a prey to the dogs and to the fowls of the air; and for many years after their bones were to be seen bleaching in the winter's wind.*

and describing the appearance of so many stripped bodies of the dead, he adds: "The rest from the top of the hill, where their camp had been, looked like a great flock of sheep scattered up and down the country for about four miles round." "The English," says Dalrymple, "disgraced all the glories of the day by giving no quarter;" and Dr. Leslie, who wrote a year after the battle, mentions how "above 2,000 of the Irish who threw down their arms and asked quarter, were killed in cold blood, after the English were absolutely masters of the field;" and how "several who had quarter given them, were after killed in cold blood, in which number were the lord Galway and colonel Charles Moore." It was indeed well known that lord Galway, who was a son of the earl of Clanrickard, and then only twenty-two years of age, was murdered by some of the Huguenots after the battle was over; while, as an excuse for all this brutal ferocity, we are told, forsooth, that the Irish had orders to give no quarter if they were victorious, and that colonel Herbert was killed by the Irish while a prisoner. Of the former statement we may assert, that it is a groundless fabrication; and of the latter, that colonel Herbert, who was made prisoner along with colonel Erle, was probably slain to prevent his being rescued, as that officer had been. Besides St. Ruth and dean Alexius Stafford, we find among the killed on the Irish side lord Galway (Burke), lord Kilmallock (a Sarsfield); brigadiers William Mansfield Barker, H. M. G. O'Neill, and O'Connell; colonels, Charles Moore, James Talbot, Arthur O'Mahony, Walter Nugent, Felix O'Neil, Ulick Burke; and Constantine Maguire; lieutenant-colonel Morgan; majors, Purcell, O'Donnell, and David Burke, sir John Everard, &c. Among the prisoners were lords Duleek, (Bellew), Slane (Flemming), Boffin (Burke), and Kenmare (Brown); major-generals Dorrington, and John Hamilton: brigadier Tuite; colonels Walter Burke, Gordon O'Neill (son of sir Phelim) Butler of Kilcash, O'Connell, O'Madden, &c.

* "Their bones," says O'Halloran, writing some fifty years after, "yet lie scattered over the plains of Aughrim; but let that justice be done to their memories which a brave and generous enemy never refuses." (*Introduct. &c. 2nd Append.* vol. i. p. 533, ed. 1819). "It must in justice," says Harris, "be confessed that the Irish fought this sharp battle with great resolution, which demonstrates that the many defeats before this time sustained by them cannot be imputed to a national cowardice, but to a defect in military discipline and the use of arms, or to want of skill and experience in their commanders. And now, had not St. Ruth been taken off, it would have been hard to say what the consequences of this day would have been." (*Life of William III.* p. 327). On which passage Mr. O'Callaghan remarks, that "a no less important cause than any above specified by Harris, contributed to the reverses of the Irish, viz., their great inferiority in pay, appointments, small arms, artillery, and effective numbers, to the English, Scotch, Anglo-Irish, Dutch, Danish, German, Huguenot, &c. troops of the line opposed to them, as well as the very effective local Williamite militia, or yeomanry, in which Harris's own father, Hopton Harris, served." (*Macariæ Excid.* note 242, p. 460). To the second edition of Mr. O'Callaghan's *Green Book* we may refer the reader for the most ample, minute, and accurate details of the affair of Aughrim; but no account of the disastrous battle—or, as the peasantry of the West of Ireland call it, the "breach (*briseadh*) of Aughrim"—would be complete with the omission of the affecting incident thus related by Story:—"There is," observes the Williamite historian, "a true and remarkable story of a grey-hound (*rectè*, an Irish wolf-dog), belonging to an Irish officer. The gentleman was killed and stript in the battle, whose body the dog remained by night and day; and though he fed upon other corpses with the rest of the dogs, yet he would not allow them or anything else to touch that of his master. When all the corpses were consumed the other dogs departed, but this used to go in the night to the adjacent villages for food, and presently to return again to the place where his master's bones were only then left; and thus he continued till January following,

Some of the Irish soldiers repaired to Galway, but the greater number, including all the cavalry, proceeded to Limerick. On Sunday, July 19th, a week after the action at Aughrim, Ginkell appeared before Galway, which had a garrison of about 2,300 men, with d'Usson, who had gone there after the loss of Athlone, as governor. The old fort on a rising ground near the town, which in Cromwell's time had given so much trouble to the townspeople, being now in a ruinous state, was not occupied by the garrison, and the enemy were thus able to approach in safety within a hundred yards of the town wall.

Here it is necessary to introduce to the reader a remarkable man, whom we have not yet mentioned, as his name was not especially connected with any of the events we have been relating, although he had for some time before this occupied a prominent place among the Irish leaders. This was Balldearg O'Donnell, a lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs of Tirconnell, and who had come to Ireland from Spain, shortly after the battle of the Boyne; persuaded himself, or in order to persuade others, that he was the O'Donnell with a "red mark" (balldearg), who, according to an ancient prophecy, was to lead the Irish to victory against their oppressors. It is a peculiar feature in Irish history that such "prophecies" were always apt to gain credit with the people; but it must be added that the English in Ireland shewed equal credulity on the subject whenever the vaticinations promised success to themselves, as we have seen in the case of sir John de Courcy, and as was instanced in much more recent times in prophecies relating to the battles of Kinsale and Knocknaclashy. Accordingly, the advent of Balldearg O'Donnell excited great enthusiasm among the humbler classes; men flocked in thousands to his standard; he set up as a sort of independent commander, and soon had enrolled under him an irregular force of eight regiments, which he supported by levying oppressive contributions wherever he went. The duke of Tirconnell, who entertained a strong dislike for him, deprived him of three regiments of his best men under the pretence of incorporating them with the regular army, and made no provision for the support of Balldearg's remaining battalions. The popularity of the adventurer diminished when it was seen how little he was likely to achieve; and during the battle of Aughrim he was in the vicinity of Tuam with about a thousand men, which number soon after

when one of colonel Foulke's soldiers being quartered nigh hand, and going that way by chance, the dog, fearing he came to disturb his master's bones, flew upon the soldier, who being surprised at the suddenness of the thing, unslung his piece, then upon his back, and killed the poor dog." (*Continuation of Hist.*, &c. p. 147).

dwindled down to six hundred. With these, after burning and pillaging Tuam, he marched to Cong, in the county of Mayo.

The inhabitants of Galway placed their chief reliance on the promised aid of Balldearg, whose arrival was expected by the way of Iar-Connaught; but when general Mackay, with a large division of the besiegers, crossed the river some distance above the town, on the 20th, and the place was thus invested at both sides, all hope of succour from Balldearg being abandoned, a parley to settle the terms of a capitulation was called for the same day. Ginkell being desirous to hasten the conclusion of the war, agreed to favorable conditions, and the capitulation having been signed on the 21st, the Irish garrison evacuated the town on the 26th, and marched to Limerick, taking with them six pieces of cannon, which the English lent them horses to draw. Balldearg O'Donnell now entered into negotiations with Ginkell on his own account, through the medium of a friend named Richards. He asked to be allowed to enter the service of William, and was actually receiving pay from Ginkell when he pretended to aid the Irish garrison of Sligo, then besieged by colonel Michelburne. Sir Teige O'Regan, who so bravely defended Charlemont against Schomberg, was governor of Sligo, and having capitulated on the 14th of September, marched with his garrison of 600 men to Limerick; and Balldearg entered into William's service in Flanders, with all those of his men whom he could induce to follow him, and received during the remainder of his life a pension of £500 a year; a similar amount being also granted by the Williamite government to colonel Henry Luttrell, who by less open means earned a traitor's wages.*

The duke of Tirconnell sent a messenger to James after the battle of Aughrim to announce that all was lost, and that unless immediate succour arrived, there was no resource for the king's adherents in

Dr. O'Donovan, in his pedigree of the O'Donnells, (*Appendix to the Four Masters*, vol. vi., p. 2380), states that Manus, son of Caffar Oge, son of Caffar, the brother of Rory O'Donnell, first earl of Tirconnell and of the famous Hugh Roe, was styled earl of Tirconnell on the continent, and "was indubitably the very man called Balldearg O'Donnell, who came from Spain to command the Irish in the war of James II.;" and in a note he adds:—"he disclaimed the king's authority, and made demonstrations of maintaining the cause of the native Irish as distinct from King James's; and restoring them to the dominion of their native country: but being thwarted in every way by Tirconnell (Talbot), he turned over to the standard of king William III., and retired to Flanders, where he was consigned to poverty and oblivion; but of his ultimate fate nothing has yet been discovered." Colonel Charles O'Kelly, the author of the *Macariæ Excidium*, attempts to defend the conduct of Balldearg, with whom he was intimately acquainted. Mr. O'Callaghan, in his notes and illustrations to the *Macariæ Excidium* (p. 459), quotes official MSS. for the pensions of £500 each, granted, as above stated, to O'Donnell and Henry Luttrell.

Ireland but to make the best terms they could and submit. At the same time he made what preparations he could to put Limerick in a posture of defence. He caused some additions to be made to the outworks, established a military station outside the walls, collected stores of provisions, and exacted a promise from the leading men not to entertain any project of submission before they received an answer to the message which had been despatched to France; but on St. Lawrence's day, the 10th of August, he was seized by a fit of apoplexy, at the house of M. d'Usson, and expired on the 14th, the same day that Ginkell had begun to move his army towards Limerick from his camp at Cahirconlish. Tirconnell could have rendered little further assistance personally, but his loss at that moment produced a void which was painfully felt. It was rumoured that his death was caused by a poisoned cup of ratafia, but that it was the result of natural disease is much more probable. His remains were interred the following night in St. Mary's cathedral, but no inscription or other mark indicates the place. That he was a faithful and zealous supporter of king James cannot be denied; and Williamite writers admit that he displayed "dexterity and zeal" in the cause which he had espoused. The duke of Berwick assures us that "he was a man of much worth, although not of a military genius; that his firmness preserved Ireland after the invasion of the prince of Orange; and that he nobly rejected every offer that had been made to him to submit."* By the authority of a provisional appointment made by king James, Alexander Fitton (the Jacobite lord chancellor), Francis Plowden (commissioner of the revenue), and sir Richard Nagle (James's secretary of state and attorney-general), assumed the office of lords justices, but their duties were only nominal, as the management of the army, which then comprised everything, was committed to the charge of M. d'Usson.

At this time Ginkell carried on private negotiations with colonel Henry Luttrell within the city, and through the means of the factions which were fomented there, hoped to obtain a surrender without a formal siege.† He dreaded the effects of a protracted defence at that

* *Memoires du maréchal de Berwick*, tome i. 103.

† The perfidy of Henry Luttrell was discovered on this occasion by Sarsfield, and he was tried by court-martial and found guilty; but through the influence of his numerous friends, he was only committed to the castle of Limerick until the decision of king James could be known, and was of course liberated at the capitulation. To follow this notorious traitor to his ultimate fate, we may mention that on the night of November 1st, 1717, he was murdered in Stafford-street, in the city of Dublin, while returning in a sedan chair to his town residence in that street, from Lucas's coffee-house, which stood on the site of the present Royal Exchange on Cork-hill; and that being a man

season, when the autumnal rains were so soon to be expected, and was prepared to grant any conditions that, under the circumstances, might be demanded. Still he neglected no means to render his attack sucessful. His army was strengthened by large reinforcements of Protestant militia who were stationed at Killaloe and other distant outposts; an English fleet under captain Cole ascended the Shannon, and a most formidable train of battering artillery was provided. Ginkell's army took up nearly the same ground which William occupied the year before. The besieged, who, says king James, had at that time thirty-five battalions tolerably armed, relinquished their outposts on the Limerick side, and quartered their cavalry on the Clare side, towards which the city was still open; and on the 25th of August the besiegers were regularly posted, having received all their heavy guns and 800 barrels of powder two days before. Sixty cannon, none of them less than twelve-pounders, say the Williamite authorities, and no fewer than nineteen mortars, were planted against the city. On the 30th the bombardment commenced, and the city was soon in flames in several quarters, so that a great number of the inhabitants took their bed-clothes with them and formed a camp in the King's Island, and many of the principal citizens, including a great number of ladies and the Jacobite lords justices, established another camp about two miles from the town on the Clare side. On the evening of the 9th of September the garrison made a sally in which they lost several men; and on the 10th a breach forty yards wide was effected in the wall of the English town, behind the Dominican abbey, but a deep channel of the river separating the breach from the besiegers no attempt to storm it was made. Still nothing of consequence towards the reduction of the city was considered to have been achieved until the night of the 15th of September, when, owing to the unpardonable negligence, if not the foul treachery, of brigadier Clifford, who was posted with a strong body of dragoons to prevent such an attempt, the besiegers

grossly immoral in his private character, it may be doubted whether his political or social delinquencies were the cause of his murder: but no clue to the assassin ever could be discovered Several of his descendants were, according to the authorities quoted by Mr. O'Callaghan, in the first volume of his *History of the Irish Brigades*, notorious for depravity; but his male posterity became extinct by the death of his grandson, John Luttrell Olmius, third baron of Irnham and earl of Carhampton, who survived until 1829, when he died in his 88th year. In the work of Mr. O'Callaghan just cited, the reader will find many curious particulars about Henry Luttrell and his descendants. Luttrell's-town, the noble and picturesque demesne of the family, on the banks of the Liffey, near Lucan, was sold in the beginning of the present century by Henry Lawes Luttrell, elder brother of John Luttrell Olmius, and second earl of Carhampton; and the name has been changed by the present popular proprietor, Luke White, Esq., to that of Woodlands.

were enabled, without the least interruption, to throw a pontoon bridge over the Shannon towards Annabeg; and so, on the morning of the 16th, to send over a large detachment of horse and foot to the Clare side and cut off the communication between the city and the Irish horse camp The Irish cavalry, under major-general Sheldon, retired to Sixmile-bridge; and the lords justices and gentry fled in great consternation to the city, and might indeed have been all intercepted and taken had not the enemy used great caution in their movements; Ginkell fearing an ambuscade, or an attack from the Irish while his army was thus divided; and thus with the exception of constructing his bridge, and obliging the Irish horse to repair for forage to a distance, he effected nothing on this occasion.

On the 22nd Ginkell, having lulled the garrison into a false security by appearing to make preparations to raise the seige, again crossed the Shannon with a large portion of his army, and proceeded to invest the town at the Clare side. The three regiments of Kirke, Tiffin, and lord George Hamilton, with all the grenadiers, were ordered to advance and attack the works at the Clare end of Thomond-bridge, which were bravely defended by colonel Lacy with about 700 men; but the number of the enemy being overwhelming, the Irish troops were obliged to give way and retreat over the bridge. Unfortunately the town-major, who was a Frenchman, fearing that the enemy would enter pell-mell with the Irish, raised the draw-bridge. He apprehended no doubt nothing more than the surrender of these men as prisoners of war; but the result was very different. The English gave no quarter, and according to their own account 600 of the Irish were slaughtered on the bridge, which was covered with piles of dead bodies, while about 130 were made prisoners. Several of the Irish jumped over and perished in the river, and the English admit that they themselves lost between 200 and 300 killed and wounded in the affair.

This miserable scene of carnage was the last bloodshed in the war. The next day, Wednesday, the 23rd, a parley was demanded on the part of the garrison, and a cessation of arms took place. Even the gallant Sarsfield was among the first to recommend a capitulation. Why should they persevere longer in the hopeless struggle? The long looked-for succour from France had not come, nor any intelligence as to when it might be expected; and by all it was admitted that the solemn promise made to Tirconnell ceased, under the circumstances, to be obligatory. On the morning of the 24th, a three day's truce was agreed to. On the

26th the negotiations were opened, hostages were exchanged, and Sarsfield and major-general Wauchop dined with Ginkell in the camp. A friendly intercourse commenced between the two armies after the cessation of hostilities; but it was not until the 3rd of October that the military and civil articles of the capitulation were signed and exchanged; the former, about the departure of the Irish troops, being signed by the generals of both armies; and the latter, relating to the privileges conceded to the Irish, signed by the English general and lords justices.* The same evening the Williamite army got possession of the Irish outworks, and of St. John's gate; and the following day four regiments marched into the Irish Town; the English Town being left

* The Treaty of Limerick.—The *Civil Articles* of this treaty will be ever memorable for the disgraceful and perfidious violation of them, which attaches so foul a stain to the English government of Ireland. By the first of these articles it was stipulated and agreed, "that the Roman Catholics of Ireland shall enjoy such privileges, in the exercise of their religion, as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles II.; and that their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in Ireland, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any further disturbance on account of their religion." The second article secured to Catholics all their estates and properties, such as they were rightfully entitled to in the reign of Charles II., as also the free exercise of their respective callings and professions. Irish merchants then absent in foreign countries, and certain Irish officers absent in France on the affairs of the army, were to have the benefit of these articles. By the fifth article a general pardon was granted for all attainders, outlawries, treasons, premunires, felonies, &c., incurred or committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. All private suits at law, for trespasses committed during the war were prohibited. Arrests and executions for debts or damages were not to be made for the space of eight months. But above all, it was provided by the ninth article that the oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submitted to the government of William and Mary was to be the Oath of Allegiance, "and no other"; that is, that they were not to be required to take such oaths as the oath of supremacy, &c. These civil articles, which were thirteen in number, were signed by the lords justices, sir Charles Porter, and Thomas Coningsby, and by the commander-in-chief, baron de Ginkell; and were subsequently duly ratified by William and Mary, and on the 24th of the following February enrolled in the Court of Chancery. How they were fulfilled by the English government will be seen in the next chapter. The *Military Articles*, which were twenty-nine in number, related chiefly to the arrangements for the transport of the Irish troops, with their baggage, &c., to France. The first of these articles was, "that all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household stuff, plate, and jewels." The second article stipulated, that all officers and soldiers of every grade in any of the garrisons then in the hands of the Irish, or encamping in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, "as also those called rapparees, or volunteers," should "have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies, or in parties, companies, or otherwise." If the officers or soldiers were plundered by the way, government was to make good their losses. The government was to provide 50 ships of 200 tons burthen each, and if necessary 20 ships more, for transports, besides two men-of-war to convey the principal officers; and finally, the garrison of Limerick might march out "with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted, colours flying, six brass guns, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition then in the place, &c." The articles of Limerick have been frequently republished, and will be found in full in Mageoghegan's *Hist. of Ireland*; Leland; Curry's *Review of the Civil Wars*; Ferrar's *History of Limerick*; Taaffe's *History*, &c.

for the Irish quarters, until arrangements could be made for the embarkation of the Irish army for France. Thus was the war brought at length to a conclusion, and William and Mary left in the undisputed possession of their throne. A few days after the capitulation was signed a French fleet of 16 ships of the line and 20 ships of burden, conveying 7,000 soldiers, 200 officers, 10,000 stand of arms, with ammunition and provisions, arrived in the Shannon; but it was then too late. A few days earlier it would have saved Limerick, and might have turned the scale of fortune in the war.

In conformity with the articles of capitulation, the Irish infantry were, a few days after, marshalled on the Clare side of the Shannon, that the men might have an opportunity to declare their choice between departing for France and remaining under the English government at home. The result was, that an Ulster battalion, and a few men in most of the regiments, adopted the latter alternative; about 1,000 men entering the Williamite service, and 2,000 accepting passes to return home; while 11,000, together with all the cavalry, volunteered for France. A body of 4,500 men, under Sarsfield, sailed from Cork and landed at Brest, on the 3rd of December; 4,700 men, besides officers, embarked at Limerick, with d'Usson and Tessé, on board the French squadron already mentioned; 3,000 men followed in English ships under major-general Wauchop; two companies of the Royal Irish Guards sailed next; "and," says the Abbé Mageoghegan, "according to the report of the commissaries, the whole of the Irish troops, including the officers, who followed king James to France amounted to 19,059 men."* As each corps of the gallant exiles arrived at the ports of Brittany, king James himself went down to meet them. They were kindly received by the French king, and enrolled in his service; and all Irish Catholics going to France were granted the privileges of French citizenship without the formality of naturalization, a right which was subsequently

* "To those," observes Mr. O'Callaghan, "are to be added the brigade of Mountcashel of 5,270 men sent to France by James in the beginning of 1690, making 24,430, which, with others who went over at different times, not specified, would, according to king James's *Memoirs*, and a letter of Cavalier Charles Wogan, nephew of the duke of Tirconnell, amount in all to about 30,000 men." (*Hist. of the Irish Brigades*, vol. i. p. 61). The several regiments were renumbered, their number being reduced, and the force of each increased; they were constantly recruited from Ireland, and the men generously offered to serve for the pay of French soldiers, although entitled to a higher amount as strangers, in order that the obligation of king James to the French government might be less onerous. For an account of the distinguished services of the Irish brigades, and other particulars relative to them, the reader is referred to Mr. O'Callaghan's *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*; Mr. O'Connor's *History of the Irish Brigade*, or, as it is frequently called, *Military History of the Irish*; Mr. Dalton's *King James's Irish Army List*, &c.

confirmed to them by Louis XV. Many of the exiles were accompanied by their families, but a great many of the women and children were also left behind, and reduced to a state of utter destitution. The wild wailing at the parting scenes in Limerick and Cork, and on the shores of Kerry, smote the hearts even of their enemies. Several of the expatriated Irish gentry rose high in the courts and camps of the continent, and became the founders of families of distinguished rank in France, Spain, and Austria; whereas, had they remained at home, they could only, as Irish Catholics, have participated in the degradation of their race and country.

Thus was this unequal struggle brought to a close. Before it commenced the Irish had been already reduced by many years of plunder and oppression to a state that might well have seemed one of utter helplessness. They were left almost unaided; for it so happened that their French allies did not fight one battle for them. And yet, after three hard-fought campaigns, it was only the combined forces of England, her foreign allies, and her Protestant colonists of Ireland, that prevailed against them. The war cost William, according to Story, about £6,637,742, an approximate calculation rather under the truth than otherwise. During the years 1690 and 1691, William's army in Ireland amounted to between 35,000 and 36,000 regular troops, besides the well-armed and well-trained Protestant militia, who did garrison duty; and so desirous was his government to terminate the contest, that the lords justices had a proclamation printed offering much more favorable terms than those actually agreed to; but finding on their arrival at the camp that negotiations for a capitulation were on foot, the document was suppressed, and is therefore known as the "secret proclamation."† General Ginkell was, as a reward for his services, created earl of Athlone and baron of Aughrim, and obtained a grant of all the forfeited estates of William Dungan, earl of Limerick, in eight counties of Ireland.

† Harris's Memoir of Cox, in *Ware's Irish Writers*, and Leland's *History of Ireland*. The articles of the Secret Proclamation are not precisely known, but they are presumed to have been nearly the same as those which were offered, by William to Tirconnell, a little before the battle of Aughrim, and which, as we learn from a letter of the chevalier Charles Wogan to dean Swift, were:—To the Irish Catholics the free exercise of their religion; half the churches of the kingdom; half the employments, civil and military, if they pleased; and the moiety of their ancient properties. The Irish mistrusted these concessions and rejected them.

CHAPTER XLII.

FROM THE TREATY OF LIMERICK TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

State of Ireland after the departure of the Brigades.—The articles of Limerick violated.—The Catholics reduced to a deplorable condition.—Disposal of the forfeited estates.—William III. and his Parliament at issue.—Enactment of penal laws in Ireland.—Moylneux's "Case stated."—Destruction of the Irish woollen manufacture.—Death of William.—Intolerance of the Protestant colonists.—Penal laws of Queen Anne's reign.—The sacramental test.—Attempts to extirpate the Catholics.—The Palatines (note).—Accession of George I.—Rebellion in Scotland in 1715.—Profound tranquillity in Ireland.—Rigorous execution of the penal laws.—Contests between the English and Irish Parliaments.—The latter deprived of its independence.—Bill for more effectually preventing the growth of Popery.—Rise of the patriots in the Irish Parliament.—Dean Swift.—Woods' halfpence—Extraordinary excitement.—Frightful state of public morals.—Cardinal Wiseman on the fidelity of the Irish (note).—Accession of George II.—An address from the Catholics treated with contempt.—Primate Boulter.—Charter schools established to proselytise the Catholic children.—Converted Papists suspected.—Distress and emigration.—Fresh rigors against the Catholics.—Proposed massacre.—The great Scottish rebellion of 1745.—Lord Chesterfield in Ireland.—Disputes in the Irish Parliament about the surplus revenue.—The patriots weakened by the corrupting policy of the Government.—First movements of the Catholics.—First Catholic Committee.—Discountenanced by the clergy and aristocracy.—Thurot's expedition.—Accession of George III.—The Whiteboys—the Hearts-of-Oak and Hearts-of-Steel Boys.—Efforts of the patriots against the pension list.—Execution of Father Sheehy.—Lord Townsend's administration.—The Octennial Bill.—The Irish Parliament struggles for independence.—Outbreak of the American war, and attempts to conciliate Ireland.—Refusal to receive foreign troops.—The Volunteers.—Great distress and popular discontent.—Mr. Grattan's resolution of independence.—Conduct and resolution of the Volunteers.—The Dungannon resolutions.—Legislative independence of Ireland voted.—New measures of Catholic relief.—Influence of the Volunteers.

[A.D. 1691 TO A.D. 1782.]

WITH Sarsfield and his companions in arms departed the bone and sinew of Ireland. Then, indeed, might it be said that the heart of Ireland was broken. Those left behind were a helpless and dispirited, and hence a timid and unresisting people; and it was easy to foresee that when they thus ceased to be formidable, they had little to hope for from the good faith of the victors. Two months had not elapsed from the singing of the treaty of Limerick, when, in open violation of the articles, "the justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates," says Harris, "presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties' (Catholic) subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great reproach of their majesties' government;"* and the lords justices, who were compelled to issue a proclamation against the outrageous proceed-

* Harris's *Life of King William*, p. 357.

ings of their subordinates, state in their letter of November 19th, 1691, that they "had received complaints from all parts of Ireland of the ill-treatment of the Irish who had submitted, had their majesties' protection, or were included in articles; and that they (the Irish) were so extremely terrified with apprehensions of the continuance of that usage that some thousands of them who had quitted the Irish army and went home with the resolution not to go for France, were then come back again and pressed earnestly to go thither, rather than stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the public faith as well as law and justice, they were robbed of their substance and abused in their persons." The Protestants exclaimed vehemently against the terms made with the Catholics as being too liberal; it was proclaimed from their pulpits that the peace ought not to be observed; they were disappointed in their hopes of obtaining all the estates of the Papists, and would not yield a shred of the liberty which they claimed for themselves to those over whom foreign arms had enabled them to prevail. In fine, they were not content to conquer, but should enslave their late foes, and trample them under foot; and the more these foes were humbled in the dust, the more insolent and inexorable did the ungenerous victors become. The intolerant demands of the Protestant faction were soon to be fully gratified. The general disarming of the Irish Catholics was one of the first steps for that purpose; the disposal of the forfeited estates was proceeded with; Catholics were excluded from the Irish parliament by an act of the English legislature; the way was prepared for the whole infamous code of penal laws; and the native population was reduced to a state so abject that oppression might be carried to any extent against them with impunity.*

* Describing the results of the war of 1691, the great Edmund Burke says:—"The ruin of the native Irish, and in a great measure, too, of the first race of the English, was completely accomplished. The new interest was settled with as solid a stability as anything in human affairs can look for. All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the last event, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke. They were not the effects of their fears but of their security. They who carried on this system looked to the irresistible force of Great Britain for their support in their acts of power. They were quite certain that no complaints of the natives would be heard on this side of the water (in England) with any other sentiments than those of contempt and indignation. Their cries served only to augment their torture. . . . . Indeed, at that time in England the double name of the complainants, Irish and Papists—it would be hard to say singly which was the most odious—shut up the hearts of every one against them." (*Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe*, p. 44.) Sir Richard Cox, the anti-Irish author of the *Hibernia Anglicana*, in a letter of October 24th, 1705 (preserved in the *Southwell papers*), says the youth and gentry of the Irish were "destroyed in the rebellion or gone to France; those who are left, destitute of horses, arms, money, capacity, and courage. Five out of six of the Irish are poor, insignificant slaves, fit for nothing but to hew wood and draw water." Swift was in the habit of

We learn from official sources that the number of Irish outlawed by king William's English parliament for their fidelity to king James II., whom they regarded as their legitimate sovereign, was 3,921, and that the Irish forfeited estates amounted to 1,060,792 acres, of the annual value, at that time, of £211,623. The sale of this property introduced into Ireland a fresh set of adventurers, being the third migration of new settlers to displace the old race since the reign of Elizabeth.* The Catholics of the native and early Anglo-Irish races still, indeed, constituted the great bulk of the population, but they were not recognised as having a political existence; and although the Protestant colonists raised disputes among themselves, and formed an "English" and an "Irish" party of their own, they were unanimous on the point of denying all civil rights to the Catholic Irish. The question of the independence of the Irish parliament began, immediately after the war, to excite a lively interest. In the parliament which met in Dublin on the 5th of October, 1692, the feeling on this subject ran so high that a bill sent from England for imposing certain duties, was rejected by the commons without any ground for the rejection being assigned save that "the said bill had not its rise in this house." This vote was passed the 28th of October, and on the 3rd November lord Sydney, the lord lieutenant, went, unexpectedly, and

saying that the Irish Papists were "altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children." (*See Letter on the Sacramental Test*, written in 1708; the *Drapier's Letters*, &c.) And lord Macaulay, who loved to dwell on any expression implying contempt for the Irish, endeavoured to make this language stronger. "The Protestant masters of Ireland," he writes, "while ostentatiously professing the political doctrines of Locke and Sidney, held that a people who spoke the Celtic tongue and heard mass could have no concern in those doctrines. Molyneux questioned the supremacy of the English legislature. Swift assailed with the keenest ridicule and invective every part of the system of government. Lucas disquieted the administration of lord Harrington. Boyle overthrew the administration of the duke of Dorset. But neither Molyneux nor Swift, neither Lucas nor Boyle, ever thought of appealing to the native population. *They would as soon have thought of appealing to the swine.*" (*Hist. of Eng.*, vol. vi., p. 119.)

* Lord Chancellor Clare, in his celebrated speech on the Union, referring to this Williamite confiscation, says:—"It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland, incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at 11,042,682 acres." (that is, of arable land, according to the survey of Ireland then received). "In the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulster was confiscated, containing 2,836,837 acres; set up by the court of claims at the restoration, 7,809,600; forfeitures of 1688, 1,060,792; total, 11,697,629 acres. So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood,.....and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or, perhaps, thrice, in the course of a century. The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation as the revolutions stands unparalleled in the history of the habitable world.....The whole power and property of the country have been conferred by successive migrations of England upon an English colony, composed of three sets of English adventurers who poured into this country at the termination of three successive rebellions. Confiscation is their common title; and from their first settlement they have been hemmed in on every side by the old inhabitants of the island, brooding over their discontent in sullen indignation."

prorogued the parliament, pronouncing at the same time a severe rebuke, and ordering the clerk to enter his protest against the vote of the commons on the journals of the house of lords, in vindication of the prerogative of the crown. In the English parliament a discussion took place on Irish affairs, and an address to the king was voted, complaining of great abuses and mismanagement in the affairs of Ireland, such as the recruiting of the king's troops with Papists, "to the great endangering and discouraging of the good and loyal Protestant subjects in that kingdom;" the granting protection to the Irish Papists, "whereby Protestants are hindered from their legal remedies, and the course of law stopt." The letting of the forfeited estates at under rates; the enormous embezzlements of the forfeited estates and goods; but above all, the parliament complained of an addition which they said was made to the articles of Limerick after the town was surrendered, "to the very great encouragement of the Irish Papists," which addition, as well as the articles themselves, they prayed might be laid before the house;* and they also besought his majesty that no grant might be made of the forfeited estates in Ireland until an opportunity was afforded of settling the matter in parliament. William was annoyed at this interference of the English commons. As to the Irish forfeitures, he had already bestowed most of them as rewards for the services of his friends; and he was indignant at the attempt to set aside the treaty of Limerick, to which he admitted that "his word and honor were engaged, which he never would forfeit." His only answer to the address was, therefore, conveyed in these few words: "I shall always have great consideration of what comes from the house of commons; and I shall take great care that what is amiss shall be remedied."

It is generally admitted that William III. was not personally responsible for the penal laws against Catholics enacted in his reign. He was not inclined to persecute any man for his religion; and he was too good a soldier to wish to trample on a brave but unfortunate foe whom he

* In the second article, which secured the possession of their estates to the residents of Limerick and of the other garrisons then in the occupation of the Irish, and to the Irish officers and soldiers then in the counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, the words:—"and all such as are under their protection in the said counties," were accidentally omitted in the copy of the article which was signed, although contained in the original draft that had been settled between the parties. Sarsfield insisted that the mistake should be rectified, and Ginkell accordingly added the omitted words to the treaty after the Irish town of Limerick had been put in his possession. The French fleet were just then coming up the Shannon, and it was admitted, that it would have been very imprudent, under the circumstances, for the Dutch general to hesitate. The words in question were duly ratified and confirmed by William and Mary, at the same time with the substantive articles; and yet, to them the English house of commons raised the disgraceful objection mentioned above.

had vanquished in the field. In politics the principles of the tories were more congenial to him than those of the whigs. The whigs of that day were indeed nearly identical in spirit with the orangemen of later times, and differed in many respects from the great constitutional party of that name in modern times professing principles friendly to popular liberty and toleration; but intolerant and violent as they were, it was the whigs of that day who had placed William on the throne of England, and to their imperious legislation even he was obliged to yield his will. In 1693 lord Sydney was recalled from the government of Ireland, which was then vested in lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncombe, as lords justices; but while the two latter wished to distribute justice with an equal hand, lord Capel took every opportunity to infringe the articles of Limerick, and curtail the rights of the Irish. Wyche and Duncombe, for their impartiality, were stigmatised as tories and jacobites, and lord Capel soon obtained the sole government as lord deputy. In 1695 he summoned a parliament which sat for several sessions, and which enacted, without opposition, numerous penal statutes against the Catholics. Among them were laws "for restraining foreign education;" "for the better securing the government by disarming the Papists;" "for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy out of the kingdom;"* "to prevent Protestants intermarrying with Papists," and "to prevent Papists being solicitors." These laws were in direct contravention of the treaty of Limerick; but this parliament went a step farther, and passed an act, which they had the effrontery to call "an act for the confirmation of the articles made at the surrender of the city of Limerick;" but which, in reality, omitted the first article, and curtailed the others to such an extent that the Catholics justly regarded it as a virtual frustration of the rights which the treaty was intended to secure to them. A petition was presented from Robert Cusack, Esq., and Captains Francis Segrave and Maurice Eustace, praying on the part of themselves and their fellow Catholics that they might be heard by counsel on the measure before it passed into law, but the house of commons unanimously resolved that the said petition should be rejected. In the upper house a protest against

* "According to captain South's account," says Newenham, "there were in Ireland in the year 1698, 495 regular, and 872 secular, clergy of the Church of Rome. According to the same account the number of regulars shipped for foreign parts, by act of parliament, was 424; viz., from Dublin, 153; from Galway, 170; from Cork, 75; and from Waterford, 26." (*View of the Natural and Political Circumstances of Ireland*, p. 196.)

the nefarious measure was signed by seven lay peers, and, to their honor be it said, by as many Protestant bishops.*

While the parliament of the Protestant colony in Ireland was thus indulging the prejudices of an intolerant faction, by enacting laws against the unoffending and helpless Catholics, it was engaged on another side in a vital conflict for its own independence against the English legislature. The rights which the English parliament had vindicated for itself by the revolution it sternly denied to the sister institution in Ireland; but it was as sternly encountered by a power of its own creation. That Protestant ascendancy, in fact, which English policy had so long labored to establish and foster in Ireland, now presented a stubborn obstacle to the maintenance of English supremacy. In 1698 Mr. Molyneux, one of the members for the university of Dublin, published his famous book, entitled, "the case of Ireland's being bound by acts of parliament in England stated." In it he reviewed the history of the Pale from the Anglo-Norman invasion; and from the whole connection of the two kingdoms, drew strong inferences in support of their reciprocal legislative independence. The English house of commons resolved unani-

* By the laws referred to in the text it was enacted that all Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, &c., and all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should depart the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698; those who neglected to obey that order were to be imprisoned until they were transported beyond the seas, and if any returned from such transportation they would be guilty of high treason, and should suffer accordingly, that is, be executed. From the 29th December, 1697, any Popish archbishop, &c., coming into this kingdom from beyond the seas, was to be imprisoned for twelve months, and then transported; and if returning after such transportation, to be guilty of high treason, and punished accordingly. Any person after the 1st of May, 1698, concealing or entertaining any such Popish archbishops, bishops, &c., should for the first offence forfeit £20; for the second, double that sum; and for the third, should forfeit during life all his lands and tenements, and also all his goods and chattels, one moiety to the king, and the other moiety, if it did not exceed £100, to the informer, the surplusage over £100 to go to the king. A resolution of the Irish parliament of December 1st, 1697, recommended the revival of the law of 2nd Eliz. chap. 2, which obliged every person to attend the Protestant service on Sundays under a penalty of 12d. for each neglect. The law restraining foreign education, after the prohibition of Catholic education at home, enacted that "if any subjects of Ireland should go, or send, any child or other person to be educated in any Popish university, college, or school, or in any private family beyond the seas, or if such child should, by any Popish person, be instructed in the Popish religion, or if any subjects of Ireland should send money, &c., towards the maintenance of such child or other person, already sent or to be sent, every such offender should be for ever disabled to sue, or prosecute any action, &c., in law or equity; to be guardian, administrator, &c., to any person, or to be capable of any legacy or deed of gift; and besides, should forfeit all their estates, both real and personal, during their lives." "It is really shameful," observes Dr. Curry (*Hist. Review*, p. 530), "to see what mean, malicious, and frivolous complaints against Papists were received under the notion of grievances by that parliament. Thus, 'a petition of one Edward Sprag and others, in behalf of themselves and other Protestant porters in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a Papist, had employed porters of his own persuasion, having been received and read, was referred to the committee of grievances, that they should report thereon to the house.'—(*Com. Jour.* vol. ii. 650).

mously "that the book published by Mr. Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland had and ought to have upon England as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They also condemned in the strongest terms the practice of the Irish parliament to re-enact laws made in England expressly to bind Ireland; and went in a body to present an address to the king, praying his majesty "to take all necessary care that the laws which directed and restrained the parliament of Ireland should not be evaded." Thus did the English parliament try to carry the matter with a high hand, while the Irish parliament could do little more than protest against the usurpation of its constitutional rights.

England had long been jealous of the woollen manufactures of Ireland, and on the principle that Irish interests ought to be subordinate to those of England, it was resolved that that important branch of Irish industry and commerce should be destroyed. Some attempts for that purpose had been made so long ago as Strafford's time, but, notwithstanding these, the trade flourished; and now, as on that occasion, it was proposed to encourage the linen trade as a substitute, linen not being a staple commodity in England; although, in this, too, at a later period, Irish rivalry excited English jealousy. In June, 1698, addresses on the subject from the English houses of lords and commons were presented to William III., who, in reply said, "I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen trade there; and to promote the trade of England;" and he sent instructions accordingly to his lords justices in Ireland. The Irish parliament manifested, on the occasion, a base subserviency, which proved that their recent contests were for the privileges of their order, not for the interests of the country. In the session of 1689 they passed a law imposing on the exportation of Irish woollen goods duties which amounted to a prohibition; and, in the same year, a law was passed in England restraining the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures, including frieze, to any country except England and Wales. The Irish wool trade was carried on exclusively by the Protestant colonists, and it was said that 40,000 persons were reduced to poverty by its destruction.*

* Arthur Young, in his *Tour in Ireland*, points out how futile was the hope that England would give that encouragement to the Irish linen trade which was promised as a compensation for the loss of the woollen manufacture. He shows how, in direct breach of the compact, the Irish

Seven commissioners were sent by the English parliament to inquire into the disposal of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and four out of the seven, in opposition to court influence, presented to the house of commons, in December 1699, a report which caused extreme annoyance to the king, who had made grants according to his own views. One of his grants, not included in the private forfeitures already mentioned, consisted of 95,649 acres of the personal estates of James II., worth, per annum, £25,995, which William had given to his favorite, Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, created countess of Orkney. The inquiry elicited several unpleasant exposures, and gave rise to warm debates in the English parliament. The house of commons voted that, "the advising and passing of the said grants was highly reflecting upon the king's honor;" and, in the beginning of 1700, passed an act for resuming the granted estates as public property. These proceedings embittered the latter days of William III., who broke his collar-bone by a fall from his horse, on the 26th of February, 1702, and died on the 8th of March following, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was never popular in England, and his inability to control the English parliament, in the instance just mentioned, or in the dismissal of his Dutch guards from England, relieves his memory, to some extent, from the odium of other acts of the legislature during his reign. He survived only a short time the dethroned king, James II., who died at St. Germains September 16th, 1701; and he was deeply chagrined to find that, immediately upon that event, the "Pretender" was acknowledged king of England, as James III., by the courts of France and Spain.

For the reign of William's successor, Anne, was reserved the distinction of bringing the execrable penal code to full maturity. At this time nothing whatever was done on the part of the Irish Catholics to provoke aggression: no offences were alleged against them: they kept aloof from the party agitation of the day, and had subsided into a state of utter prostration and debility. Still, in the midst of a vast Catholic population, the Protestant colonists did not feel their ascendancy secure. The power of England at their back, the wealth of the country in their hands, and the well-forged chains which bound the Catholics to the earth were not sufficient. They imagined that in the persecution of the Catholics lay their own safety. In 1703 the duke of Ormond came to

George II., laid a tax on sailcloth made of Irish hemp; how bounties were given to English linens to the exclusion of the Irish, and how certain Irish linen fabrics were not admitted into England. —*Tour*, part ii. p. 107, 4to Ed.

Ireland as lord lieutenant, and on his arrival the house of commons waited on him in a body, with a bill "for preventing the further growth of popery," praying him, says Burnett, with more than ordinary vehemence to intercede so effectually for them that it might be sent back under the great seal of England. This he undertook to do; and we learn from the same authority that he fulfilled his promise punctually.* Several members appear to have disapproved of the bill, but not one had the honor or manliness to raise his voice against it; those who were ashamed of the measure merely resigning their seats, to which less scrupulous men were elected. Yet, even the silent protest of such resignations, as they became more frequent, would not be tolerated by the tyrant majority; and it was made a standing order that no new writs would be issued to replace such reluctant members. In England the tory advisers of Anne deemed the atrocious measure harsh and uncalled for; yet they had not the courage to stem the tide of anti-popish persecution. To evade their responsibility they resorted to a mean subterfuge. They added to the bill the clause known as the "Sacramental Test," which excluded from every public trust all who refused to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the established church, and which, therefore, militated against Presbyterians and other Protestant dissenters, as well as against Catholics; and they hoped by that means to have the bill rejected by the Irish parliament, in which the dissenters had great influence. The artifice, however, did not succeed. The dissenters were at first alarmed, but on being assured that the clause would never be put in force against themselves, and that it was only the Papists who were aimed at, they withdrew their opposition. Some of the Catholic nobility and gentry petitioned to be heard by counsel against the bill, and sir Theobald Butler, sir Stephen Rice, and counsellor Malone, were

* James, the second and last duke of Ormond, who on this occasion assured the parliament that he would be always most ready to do everything in his power to prevent the growth of Popery, was grandson of James, the first or "great" duke, who, as representative in Ireland of Charles I., and then of Charles II., during the civil wars of the Commonwealth, had exhibited such bitter enmity to the confederate Catholics. Thomas earl of Ossory, son of the first duke and father of the second, did not live to inherit his ancestral honors, and his noble qualities rendered his death (in 1680) a deplorable loss to his country. It is a remarkable fact that while from the earliest times members of the noble family of Ormond were foremost in the popular ranks, the head of the house almost invariably sided with the English party against his country. The second duke, who, as mentioned above, promoted the penal enactments against the Catholics, and was one of the first who joined the prince of Orange against James II. subsequently took the part of the Pretender against George I., and shortly after the death of queen Anne was attainted of high treason and deprived of all his estates and titles. He died in 1745 an exile in the south of France, where he had subsisted on a pension from the kings of France and Spain, but it would appear that he always continued a consistent Protestant.

accordingly allowed to appear against it at the bar of the houses of lords and commons; but all their appeals to the laws of treaties, or to the justice or humanity of the legislature, were in vain. The petitioners were told in mockery that if they were deprived of the benefits of the articles of Limerick it would be their own fault, since, by conforming to the established religion, they would be entitled to these and many other advantages; that therefore they ought not to blame any but themselves; that the passing of that bill into a law was needful for the security of the kingdom at that juncture; and in short that there was nothing in the articles of Limerick which hindered them to pass it!* "The bill," says Mr. O'Conor, "passed without a dissentient voice; without the opposition or protest of a single individual to proclaim that there was one man of righteousness in that polluted assembly to save it from the reproach of universal depravity."† On the 4th of March, 1704, it received the royal assent; and on the 17th, the commons resolved unanimously that all magistrates and others who neglected to put the laws in execution against the Papists betrayed the public liberty. In June, 1705, they resolved that the saying or hearing of mass by any one who had not taken the oath of abjuration was illegal, and that any judges or magistrates who neglected to inquire into and discover such wicked practices were enemies to the queen's government; and in order to remove the repugnance which people naturally feel for the infamous trade of informers and priest-hunters, it was unanimously resolved that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service to the state. But these brutal laws were not yet stringent enough, and to consolidate the system, an act was passed, in 1709, to explain and amend the act for preventing the further growth of Popery, so that the code was now, as Burke describes it, "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."‡

* The admirable and unanswerable arguments of the Catholic counsel against the bill have been preserved in the appendix to Curry's *Review;* and will also be found in the appendix to Plowden's *Historical Review*, and in Taaffe's *History*.

† O'Conor's *History of the Irish Catholics*. p. 169.

‡ *Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe*. We may say with Mr. Lawless, that "it is painful to recall the mind to the contemplation of these laws, which were conceived by the malignant genius of monopoly; that for the interests of mankind, it would, perhaps, be better to bury these examples of public infamy, the very mention of which must more or less contribute to the degradation of public morals; but that the duties of the historian silence the voice of the philanthropist" (*Lawless's Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 316); but as a still stronger reason for dwelling on the loathsome details, we may add that under the withering influence of these laws successive generations of Irish

During the whole of Anne's reign the penal laws were enforced with rigorous severity, yet the persecuted Catholics of Ireland could be charged with no act of disloyalty. In England, and among the Irish Protestants, the dissensions of whigs and tories daily increased in virulence; violent ruptures took place between the English houses of lords and commons; in Ireland, the dissenters complained loudly of the grievances inflicted on them by the high church party; and all the attempts made by the profligate earl of Wharton and other viceroys to unite all sects of Protestants against the "common enemy," as the Catholics were termed, proved ineffectual. The English parliament enacted several laws to bind Ireland, and yet no protest was now made against them by the degenerate Irish parliament, which seemed content with the liberty to make laws against the Catholics. It appeared to be a settled principle that the Catholics were to be harassed to extermination.* "The last consummation," says an eloquent writer,

Catholics grew up and passed away; that their effects on the moral and material interests of the nation remained long after the barbarous laws themselves were erased from the statute book, and that there are many circumstances in the social state of Ireland at this moment which must be explained by a reference to the penal code. For these reasons we subjoin the following enumeration of the Irish penal laws of queen Anne's reign, as given by Taaffe (*Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. pp. 567, &c.:)—"If the eldest or any other son became a Protestant, the father, if possessing an estate by descent or purchase, was rendered incapable of disposing any part of it, even in legacies or portions.—If a child pretended to be a Protestant, the guardianship of it was taken from the father and vested in the next Protestant relation.—If children became Protestants the parents were compelled to discover the amount of their property, that the Court of Chancery might at pleasure allot portions for the rebellious children.—If a wife became a Protestant during the lifetime of her husband she should have such provision as the lord chancellor thought fit to adjudge.—If no Protestant heir, the estate was to be divided among the children, &c., share and share alike. (This amounted to the abolition of primogeniture for Catholics.)—The heirs of a Protestant possessor, if Papists, disinherited, and the estate transferred to the next Protestant relation.—Papists rendered incapable of purchasing lands, or rents or profits from lands, or taking leases for any term over thirty-one years; *and if the profit on the farm exceeded one-third of the rent the possessor might be ousted, and the property vested in the Protestant discoverer.*—Papists rendered incapable of annuities.—Deprived of votes at elections.—Incapacitated from serving on grand juries.—Expelled from Limerick and Galway.—Limited to two apprentices, except in the linen trade.—Twenty pounds penalty or two months' imprisonment for not acknowledging when and where mass was celebrated: who and what persons were present; when or where a priest or schoolmaster resided.—Popish clergy to be registered, and to officiate only in the parish in which they are registered.—£50 reward for discovering a Popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or any person exercising foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction.—£20 reward for a regular or secular clergyman not registered.—£10 reward for a Popish schoolmaster or usher.—These rewards to be levied exclusively on Papists.—Advowsons of Papists vested in her majesty.—£30 per annum settled upon priests becoming Protestants." By another law the Catholics were prevented from purchasing any part of the forfeited estates, but allowed to dwell on them as labourers or cottiers, provided their tenement did not exceed in value the rent of thirty shillings a-year.

* In 1709 some of the extirpated Catholics were replaced by colonies of Protestants from different parts of Germany, but known by the general name of Palatines. Many thousands of these Germans came to England, and Dr. Curry says that 841 families were brought over to Ireland (Lodge makes the number 569 families, averaging [illegible] persons each, vol. vi. p. 24, note).

" was now perfected. The land was reduced to a waste, yet fear and discord still reigned; solitude was everwhere, but peace was not yet established. Emigrations became numerous and frequent; all who could fly fled. They left behind a government a prey to every vice, and a country a victim to every wrong. The facility of acquiring property by the violation of the natural duties of social life was too powerful a temptation: dishonesty, treachery, and extravagance prevailed. The rewards of conformity cast at large the seeds of mutual distrust in the hearts of child and of parent. Hypocrisy and dissimulation were applauded and recompensed by the laws themselves. A nursery for young tyrants was formed in the very bosom of the legislature; habitual oppression and habitual subserviency degraded and debased the upper classes. The lower, without rights, without land, with scarcely a home, with nothing which truly gives country to man, basely crept over their native soil, defrauded of its blessings, 'the patient victims of its wrongs—the insensible spectators of its ruin,' and left behind them, between the cradle and the grave, no other trace of their existence than the memorial of calamities under which they bent, and of crimes which were assiduously taught them by their governors."*

It was well known that queen Anne was opposed to the succession of

that the sum of £24,850 was appointed for their maintenance out of the public revenue; but parliament soon grew tired of the burden, for in 1711 the lords, in addressing the queen, thanked her that by her care she had anticipated their own endeavours to free the nation from the load of debt "which the bringing over numbers of useless and indigent Palatines had brought upon them." Burnet tells us that the English commons voted that those who had encouraged and brought over the Palatines were enemies to the nation (vol. ii. p. 338). In Ireland their chief patron was sir Thomas Southwell, afterwards baron of Castlematress, and ancestor of viscount Southwell. Their principal colony was fixed at Courtmatress near Rathkeale, and colonies were subsequently planted at Adare, Castle Oliver, and other places in the county of Limerick, and also at some localities in Kerry. The Palatines got farms on leases for three lives at two-thirds of the rent at which land would be let to Irish tenants. They were also encouraged in various other ways; and these advantages, with their skilful husbandry, and habits of industry, frugality, and cleanliness, raised them considerably in the scale of comfort above their Irish neighbours. When Arthur Young visited Ireland in 1776 he found that the Palatines retained to a great extent their German customs and manners. Even at the present day they may be said to form distinct communities, although their ancient national peculiarities have been long laid aside. They are industrious and inoffensive; live in friendly relations with their Catholic neighbours; and although they still adhere to some form of Protestantism (chiefly dissent), they have intermarried in numerous instances with Catholics. After mentioning how the Palatines "had houses built for them, plots of land assigned to each at a rent of favor, were assisted in stock, and all of them with leases for lives from the head landlord," Arthur Young adds: "The poor Irish are rarely treated in this manner; when they are, they work much greater improvements than (are) common among those Germans." Such was the impartial statement of a cotemporary English traveller. *Tour*, &c., part ii. p. 18.

* *Hist. Sketch of the Catholic Association* by Thomas Wyse, esq. vol. i. p. 24. Lord Chesterfield, describing the state of this country a few years later, says,—"All the causes that ever destroyed any country conspire in this point to ruin Ireland." *Miscell. Works*, vol. iii. p. 34.

the house of Hanover, and the chief aim of her tory ministers during the latter years of her life was to prepare the way to bring in her brother, the Pretender, at her death. Neither the queen, however, nor her ministers had resolution enough for so important a movement. All the energy was to be found on the side of the whigs; and Anne had the mortification to see her brother attainted by the English parliament, and a proclamation issued offering £50,000 reward for his apprehension; and to find that, contrary to her express wishes, the successor chosen for her by the whigs was invited into England during her lifetime. These provocations hastened her death, which took place on the 1st of August, 1714, and a few hours after her demise George Augustus, duke of Cambridge, and son of the elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king as George I.*

The year 1715 was memorable for the rebellion in Scotland in favor of the Pretender; but in Ireland there was no sympathetic movement, and this country continued so tranquil that government was able to remove six regiments of foot to assist in suppressing the insurrection in North Britain. The Irish parliament evinced its loyalty by setting a price of £50,000 on the head of the Pretender, and attainting the duke of Ormond, who had joined the standard of that unfortunate prince. Still the Irish Catholics were as much distrusted and persecuted as ever, and, in official language, were habitually designated "the common enemy." The lords justices, in their address to the commons this year, recommended that all distinctions should be put an end to in this realm save that of Protestant and Papist; and the magistrates, sheriffs, mayors, and others in authority, received instructions from government to execute with strictness the laws against Catholics. Rewards were offered for the discovery of any Papist that should presume to enlist in the king's service, "that he might be turned out and punished with the utmost severity of the law;" and about the same time the commons resolved that any one instituting a prosecution, under the law as it then stood, against dissenters for entering the army or militia "was an enemy to the Protestant interest and a friend to the Pretender;" this distinction being made

* George I. was the eldest son of Ernest Augustus, bishop of Osnaburgh, elector of Hanover and duke of Brunswick-Lunenburgh. His hereditary claim to the throne of England he derived through his mother, Sophia, who was fifth daughter of Frederick V., elector-palatine, and king of Bohemia, and of the princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England. He was in his 55th year when he ascended the throne. The Pretender, or James III., as he was styled on the continent, would have been acceptable enough to the people of England as Anne's successor were it not for his religion; but the attempts which his sister made shortly before her death to [illegible] frustrated.

between Catholics and dissenters at the very moment that the Presbyterians of Scotland were in arms for the son of James II., while the Irish Catholics presented an aspect of lethargic tranquillity. The lords justices granted orders for apprehending most of the Catholic nobility and landholders, as persons suspected of disaffection; but after a painful imprisonment they were all discharged without even the shadow of a case being set up against them.*

A contest, which excited a lively interest, now arose between the English and Irish houses of lords on a question of appellate jurisdiction. A case of property between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley having been decided for the respondent by the court of exchequer in Ireland in 1719, the judgment was reversed on appeal by the Irish house of peers. Annesley, the respondent, then brought the cause before the house of peers in England, which affirmed the judgment of the Irish court of exchequer. The Irish peers denied the legality of the appeal to England, alleging that an appeal to the king in his Irish parliament was definitive in any cause in Ireland, and they obtained the opinion of the Irish judges to that effect. The case became more complicated by the infliction of a fine on Alexander Burrowes, sheriff of Kildare, for refusing to comply with the orders of the court of exchequer and of the English peers by putting Annesley in possession of the estate, while on the other hand the Irish peers removed the fine and voted that the sheriff had behaved with integrity and courage in the matter. All the reason of the case appeared to be on the side of the Irish peers, but their English masters soon made them sensible of their error, by enacting—"That whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependence upon, the imperial crown of this realm; and whereas the lords of Ireland, in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in Ireland; therefore, &c., it is declared and enacted, &c., that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal,

* Describing the rigor with which the penal laws were at this time enforced, Plowden says it was "a rigid persecution against Catholics for the mere exercise of their religion; their priests were dragged from their concealment, many of them were taken from the altars whilst performing divine service, exposed in their vestments to the derision of the soldiery, then committed to gaol and afterwards banished the kingdom." *Historical Review of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 72.

and commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland. And it is further enacted and declared that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, &c., made in any court within the said kingdom, &c."

Thus was the Irish parliament degraded to the rank of a provincial assembly, and Ireland reduced to the state of "a mere grovelling colony, regulated by the avarice or fears of a stranger;"* and in this state did they continue until the glorious epoch of 1782. But the humiliation of the Irish legislature did not blunt its appetite for oppressing the Catholics. In 1719 an act was passed to exempt the Protestant dissenters from certain penalties to which they were liable in common with the Catholics; and, as if it were necessary that this simple justice to the dissenter should be relieved by a fresh exhibition of malignity to the Papist, a bill was brought in 1723 for still more effectually preventing the further growth of popery. The bill, however, contained a clause of so savage a nature against the Catholic clergy, that the whole brutal measure was suppressed in England, and thus fell to the ground.

Towards the close of this reign we begin to hear of "patriots" as a new party in Ireland, different from whigs and tories,† and standing rather in contradistinction to the English party, by whom they were usually styled the "disaffected." Their leader was the celebrated Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, who in religion belonged to the tory or high-church party, and in politics adhered to the whigs; but who practically separated himself from both, and employed his great powers as a writer to uphold the interests of Ireland against the hostile influence of the British cabinet. Swift had already exerted himself as an advocate

* *Hist. of Catholic Association*, i. p. 28. The Irish Protestant, observes Mr. Wyse, "had succeeded in excluding the Catholics from all power, and for a moment held triumphant and exclusive possession of the conquest; but he was merely a *locum tenens* for a more powerful conqueror, a jackall for the lion, an Irish steward for an English master; and the time soon came round when he was obliged to render up reluctantly, but immediately, even this oppressive trust. The exclusive system was turned against him; he had made the executive entirely *Protestant*; the whigs of George I. made it almost entirely *English*. His victory paved the way for another far easier, and far more important. Popery fell, but Ireland fell with it."—*Ibid*, p. 27.

† Some hold that the whigs and tories were, from the beginning, respectively identical in principle with the parties which now bear those names, and that the only difference was one of circumstances, which caused men to act at one time very differently from what they would at another time, although actuated all the while by the same principles. At all events, the whigs and tories of the period of which we now treat begin to assume a closer resemblance than they previously had to the more modern parties.

of Irish manufactures against English monopoly; but a circumstance now occurred which called into action with memorable effect all his wonderful energy. In 1793 one William Wood, a scheming Englishman, obtained from George I., through the influence of the duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress, a patent for supplying Ireland with a coinage of copper half-pence and farthings to the amount of £108,000. It must be remembered that this was an age of frauds on a gigantic scale. France had been just before brought to the brink of ruin by the Mississippi scheme, and England was still suffering from the disaster of the South Sea bubble. Some such calamity was anticipated in Ireland from Wood's patent, and the cry of alarm was universally raised against it. Swift took up the subject in his celebrated "Drapier's Letters," in which, assuming the character of a Dublin draper, he attacked the job in a style of argument and ridicule that produced an amazing effect upon the minds of the people. Every class, from the highest to the lowest throughout Ireland, was inspired with horror for Wood's half-pence. The incomparable "drapier" told them that Wood had employed so base an alloy for his half-pence, that the whole mass which would be forced upon the country in lieu of £108,000 would not be worth £8,000; that twenty-four of those half-pence would be scarcely worth more than one penny; that the price of commodities should be raised in proportion as the value of the coin was depressed, so that a pennyworth could not be sold for less than at least twenty of the half-pence. That there was nothing to prevent Wood from imposing upon Ireland any quantity of his base copper that he chose, so that at length all the gold and silver coin might be withdrawn from the country; in which case a lady could not go out shopping without taking a waggon-load of the vile half-pence along with her, and a gentleman of moderate property would require scores of horses to draw home his half year's rent, and extensive cellars in which to stow it away! As to the position in which a banker would be placed when Ireland had no coin but Wood's half-pence, it was not to be thought of. "In fact," said the drapier, "if Mr. Wood's project should take it would ruin even our beggars; for, when I give a beggar a half-penny it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny will do him no more service that if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve."* In the midst of the ferment about Wood's patent, Dr. Hugh Boulter, an Englishman, was made archbishop of

* It is alleged that Wood's copper had been assayed at the mint, and found to be of the required value, and that consequently all the dean's arguments were illusory.

Armagh, and sent over here to manage the English interest, as it was called; that is, to keep everything in Ireland subservient to English views and interests. For nearly twenty years he continued to fill that post, and during the interval the functions of the viceroy were little more than nominal, everything being done by the counsel and management of primate Boulter. Within a fortnight after his arrival in Ireland he wrote to the duke of Newcastle that things were in a very bad state here, "the people so poisoned with apprehension of Wood's half-pence, that he did not see there could be any hopes of justice against any person for seditious writings if he did but mix something about Wood in them." It was well known that Swift was the author of the Drapier's Letters, yet the government could obtain no evidence against him, although a reward of £300 was offered for the discovery of the writer, and Swift's secret was known to several. The printer, Harding, was taken up and prosecuted; but the first grand jury ignored the bill against him; and when chief justice Whitshed, the corrupt tool of government, caused another grand jury to be sworn, they went further than the former jury, by passing a vote of thanks to the writer of the Drapier's Letters and presenting Wood's scheme as a fraud on the public. At length, in 1725, the obnoxious patent was withdrawn; Wood receiving an indemnity of £3,000 a-year for twelve years; and the popularity of Dean Swift rose to a height which had no precedent in Ireland at that time.

No other event of importance marked the reign of George I., who died at Osnaburg, in Germany, on the 10th of June, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. From the time he ascended the throne he had suffered himself to be governed implicitly by the whigs; and under him all the faults of English misrule in Ireland were carried to the extreme. It was an age of political and social turpitude. For a long time past a flood of immorality had been inundating England, and the few attempts then made to stem the torrent of crime there only indicated the vastness of the evil. Religion had long since disappeared, and honor followed. Corruption and venality in public men, and avarice, prodigality, and shame-faced profligacy in private life were the characteristic vices. The dominant faction in Ireland had not escaped the contagion; but the Irish Catholics were humbled and oppressed too low to come within its sphere. The chastening rod of affliction was heavy upon them, and the fidelity with which they clung to their religion during those evil days, and under all the humiliations

and temporal grievances which it brought upon them, is assuredly one of the most wonderful things related in their chequered history.*

On the accession of George II. the Catholics ventured to prepare an address to the new monarch, expressing their loyalty, and pledging themselves to a continuance of their peaceful demeanor. The address was presented by lord Delvin to the lords justices (one of whom was primate Boulter), with a prayer that it might be transmitted to the king; but it was received with silent contempt, and was never forwarded to England. Hitherto Catholics might vote at elections, on taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; but in 1727 a bill was brought into the Irish parliament which deprived them of this last vestige of constitutional rights. It was simply entitled "a bill for further regulating the election of members of parliament," and no intimation was given that any new penal enactment was intended; but without any notice or debate, or any cause being assigned, a clause was introduced which enacted, "that no Papist, though not convict, should be entitled or admitted to vote at the election of any member to serve in parliament, or of any magistrate for any city or town corporate."† This was effected

* Perhaps the following beautiful words of Cardinal Wiseman, describing the steadfastness of the Irish in the Catholic faith, are not more applicable to any period than to that at which we have now arrived. In his sermon at the consecration of the new church at Ballinasloe, his eminence said: "Throw on one side wealth, nobility, and worldly position, the influence of superior education of the highest class; literature, science, and whatever belongs to those who command, according to this world. Cast into the other scale poverty and misery, the absence almost for ages of the power of culture; the dependence totally for all that is necessary in this life, for daily food itself, upon those who belong to the other class. See these two bodies acting for centuries reciprocally upon one another. Suppose it to be a matter of mere human opinion, human principle, science, or of that knowledge of every sort that distinguishes them, and judge if it is possible, that for hundreds of years that which is so much greater, more powerful, and more wise in the eyes of the world ought not to have crumbled and crushed under itself that which was absolutely subject to it, and lying under its feet, and reduced it into a homogeneous mass; and breaking down the barriers of opinion that separated the two, have made them in this become but one." And describing how soon such an effect was produced in England, where "a few years of superiority in one class which monopolized all earthly advantages wore away the patient resistance of those who would not otherwise have altered their faith, until at length districts which once were most fervent and most zealously Catholic hardly heard that name amongst them, and scarcely a trace was left in the feelings and traditions of the people, of the former existence of the Catholic church amongst them;" he asked what has caused this distinction, and answers, "I cannot see but this difference, that it pleased God, by one of those dispensations which we must not endeavour to penetrate, to allow religion there to take, perhaps, a nobler and more magnificent hold upon the surface of the land, demonstrating itself by more splendid edifices, by more noble endowments of universities, colleges, and hospitals; while here He made its roots strike deep into the very soil, and so take possession of the soil that it was impossible to ever uproot it."—Card. Wiseman's *Tour in Ireland*, pp. 22, 23, 24.—Dublin: J. Duffy.

† The disfranchisement of Catholics is included by Taaffe among the disabilities enacted in the reign of Anne. We may here add that in order to preclude Catholics from a knowledge of pro-

through the management of primate Boulter, who in the next place busied himself in the establishment of Protestant charter schools, of which he may be said to have been the founder. "The great number of Papists in this kingdom," he wrote to the bishop of London, "and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what may be done with their children to bring them over to our church."* So well was the secret of proselytism even then understood. An intense anxiety was felt at this time to exclude from the legal profession not only Catholics but even converts from Catholicity. "We must be all undone here," says primate Boulter, "if that profession gets into the hands of converts, where it is already got, and where it every day gets more and more." A convert should test his sincerity by five years' perseverance in Protestantism before he could be admitted a barrister, and in 1728 a stringent act was passed to prevent Papists from practising as solicitors. While this latter measure was pending some Catholics set a subscription on foot to oppose it in parliament; and one Hennessy, a suspended priest, gave information to government that the subscription was for the Pretender, that large sums were collected and that certain Catholic bishops were the organisers of the scheme. It happened that only £5 were collected, but the house of commons caused a commission of inquiry to issue, which magnified and distorted the facts; the matter, however, went no farther.

For some years great distress had prevailed, and the depression of trade and general discontent which resulted drove vast numbers to emigrate; but the emigration was chiefly confined to the northern Protestants, and this increased the disproportion of Catholics and Protestants and was a fresh source of alarm. More stringent measures were taken to disarm the Catholics, so that even a Protestant in the employment of

readings in parliament it was made a standing order of the Irish house of commons in 1713 "that the serjeant-at-arms should take into custody all Papists that were or should presume to come into the galleries."

* *Boulter's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 10. In the same letter, which is dated May 5, 1730, he writes:—"I can assure you the Papists are here so numerous that it highly concerns us in point of interest, as well as out of concern for the salvation of those poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects, to try all possible means to bring them and their's over to the knowledge of the true religion. And one of the most likely methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing and converting the young generation; for, instead of converting those who are adult, we are daily loosing several of our meaner people, who go off to popery." (Ibid, pp. 11, 12.) Two days after he wrote to the same effect to the duke of Newcastle, asking a charter for a Protestant school corporation "to take the management of schools for instructing the popish youth," and the charter was accordingly granted. Boulter estimated that there were "five Papists to one Protestant," and "near 3,000 Popish priests of all sorts" in Ireland; and the Protestant bishop Berkeley, writing in 1744, makes the numbers in Munster eight Papists to one Protestant.

a Catholic was not allowed to have arms. In 1733 the duke of Dorset, then lord lieutenant, caused a bill to be laid before the Irish parliament to relieve the dissenters from the test act, and recommended a firm union among all Protestants, as having one common interest and the same common enemy, namely, the Catholics; but the measure was opposed by dean Swift and the patriots and was withdrawn.*

Rumours of an intended French invasion, in 1744, gave rise to a fresh ebullition of rage against the Catholics; a search was made in private houses for the priests, and the chapels were closed. In England the Catholics were expelled from London; but in Ireland, where they were too numerous for expulsion, the idea of getting rid of them by a massacre seems to have been very generally entertained. This diabolical project was even suggested by a nobleman in the privy council; and a conspiracy to carry it into execution was actually formed in Ulster, the pretence being that the Catholics intended to murder the Protestants.† Nevertheless when the Scottish rebellion broke out, in 1745, there was no corresponding movement in Ireland: the army of prince Charles Edward on that occasion was, indeed, composed to a great extent of Irishmen, or men of Irish extraction, but these had been already in the service of France;‡ and in Ireland a tranquillity prevailed which, under such dire

* The frequent distress alluded to in the text arose from a complication of causes. Agricultural improvement was discouraged among the Catholics by the penal laws, which prevented a Catholic from obtaining a long lease, and also exposed him to be deprived of his farm if it could be shown that the rent was less than two-thirds of the full improved value of the land. Agriculture was still further paralysed by a resolution of the Irish house of commons in 1735, which was allowed to pass as law, and which, by abolishing agistment tithes on barren cattle, relieved the owners of pasture lands, and threw the great burden of the tithes on tillage. Potatoes had long since become almost the exclusive food of the Irish peasantry; and the entire potato crop of 1739 having been destroyed by a severe frost in November (it being at that time the custom to leave potatoes in the ground until Christmas), a frightful famine ensued in 1740 and 1741, and it was estimated that 400,000 persons died of starvation in those fatal years. See Professor Curry's letter in a tract on this famine, published in 1846; also Dr. Wilde's *Report on Deaths*, Census Papers.

† Dr. Curry, who tells us that the atrocious suggestion of the privy councillor "was quickly over-ruled by that honourable assembly;" adds, "yet so entirely were some of the lower northern dissenters possessed by this prevailing rancour against Catholics, that in the same year, and for the same declared purpose of prevention, a conspiracy was actually formed by some of the inhabitants of Lurgan, to rise in the night-time and destroy all their neighbours of that denomination in their beds." This inhuman design, he says, was known and attested by several inhabitants of Lurgan, and an account of it was transmitted to Dublin by a respectable linen merchant of that city then at Lurgan. It was also frustrated "by an information of the honest Protestant publican in whose house the conspirators had met to settle the execution of their scheme, sworn before the Rev. Mr. Ford, a justice of the peace in that district, who received it with horror, and with difficulty put a stop to the intended massacre."—*Curry's State of the Catholics of Ireland.* See also *Plowden*; and *Wright's Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 339.

‡ So extensively was the secret recruiting for foreign service carried on in Ireland, notwithstanding the rigid laws on the subject, that we are told by the Abbé Mageoghegan, on the authority

provocation, could only have been the result of the deepest depression. The danger which might arise from Ireland at such a juncture, was however, formidable, and the earl of Chesterfield was sent over as lord lieutenant to calm public feeling by a policy of conciliation. He treated the Catholics with lenity, allowed them to keep their chapels open, and even encouraged their assemblages, at the same time that he employed secret agents to attend all their places of resort, and through them learned that no designs were entertained by the Catholics against the government. He also employed skilful writers to disseminate his views through the medium of pretended popular pamphlets; and, on the whole, the policy which he was sent to carry out was cowardly and insincere, only meant to deceive with false hopes in a moment of danger. So tranquil was Ireland that he was able to send four battalions to assist the duke of Cumberland against Charles Edward in Scotland; but by the battle of Culloden, April 16th, 1746, the insurrection in Scotland was crushed; and there being no longer any need of a soothing policy for Ireland, lord Chesterfield was recalled on the 25th of the same month, and the government entrusted to archbishop Hoadley, successor to Boulter, lord chancellor Newport, and Mr. Boyle, the then popular speaker of the house of commons, as lords justices.

In 1747, George Stone succeeded Hoadley as primate, and like Boulter became the manager of the English interest, and the virtual head of the Irish government. He was a proud, arrogant, unprincipled, and unscrupulous man, and is accused of having resorted to means the most demoralising to corrupt the Irish gentry for the maintenance of English ascendancy. In 1749 disputes arose in the Irish parliament about the appropriation of the surplus revenue, and the question of privilege was revived. A bill was introduced in the commons to apply the unappropriated surplus to the liquidation of the national debt. The court party alleged that such an appropriation could not be made without the previous consent of the crown, while the patriots insisted that no such consent was necessary. The subject gave rise to warm and protracted discussions; in 1751 and 1753 the dispute was renewed with increased violence; the duke of Dorset, who had been a second time appointed lord lieutenant, told the parliament that the king gave his "consent and recommendation" to the application of the surplus towards the reduction of the national debt;

of French official documents that more than 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France between the years 1691 and 1715; and Mr. Newenham in his Inquiry into the population of Ireland, thinks that "we are not sufficiently warranted in considering this statement an exaggeration."

but the formula offended the commons, who regarded it as an infringement of their privileges and passed the bill without any reference to it. The English ministry were enraged and sent back the bill from England with words interpolated in the preamble to express the king's recommendation and consent. From year to year the dispute was renewed, and the patriots continued visibly to gain ground. The earl of Kildare presented to the king in person a bold address complaining of the arrogance and the illegal and corrupt interference of primate Stone and the lord lieutenant's son, lord George Sackville, in public affairs. This manly proceeding was, itself, an important triumph, and popular excitement ran so high that the viceroy left the country in dismay; but in the end corruption prevailed. By an ingenious complication of intrigues the patriot party was disorganised. Henry Boyle, the speaker, was created earl of Shannon, and his clamorous but hollow patriotism moreover silenced by a pension. Mr. Ponsonby, son of the earl of Besborough, a man of inordinate ambition, was elected speaker; prime sergeant Anthony Malone, another leading patriot was, a little later, gratified with the chancellorship of the exchequer; and although a few men of integrity remained unpurchased the ranks of the patriots were so broken as to be no longer formidable. Lord Hartington, who soon after became duke of Devonshire, was sent over to replace the duke of Dorset, and helped to carry out these arrangements; but when, in 1756, he was about to return to England, instead of counselling as usual an union of Protestants against the "common enemy," he recommended harmony among all his majesty's subjects. Lord chancellor Jocelyn and the earls of Kildare and Besborough were then appointed lords justices; and although it was soon found, as usually happens, that the patriots did not act up to the same principles in office which they advocated out of it, still a change had come over the spirit of the times; a brighter day was dawning; bigotry was on the wane, and liberal principles began to be appreciated. To this period are to be traced the first aspirations after religious liberty which the opressed Irish Catholics ventured to breathe—the first humble germs of the great Catholic movement which in after years was to assume such gigantic proportions.

It was in 1746, that Dr. John Curry, a Catholic physician practising in Dublin, and distinguished for his professional ability and humanity, conceived the idea of vindicating his country from the withering calumnies, which national and sectarian hatred and a rage for spoliation had invented and propagated, and which credulity and hostile prejudice had

too readily accepted. Some valuable historical tracts were the first results of his learned and patriotic studies, and these were matured a few years later into the famous "Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland," which has been so often quoted in these pages.* Dr. Curry for some time stood alone, but his writings attracted the attention of Charles O'Conor, of Belanagar, the eminent Irish antiquary and friend of Dr. Johnson, and both were soon drawn together by a community of sympathies on behalf of their suffering co-religionists. To these two men was added a third friend of the cause—Mr. Wyse, a Catholic gentleman of Waterford, who entered with zeal into their views, and in the communings and correspondence of the three were to be found the first pulsations of returning life in the Catholic body of Ireland. Their first step was to address a circular to the Catholic clergy and aristocracy inviting co-operation, but this effort failed. The Catholic aristocracy shrunk from public notice. They had suffered too much in past times, and had too much to fear from the future; they were too timid, too apathetic, and too proud. The Catholic clergy were equally shrinking and equally timid; they feared the slightest public movement; "they trembled at the possibility of plunging still more deeply and inextricably into persecution the suffering church of Ireland"; the priest-hunter was still abroad and eager for his prey; but the habitual solitude and exclusion in which they had so long sheltered themselves, as much as the apprehension of danger, made the Irish clergy dislike notoriety, and so they disapproved of any movement.† There was still another body to be appealed to, not at all numerous, but with more energy, hope, and enterprise than the others, namely—the Catholic merchants and commercial

* Charles O'Conor has left as a brief memoir of his friend, Dr. Curry, prefixed to the second edition of the Review of the Civil Wars. He was descended from an ancient Irish family of Cavan —the O'Corras—who were deprived of their property in the usurpation of Cromwell; and maternally he was related to dean Swift. His grandfather commanded a troop of horse under James II. and fell at Aughrim. Dr. Curry studied at Paris, and obtained his diploma of physician at Rheims. His first historical tract was a dialogue on the Rebellion of 1641, which appeared anonymously in 1747, and drew forth a voluminous reply from Walter Harris, the editor of Ware's Works. Dr. Curry's rejoinder, also anonymous, was his "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion," a small book first printed in 1759, and which would be invaluable if we had not this larger and more important production, *The Review*, &c, the first edition of which was printed in 1775; Dr. Curry died in 1780. He was devoted heart and soul to the interests of the Catholic Church and of his country.

† Wyse's Hist. Catholic Association, vol. i., c. ii. In addition to the above mentioned motives in which we have followed Mr. Wyse, it is probable that there was another equally strong; namely, an unwillingness to trust a few self-appointed men where so much was at stake, and where the interests of religion were involved. The schismatical conduct of the English Catholic Committee many years after, showed how dangerous it was to confide the management of such affairs to any body of laymen; but, for the Irish committee it must be said that they never laid themselves open to any charge of that nature.

men, and to these our three regenerators next had recourse. In September, 1757, John Russell, duke of Bedford, was appointed lord lieutenant. He professed liberal sentiments, and the occasion was thought a favorable one for an address from the Catholics; but, with the fate of lord Delvin's address before their eyes any fresh attempt of the kind was deemed worse than useless by many, and the gentry and clergy rejected the proposal. An address, nevertheless, was prepared by Charles O'Conor, and proposed by him at a meeting of a few citizens held in the Globe Tavern, Essex-street. 400 respectable names, chiefly of men in the commercial classes, were soon attached to it, and it was presented to Mr. Ponsonby, the speaker of the house of commons, "the depression and degradation of the body being at that time such that they dared not venture to wait upon the lord lieutenant or to present the address in person." A long interval passed before any answer was received, and those who had opposed the address began to congratulate themselves on their own superior judgment. Dr. Curry and his friends had projected an association for the management of Catholic affairs, and had formed a committee, in which they were aided by a few of the Dublin merchants, but the clergy and aristocracy cautiously held aloof. At length the address appeared in the *Gazette* with a gracious reply, in which the Catholics were told that "the zeal and attachment which they professed could never be more seasonably manifested than in the present conjuncture, and that as long as they conducted themselves with duty and affection they could not fail to receive his majesty's protection." These were the first words addressed in kindness to the Catholics of Ireland by the representatives of English power since the unfortunate James II. lost his throne.*

In 1759 Dublin was disturbed by violent tumults in consequence of

* "Addresses," says Mr. Wyse, "now poured in from all sides; but so debased by the most servile adulation of the reigning powers, and by ungrateful vituperation of the French, from whom, from the treaty of Limerick up to that hour, they were indebted for every benefit:—the exile for his home—the scholar for his education—their ancient and decayed aristocracy for commissions in the army for their younger sons—that their freer descendants blush in reading the disgraceful record, and turn aside in disgust for the melancholy evidence of the corrupting and enduring influences of a long-continued state of slavery."—*Hist. Cath. Association*, vol. i. p. 64. And Mr. O'Conor, in a letter to Dr. Curry, of Dec. 1759, referring to these addresses, says—"Some of those gentlemen scold those unfortunate ancestors whom you have so well defended, others again scold the French nation, who, from them at least, have deserved better quarters—France, the asylum of our poor fugitives, lay and clerical, for seventy years past!" And again he adds—"Some declare themselves so happy as to require a revolution in their private oppressed state as little as they do a revolution in government!" Such had been the prostrating effect of the penal laws upon the minds and spirit, as well as upon the natural condition of the people.

a proposal for a union between England and Ireland on the plan of that between England and Scotland. The people were enraged at a project which would deprive them of their nationality and parliament, and subject them to the burden of English taxation. A Protestant mob broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, seated an old woman on the throne, and searched for the journals with a view to committing them to the flames. The excitement was chiefly promoted by the speeches and writings of Dr. Charles Lucas, who had been obliged to fly the country some years before on account of his manly assertion of popular rights against the abuses of the government and of the corporation. Still Lucas was not a friend of the Catholics, for justice to that proscribed class as yet formed no part of the political creed of patriots. He had assailed them in his writings;* and although some members of the house of commons attempted to throw upon the Catholics the odium of the riots, the government knew the charge to be unfounded, and hence the friendly reply to the Catholic address just mentioned.†

During the latter part of the year great alarm was produced by rumours of an intended invasion from France. Armaments were preparing at Havre and Vannes for a descent on some indefinite part of the coast. A powerful fleet under admiral Conflans lay at Brest to convoy the expedition, and another squadron under the celebrated Thurot was to sail from Dunkirk to engage the attention of the enemy elsewhere. At this time, however, England had her Rodney and her Hawke. The latter admiral defeated the Brest fleet on the 20th of November, in an action off Quiberon; the expedition from Normandy did not sail at all, and the Dunkirk squadron, which consisted of only five frigates, having sailed on the 3rd of October, and proceeded towards the north, was driven by storms to seek shelter in ports of Norway and Sweden. On these inhospitable coasts, and among the western isles of Scotland, Thurot passed the winter. One of his ships had returned to France, another disap-

* Lucas abused the Catholics in his "Barbers's Letters," and, patriot as he was, late writers have justly pronounced him "an uncompromising bigot." He died in 1771, 58 years of age, having during the latter period of his life been reduced to a state of extreme infirmity by the gout. His remains were honored with a public funeral, and his statue in white marble, by the Irish sculptor, Edward Smyth, was placed in the Royal Exchange.

† Various circumstances about this time tended to retard the progress of Catholic interests. Thus, in 1758 a hostile feeling was excited in Dublin by the prosecution of Mr. Saul, a Catholic merchant of that city, whose crime was that he afforded shelter to a young Catholic lady named O'Toole, who was importuned by some of her family to abandon her religion. Mr. Saul was told from the bench "that the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of government." He and his family were obliged to seek an asylum in France.

peared and was never heard of, and with the remaining three he appeared off Carrickfergus on the 21st of February, 1760. Thurot was of Irish descent, his real name being O'Farrell. His life had been a continued series of the strangest adventures. He possessed a gallant and enterprising spirit, and his generosity was equal to his daring. His small force had been thinned by the hardships of the northern winter, and famine and fatigue had reduced his surviving men to a deplorable state. His ships, too, were in a shattered condition, and at Islay the disheartening news of the defeat of Conflans had, for the first time, reached him. Still the necessity of obtaining provisions, as well as his innate love of glory, induced him to make some attempt to carry out his original plan of an invasion, and he disembarked on the strand near Carrickfergus. He had then only about 600 soldiers, but with the addition of some seamen, mustered nearly 1,000 men. The town was garrisoned by four companies of the 62nd regiment, under colonel Jennings, without cannon, and with a scanty supply of ammunition. The French approached, and after some firing from the walls, the garrison, together with the mayor and some of the armed townsmen, retired into the castle, which was in a dilapidated state, but which they continued to defend with musketry until their powder was nearly exhausted; several of the assailants, with their commanding officer, the marquis d'Estrées, being killed in an attack upon the gate. The besieged then surrendered themselves prisoners of war on condition that the town should be spared; but contributions of provisions were levied both on Carrickfergus and Belfast, the French threatening to march on the latter town if the supplies demanded were not sent. At length, on the 26th, the invaders took their departure, and two days after they encountered off the Isle of Man three English frigates, which had sailed from Kinsale in search of them, under captain Elliott. A sharp action ensued. The French vessels were in a crippled state; but Thurot fought his ship until the hold was nearly filled with water and the deck covered with the slain; at length he was killed, and the three French frigates soon after struck and were taken into Ramsey; but even his enemies lamented the fate of the chivalrous and undaunted Thurot.*

* Thurot's grandfather was a captain Farrell or O'Ferrall, who was attached to the court of James II. at St. Germains, where he married Mademoiselle Thurot, the niece of a member of the parliament of Paris. The lady's family were indignant at the match; but captain O'Farrell died soon after the marriage, and in less than a year his wife followed him to the grave, leaving an infant son, who, being educated by her friends, assumed their name. When this son grew up he resided at Boulogne, and was the father of the famous sea-captain, who left France when a boy, and passed many years in London and also some time in Dublin, where he was reduced so low

George II. died suddenly at Kensington on the 25th of October, 1760, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The following year the disturbances of the whiteboys became rife in the south of Ireland. They commenced in Tipperary, and were occasioned by the tyranny and rapacity of landlords, who, having set their lands far above the value, on the condition of allowing the tenants certain commonages to lighten the burden, subsequently enclosed these commons, and thus rendered it impossible for the unfortunate tenants to subsist. The people collected at night and demolished the fences, from which circumstance they were first called "levellers;" their name of whiteboys being given from the shirts which they wore outside their clothes at their nightly gatherings. Another cause of their discontent was the cruel exactions of the tithe-mongers—"harpies," says a cotemporary writer, "who squeezed out the very vitals of the people, and by process, citation, and sequestration, dragged from them the little which the landlord had left them."* "At last," says Young, the whiteboys "set up to be the general redressors of grievances; punished all obnoxious individuals who advanced the value of lands, or hired farms over their heads; and having taken the administration of justice into their own hands, were not very exact in the distribution of it. . . . . The barbarities they committed were shocking. One of their usual punishments, and by no means the most severe, was taking people out of their beds, carrying them naked in winter, on horse-back, for some distance, and burying them up to their chin in a hole filled with briars, not forgetting to cut off one of their ears."† These outrages were chiefly confined to the counties of Waterford, Cork, and Tippe-

that he became the valet of a lord B——. At that time smuggling was not regarded as the disreputable pursuit which more recent ideas have made it. Many a large fortune, of which the possessors did not blush at the source, was realised by it; and to the adventurous life of a smuggler various circumstances conspired to commit young Thurot. He commanded sundry vessels engaged in that traffic between France and the coasts of England and Scotland: and his enterprising spirit obtained for him at Boulogne the title of the King of the Smugglers. In the war he commanded a privateer, and from this he was taken into the French navy, in which he soon became distinguished for his naval skill and bravery.—See a memoir of him written by his friend, the Rev. John F. Durand; also the *Annual Register* for 1760.

* *Enquiry into the causes of the outrages committed by the Levellers.* Arthur Young, who travelled in Ireland while these disturbances prevailed there, describes their causes in nearly similar terms, and he adds:—"Acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; by one they were to be hanged under certain circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repealed the following session, marks the spirit of punishment, while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is evident that the gentry of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of the disease, which, in fact, lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows."—*Tour*, part ii., p. 30, ed. 1780.

† *Tour*, p. 76.

rary. In 1762 a government commission reported that the rioters were persons of different religious persuasions, and that none of them showed any disaffection to the government, a report which was confirmed by the judges on the Munster circuit. A special commission was sent down to try a number of the offenders, and sir Richard Aston, chief justice of the common pleas, became so popular for the impartiality which he displayed on the occasion, that the country people lined the roads as he passed to give expression to their gratitude. Father Nicholas Sheehy, the parish priest of Clogheen, drew upon himself the animosity of the landlords by the zeal he evinced in advocating the cause of his poor parishioners. In 1765 a proclamation was issued offering a reward of £300 for his arrest as a person guilty of high treason, and, although he might easily have escaped to France, he felt so conscious of his innocence that he wrote to the secretary of state, offering to surrender and save the government the money, provided he was tried in Dublin instead of Clonmel. His offer was accepted, and after a minute investigation of the charges against him he was acquitted; the only witnesses produced by his accusers being a woman of abandoned character, a man charged with horse-stealing, and a vagrant boy, all three being taken from the Clonmel jail and suborned to prosecute him. His enemies, anticipating such a result, had trumped up a charge of murder against him, and had him carried back to Clonmel; where, on the sole evidence of the same vile witnesses, whose testimony failed in Dublin, he was convicted, and three days after, on the 15th of March, 1766, was hanged and quartered at Clonmel.*

Associations similar to those of the whiteboys were formed among the Protestant peasantry of the North, under the names of "hearts-of-oak boys" and "hearts-of-steel boys." The former of these banded themselves, in the first instance, for the abolition of a custom of compulsory road-making, known as the six days' labor, which the gentry had converted most unjustly to their own advantage; but the oppressive tithe system, and the exorbitant rents charged for bogs, became, in the next

* Father Sheehy died protesting his innocence, and there is no doubt that his execution was as foul a murder as ever was perpetrated under the cover of law. The principal managers of the prosecution were the Rev. John Hewetson, a Protestant clergyman, and sir Thomas Maude, who, with the earl of Carrick and Mr. John Bagwell, distinguished themselves by their activity against the whiteboys. Father Sheehy's grave, in the church-yard of Clogheen, continues to this day to be visited with veneration by the peasantry.—See all the facts of this iniquitous case, and of the subsequent persecution minutely investigated by Dr. Madden in the historical introduction to his *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen;* also Curry's *Candid Inquiry*, &c., and his *State of the Catholics of Ireland.*

place, subjects of complaint, and like the southern malcontents, the hearts-of-oak boys made themselves general reformers of agrarian abuses. They committed numerous acts of violence in the years 1762 and 1763; but the grievances of which they complained were taken into consideration by Parliament, and in some measure redressed, while those under which the southern peasantry groaned were left untouched. For the unhappy whiteboys there was no remedy but the gibbet. The hearts-of-steel boys did not make their appearance till 1769, and for a few years they gave the government considerable trouble. They associated to resist the rack-renting practices of the middlemen, and the severe measures employed to put down their disturbances led to an extensive emigration to America.

Returning to the proceedings in the Irish parliament, we find that in 1762 a bill was passed without a division, to enable Catholics to lend money on the security of real property, but was suppressed in England. The following year the attempt was renewed in the Irish house of commons, by Mr. Mason, but defeated by a majority of 138 to 53; the Protestant party alleging that the bill had been inadvertently passed on the last day of the preceding session, and that such a measure, if adopted, would soon make papists masters of a great part of the landed interest of the country.

The patriots were at this time engaged in vehement attacks upon the pension list, which had grown into a monstrous source of abuse. The English privy council assumed the right of granting any pensions they chose out of the Irish revenue. In 1763 the pensions on the Irish civil establishment, and therefore not including the military and certain special pensions, amounted to £72,000, which exceeded the civil list by £42,000. The revenue of the country was diminishing and the burdens increasing. At the commencement of that year the Irish debt was £521,162, and at the close it had risen to £650,000.* The subject gave rise to violent heats in parliament; but a juggling and evasive policy, which had become familiar to the Irish government, prevailed, and the efforts of the patriots were foiled. The corrupting influence of the court party was constantly employed to thin the ranks of the patriots, who, finding that the pensions went on multiplying, and that all their agitation on that point was abortive, took up the more general question of

* The Irish income and expenditure, as calculated in 1763, stood thus: the military expenditure for two years, £980,956; the civil ditto, £242,956; extraordinary and contingent expenses, £300,300; total expenditure for two years, £1,523,212; total revenue for that period, £1,202,[illegible] excess of expenditure to be added to national debt, £311,248.

parliamentary reform. Hitherto the duration of parliament in Ireland depended solely on the will of the king, and might be prolonged during an entire reign, as happened in that of George II. In England the duration was limited by the septennial act of George I.; and in 1765 the Irish commons passed the heads of a similar bill for Ireland; but the measure was suppressed in England, and in reply to an address to the king, a very ungracious answer was returned. Lord Townshend was appointed lord lieutenant in 1767, and came over determined to break up a system of corruption, which, although of its own creation, the Irish government then found to be an insupportable tyranny. A certain number of parliamentary leaders were at that time known as undertakers, whom it was necessary for government to keep in its pay, at a large cost, and who "undertook," as the phrase went, upon certain terms, to carry the "king's business" through parliament. These leaders were made the channels for all places, pensions, and other court favors,—a privilege which was indispensable to enable them to fulfil their compact; and in order to crush the system, it was resolved to make the stream of favor flow directly from the government. A great commotion in political circles was the consequence: yet, nothing more had been done than to substitute one system of political profligacy for another; and by trafficking in corruption more in detail the government soon found that it had only subjected itself to a more oppressive incubus. Lord Townshend's convivial habits and lavish distribution of favors made him for some time popular; but there were not wanting able and honest men to expose the debasing influence of his policy, and his popularity was soon turned into contempt and detestation.* In 1767 another septennial bill was passed and transmitted to England, where it was transformed into an octennial one. By this alteration it was hoped to secure its rejection; but the Irish parliament, on the contrary, accepted it as an instalment of reform, and it was regarded as a triumph by Charles Lucas and his friends, after so many years of agitation on the subject. A new parliament was now to be elected, and in order to secure a strong majority for the government, lord Townshend scattered bribes profusely, and employed every species of corruption. In all his bargains, however, he was obliged to leave as an open question

* Witty and powerful invectives against lord Townshend were published during his administration in the *Freeman's Journal*, and were subsequently collected in a volume, entitled "*Barataviana.*" Their principal writers were, sir Hercules Langrishe, Flood, Parker, Bushe, and Henry Grattan, the last-named being then a very young man. The viceroy was supported in another clever series of papers called "*The Batcheior.*"

the right of the Irish parliament to originate its own money-bills; and upon this important point he came to a collision with the parliament, which met on the 17th of October, 1769. The English privy council sent over a money-bill which the Irish house of commons rejected, "because it had not its origin in that house." Following the precedent of lord Sydney in 1692, lord Townshend went to the house of lords on the 26th of December, caused the commons to be summoned to the bar, animadverted in strong terms on their proceedings, and having ordered the clerk to enter his protest on the journals of the house, in vindication of the royal prerogative, prorogued parliament, which was not again permitted to meet until the 26th of February, 1771. The excitement produced by this proceeding surpassed anything of the kind since the affair of Wood's halfpence.

Meantime fatal dissensions prevailed in the Catholic body and retarded its progress. The committee had prepared an address to George III. on his accession. It was signed by 600 persons; but the clergy and nobility would not give their concurrence, and some of them met at Trim and adopted a separate address. The committee next ventured to lay before the throne a "remonstrance" or statement of their grievances, and rose considerably in importance; some of the Catholic nobility beginning to co-operate with them. A division however, sprung up, in which lord Trimbleston, a man of overbearing and dictatorial manners, separated himself, and was followed by others; while lord, or count Taaffe, a nobleman of quite an opposite character, continued to identify himself with the committee. At length this first Catholic association having gradually melted away, expired in 1763. lord Townshend's parliament, on re-assembling in 1771, passed an act to enable a Catholic to take a long lease of fifty acres of bog, to which, if the bog were too deep for a foundation, half an acre of arable land might be added for a house; but this holding should not be within a mile of any city or town, and if half the bog were not reclaimed in twenty-one years the lease was forfeited. This paltry concession shows what little progress Catholic interests had made in the interval; and the viceroy thought it necessary to counterbalance it by an act to add £10 a year to the pension of £30 offered to any "Popish priest duly converted to the Protestant religion." The pitiful temptation to proselytism was styled "Townshend's golden drops" by the wits of the the day.

Lord Townshend was succeeded in the Irish government, in 1772, by the earl of Harcourt, whose administration commenced under more favorable auspices. In 1773 a bill was introduced to lay a tax of two shillings in the pound on the income of Irish absentee landlords who would not reside in Ireland at least six months in each year. The measure was exceedingly popular, and the government, supporting it as an open question, rose greatly in public favor; but the violent opposition of the great landowners, many of whom resided altogether in England, prevailed, and the bill was rejected.

In 1775 hostilities commenced between England and her revolted American colonies, and the English parliament discussed the propriety of relieving Ireland from some of her commercial disabilities. The concessions made were trifling, but they serve to illustrate the rule so well established in Irish history, that the season of England's weakness and alarm has ever been that of redress and hope for Ireland. We shall see it further illustrated as we proceed. On the 23rd of November, the same year, a message from the lord lieutenant informed the Irish parliament that the situation of affairs in his majesty's American dominions rendered it necessary to demand a draft of 4,000 men from the Irish establishment; these troops, however, not to be a charge on the Irish revenue during their absence from the kingdom, and an equal number of foreign Protestant troops to be sent to replace them. The commons readily assented to the removal of the 4,000 men as required, on the promised condition that the country should at the same time be relieved from their pay; but the second proposition was respectfully declined, the house resolving that the loyal people of Ireland would be able so to exert themselves as to make the aid of foreign soldiers unnecessary. This resolution was carried by a large majority; it surprised and perplexed the ministry, and was in fact the first foreshadowing of the volunteer system; while, on the other hand, the viceroy's engagement to free Ireland from the charge of the troops to be withdrawn from that kingdom elicited an indignant vote of censure from the English parliament and was repudiated by the minister.*

To prevent a supply of provisions from reaching the Americans from Ireland, an embargo was laid on the exportation of Irish commodities. This proceeding had a disastrous effect. The agriculturists were quite

* It was in the same memorable year (1775) that Henry Grattan first entered parliament, as member for the borough of Charlemont, and that Daniel O'Connell was born.

ruined; the tenantry were unable to pay their rents; the manufacturers were thrown upon public charity for support; the revenue fell away, and, the infamous pension list being still continued, the Irish debt rose to £994,890. Resolutions and addresses describing the condition of the country were moved in the Irish parliament by the patriots, but to no purpose. In England the American war was unpopular, but in Ireland it was still more so. Sympathy for the revolted colonies was publicly expressed, to the intense alarm of the government. In 1775 the thanks of the city of Dublin were voted in the common council to lord Effingham for having thrown up his commission rather than draw his sword against his fellow-subjects of America; and this feeling continued to gain ground. The analogy between Ireland and America was obvious. In the English house of commons Mr. Rigby, arguing in support of the sordid policy of his country, asserted that the parliament of Great Britain had clearly as much right to tax Ireland as to tax America. Never was there a more rash or ill-timed comparison. It could not fail to suggest that where the cases were so similar, a similar mode of redressing grievances might be resorted to.

In 1777 lord Harcourt was recalled, and the earl of Buckinghamshire being sent over as lord lieutenant, announced to the Irish parliament the alliance between France and the Americans, at the same time making an appeal for support to his majesty's faithful people of Ireland. The commons immediately voted a sum of £300,000, to be raised by a tontine; but this was an absurd stretch of generosity which the patriots opposed in vain; and a message from the viceroy soon after admitted the inability of the country to raise the money. In October this year general Burgoyne and his army of 6,000 men surrendered to the American general, Gage. The news produced consternation, and lord North expressed an earnest wish that the penal laws against the Irish Catholics might be relaxed; but bigotry was still predominant in the Irish parliament, and no attempt of that nature had any chance of success. In January, 1778, the independence of the American states was acknowledged by France, and many weeks did not elapse until a bill for the partial relief of the Catholics unanimously passed the English parliament. With this inroad upon bigotry for a precedent, Mr. Gardiner introduced a similar bill in the Irish house of commons, on the 25th of May the same year. The measure had the approbation of government, and the general support of the patriots, yet it was only after a severe contest and eight divisions that it was carried by the

small majority of nine votes. In the house of lords two-thirds of the members voted for it.*

It was near the close of 1779 when the Irish parliament was again called together, and in the meantime distress and discontent had increased to an alarming extent. Appeals to the imbecile and bankrupt government received no reply; the people were thrown upon their own resources; agitation for free trade and in favor of Irish manufactures became general; and the volunteering system had been set on foot and already made considerable progress. The secretary of state sent information to Belfast that two or three privateers in company might be expected in that vicinity, and the people were at the same time informed that government had no troops available for their defence, except some sixty horse and a couple of companies of invalids. They were in fact told that government could not protect them. A vivid recollection of Thurot's visit to their neighbourhood some nineteen years before was still preserved at Belfast, and the attempt made at that time to raise an armed force to repel the invaders was also remembered. The example of 1760 was followed in 1779, and to the men of Belfast, therefore, is to be attributed the glory of having originated the volunteers.† So rapidly did the movement spread, that in the month of May the number of volunteer companies had begun to attract the attention of government; and in September the number of men enrolled in the counties of Down and Antrim, and in and near Coleraine, amounted to 3,925. Hardy states that in the first year 42,000 volunteers were enrolled.‡

Parliament having met on the 12th of October, Mr. Grattan moved an amendment to the address, depicting vividly in a preamble the distressed state of the country, and concluding with a resolution, that the only resource for their expiring commerce was to open a free export trade, and to allow his majesty's Irish subjects to enjoy their natural birth-right. Several of the ministerial members, and among others, Mr.

* This act—18th Geo. III., c. 60—repealed so much of the 11th and 12th Wm. III., c. 4, as affected the inheritance or purchase of property by Catholics; a Catholic who took the oath of allegiance framed four years before might take or dispose of a lease for 999 years; the unnatural right given to a child on embracing the Protestant religion to demand a maintenance and alter the succession was abolished; and the clauses authorising the prosecution of priests and Jesuits, and the imprisonment of Popish schoolmasters, were repealed.

† A volunteer corps had been organised in Kilkenny, against the whiteboys, in 1770; they were called the Kilkenny rangers; other armed parties had also been raised before this period in various localities; but the great national volunteer movement, strictly speaking, dates from the arming at Belfast in the beginning of 1779, its primary object being to repel foreign invasion.

‡ Life of Charlemont.

Flood, who then held a place under government, supported the amendment; but Mr. Grattan's preamble was got rid of, and another amendment, less galling to government, proposed by Mr. Hussey Burgh, prime sergeant, and unanimously adopted, namely:—"that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin." When the speaker carried the resolution from the parliament house to the castle, he passed between ranks of the Dublin volunteers, drawn up in arms under their commander, the duke of Leinster,* amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of a vast assemblage of people; and the house of lords passed a vote of thanks to the national army for their array on the occasion. On the 13th of November lord North introduced in the English parliament three propositions for the relief of Irish commerce. The first permitted a free exportation of Irish wool and woollen manufactures; the second made a similar concession for Irish glass manufactures; and the third granted freedom of trade with the British plantations, on certain conditions, of which the basis was an equality of taxes and customs. Bills embodying the two former propositions were immediately passed, but the third was deferred for a short time. These measures had little effect in calming the agitation in Ireland; the ideas of the people expanded with their success, and they now looked for nothing short of their full constitutional rights, and the liberation of their country from the supremacy of the English parliament. On the 19th of April, 1780, Mr. Grattan moved, "that no power on earth, save that of the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland." His speech on the occasion was a magnificent exertion of his eloquence. He said, "I will not be answered by a public lie in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subject's freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe in this our land, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain and contemplate your glory; I never will be satisfied, as long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags. He may be naked, he shall not be in irons; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted, and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall out-last the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the

* This nobleman was William Robert, the second duke. His father was James, the twentieth earl of Kildare, who was created marquis of Kildare, in 1761, and duke of Leinster in 1766.

holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him." At the suggestion, however, of Mr. Flood, after an interesting debate, which lasted until six o'clock in the morning, the question was not brought to a division, and the resolution thus did not appear on the journals of the house. This result gave rise to much dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased by the tendency of various acts of the British parliament to irritate the Irish nation. Thus, the usual annual mutiny bill sent over from the Irish parliament was returned, altered into a permanent one; and by the influence of government it was adopted in its altered form.

Meantime, the spirit of volunteering had rapidly gained ground. The numbers enrolled were stated to amount this year to over 40,000 men, unpaid, self-clothed, self-organized, and called into existence by no other authority than the voice of the people, and the necessity of the country. The affrighted government was induced to deliver to them 16,000 stand of arms, and they had also begun to raise a considerable artillery force. They selected their own officers. They rose into existence free from any pledge, and totally unshackled by any government control. They were assiduous in acquiring a knowledge of military discipline, and were materially aided in that object by numbers of their countrymen who had returned invalided from the American war. In proportion as the apprehension of a foreign invasion became dissipated, they turned their attention to their political rights; each corps expressed its opinions in resolutions, which were published in the journals; and efforts were successfully made to unite all the volunteer corps in Ireland by a combined organization; the earl of Charlemont being chosen commander-in-chief.

The session of 1780 closed on the 2nd of September, and the earl of Buckinghamshire having displeased the ministry by the weakness of his administration, was recalled, the earl of Carlisle being sent to replace him. The new viceroy found the nation profoundly agitated by the two great questions of free trade and legislative independence. During the summer of 1781 reviews of the volunteer corps were held in various parts of the country, and had a most exciting effect. The organization of the volunteer movement made immense progress; and when lord Carlisle met the Irish parliament on the 9th of October, it was plain from the conciliatory tone of his address, that he durst not hazard a stronger policy than his predecessor. He omitted, however, all mention of the volunteers, whom government wished to check and disarm without daring to make the attempt. On the motion of Mr. O'Neill, in the house of

commons, a vote was unanimously passed, thanking the volunteers "for their exertions and continuance, and for their loyal and spirited declarations on the late expected invasion."* The debates in the Irish house of commons at this period were constantly of the deepest interest. Government had, indeed, secured a corrupt majority, with which it was able to carry almost every measure that it desired; but on the popular side, there was an array of brilliant talent, which swayed public opinion, and which no government could at all times safely resist. Grattan's fervid and thrilling eloquence was always devoted to the interests of his country. His popularity was unbounded.† Flood had sacrificed place to principle, and his now unrestrained adhesion added greatly to the strength of the opposition.‡ At length news arrived that lord Cornwallis's army had surrendered to the French in America. It was a day of humiliation and dismay for England; but with that generous sympathy which England's misfortunes have seldom failed to elicit from Irishmen, the Irish house of commons, on the motion of Mr. Yelverton, voted an address of loyalty and attachment to the king, and readily granted the supplies which were demanded. Still, some of the patriots abstained from these votes, lest they should be understood as an expression of opinion against the Americans. On the 7th of December Mr. Grattan informed the house, that their debt at that time, including annuities, amounted to £2,667,600, an enormous sum, accumulated in a few years by patronage and corruption. On the 11th

* The resolution was proposed by Mr. John O'Neill, of Shane's castle; it was opposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards lord Clare; but the government having been obliged to acquiesce, it was carried without a division.

† "The address and the language of this extraordinary man were perfectly original; from his first essay in parliament, a strong sensation had been excited by the point and eccentricity of his powerful eloquence; nor was it long until those transcendent talents, which afterwards distinguished this celebrated personage, were perceived rising above ordinary capacities, and, as a charm, communicating to his countrymen that energy, that patriotism, and that perseverance, for which he himself became so eminently distinguished; his action, his tone, his elocution in public speaking, bore no resemblance to that of any other person; the flights of genius, the arrangements of composition, and the solid strength of connected reasoning, were singularly blended in his fiery, yet deliberative language; he thought in logic, and he spoke in antithesis; his irony and his satire—rapid and epigrammatic, bore down all opposition, and left him no rival in the broad field of eloquent invective; his ungraceful action, however, and the hesitating tardiness of his first sentences, conveyed no favorable impression to those who listened only to his exordium; but the progress of his brilliant and manly eloquence soon absorbed every idea but that of admiration at the overpowering extent of his intellectual faculties." Such was Sir Jonah Barrington's estimate of Henry Grattan's eloquence.—See *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, pp. 88, 89.

‡ Mr. Flood held office during the administrations of lords Harcourt and Buckinghamshire; but in 1780 he resigned on the ground that the line of policy which he had undertaken to support was not adopted by government. He was subsequently able to boast that while in office he had never shrunk from his duty to his country.

Mr. Flood moved for an inquiry into the operation of Poyning's law, but the motion was negatived by a division of 139 to 67, the usual majority of the government.

Events which constitute a memorable and glorious era in Irish history were now at hand. On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers of the southern battalion of the first Ulster regiment of volunteers, commanded by lord Charlemont, met together at Armagh, and having declared that they beheld with the utmost concern the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of Ireland by the majority of their representatives in parliament, they invited every volunteer association throughout Ulster to send delegates to deliberate on the alarming situation of public affairs, and fixed Friday, February 15th, 1782, for the assembly of delegates, to take place at Dungannon. The proceedings of the Irish volunteers had hitherto derived weight as well from their moderation as from their firmness and numbers; they combined, in an eminent degree, the character of citizens and of soldiers; temperate and peaceable, as well as armed and disciplined, there was something singularly imposing and dignified in their aspect; and it was impossible not to recognize in their organization great prudence and patriotism, as well as vast military power. The invitation of the Ulster regiment was responded to by 143 volunteer corps of the northern province, and government durst not interfere to prevent the meeting. The delegates assembled at Dungannon on the appointed day; most of them were men of large properties, and of acknowledged patriotism; they felt the weighty import of their proceedings, which would pledge the country to a course that might involve a hostile collision with Great Britain. The place of meeting was the church, a circumstance which enhanced the solemnity of the occasion; colonel William Irvine was appointed chairman, and twenty-one resolutions were adopted. These were in substance as follows:—

That whereas it has been asserted, that volunteers, as such, could not with propriety debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or public men:—Resolved, that a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights; Resolved that the claim of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under color or pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional and a grievance; that the ports of Ireland are by right

open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional; that the independence of the judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England; that it was their decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances; that the minority in parliament who had supported their constitutional rights were entitled to thanks; that four members from each county of Ulster should be appointed a committee till the next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps there represented, and to communicate with other volunteer associations; that they held the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in themselves, and, therefore, as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.*

Such was the famous convention of Dungannon. Its resolutions were adopted by all the volunteer corps of Ireland, and served as the basis of parliamentary proceedings in both countries.† In a word, a revolution without precedent in any other country had been achieved. On the very day on which these memorable resolutions were passed, Mr. Gardiner (afterwards lord Mountjoy) introduced his measure for the relief of the Catholics. Some delay was caused by obstacles thrown

* The address of thanks of the convention to the parliamentary minority was couched in the following spirited words:—"We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on! the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you, and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and in so just a pursuit we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success." The last of the resolutions adopted at Dungannon was suggested by Mr. Grattan to Mr. Dobbs, just before the latter gentleman left Dublin to attend the convention. It was passed with two dissentient votes.

† These resolutions of Dungannon were, to a great extent, only the solemn assertion of principles already set forth in resolutions of volunteer corps, discussed in parliament, and sanctioned by public opinion. Thus, on the 9th of June, 1780, the Dublin volunteers, with their general, the duke of Leinster, in the chair, resolved unanimously:—"That the king, lords, and commons of Ireland only are competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm, and that *we will not obey*, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support *with our lives and fortunes*." The effective men of the volunteer corps which sent delegates to Dungannon, or which subsequently acceded to the Dungannon resolutions, were, according to the abstract given in the appendix to [illegible]'s *Miscellaneous Works*:—In Ulster, 31,152; in Munster, 18,056; in Connaught, 14,336; in Leinster, 22,283; total, 88,827; which, with the addition of twenty-two corps which had acceded but made no returns, and that were estimated at about 12,000 men, made a grand total for all Ireland of 100,000 men. The artillery belonging to the volunteer corps of the several provinces were, in Ulster, 52 pieces; in Munster, 32; in Connaught, 29; in Leinster, 38; total, 130 pieces.

in the way by Mr. Fitzgibbon; but the government having left it an open question, Mr. Gardiner's principal propositions were adopted.*

On the fall of lord North's ministry, lord Carlisle retired from his post, and was succeeded by the duke of Portland, who was sworn into office as lord lieutenant on the 14th of April, 1782. Mr. Fox communicated to the British parliament a royal message, recommending to their immediate consideration the adjustment of the questions which produced so serious an agitation in Ireland. The new viceroy met the Irish parliament on the 16th of April; and on that day Mr. Grattan moved an amendment to the address, pointing out the principal causes of the discontent in Ireland, and declaring that to remove those causes the 6 Geo. I., c. 5, which asserted the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of England, should be repealed; the appellate jurisdiction of the lords of Ireland should be restored; the unconstitutional powers of the privy council should be abolished; and the perpetual mutiny bill repealed. The motion, which was an echo of the leading resolutions of Dungannon, was unanimously agreed to.†

On the 17th of May, 1782, the alarming state of Ireland was brought under the consideration of the British senate by the earl of Shelburne in the peers, and by Mr. Fox in the commons; and resolutions were adopted declaring it to be the opinion of parliament that the 6 Geo. I., entitled "an Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain" ought to be repealed;‡ and,

*Mr. Gardiner separated his measure into three different bills: the first enabled Catholics to take, hold, and dispose of lands and other hereditaments in the same manner as Protestants, with the exception of advowsons, manors, and parliamentary boroughs; it also repealed the statutes against the hearing or celebrating mass; against a Catholic having a horse worth £5 or upwards; and that which empowered grand juries to levy from Catholics the amount of any losses sustained through privateers, robbers, &c., and which excluded them from dwelling in the city of Limerick, &c. The second bill was entitled "an Act to enable persons professing the Popish religion to teach schools in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of Papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianships of their children." These two bills were passed into law; but the third, which authorised intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants, was negatived by a majority of eight.

† This memorable address, or declaration of rights, assured his majesty: "That his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain; on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort, whatsoever, in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland;" and "that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exist, a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives."

‡ See the substance of this statute, pp. 686, 687, *supra*.

"that it was indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent upon a solid and permanent footing," for which purpose an address should be presented to his majesty, praying that measures conducive to that important end should be taken. These resolutions passed the lower house unanimously, and in the peers the only dissentient voice was that of lord Loughborough.

On the 27th of May the Irish parliament met after an adjournment of three weeks, and the duke of Portland announced in his opening speech the unconditional concessions made to Ireland by the parliament of Great Britain. The news was received with an outburst of gratitude. These concessions, as expounded by Mr. Grattan, amounted to the giving up by England, unconditionally and in toto, of every claim of authority over Ireland; they were grounded not merely on expediency but on constitutional principles; they were yielded magnanimously, and in a manner that removed all suspicion; and all constitutional questions between the two countries were at an end. Such was Mr. Grattan's interpretation of the measure. He moved the address in a brilliant speech, breathing the generous sentiments of his noble and confiding nature. A warm discussion ensued. Mr. Flood, sir Samuel Bradstreet, recorder of Dublin, and Mr. Walsh, a barrister, took a different view from Mr. Grattan of the English concessions. It was urged by them that the simple repeal of the act of 6 George I. merely expunged from the English statute-book the declaration that England had the right to make laws for Ireland; it did not deny that England had that power; but left the question as it was before the passing of the obnoxious act, when the English parliament so frequently arrogated to itself and exercised such power. All Mr. Grattan's arguments were founded on a generous estimate of the honor and good faith in which the resolutions of the English parliament were brought forward; and his opinion prevailed. The address was carried by a division of 211 to 2. The house then, as an evidence of its gratitude, voted that 20,000 Irish seamen should be raised for the British navy, and a grant of £100,000 be made to carry out that object. Nothing was heard but mutual congratulations; it was the great and bloodless victory of the volunteers; a day of general thanksgiving was appointed; and the house next testified the gratitude of the country to its gifted benefactor, by voting £50,000 to purchase an estate and build a house for Mr. Grattan

Two parties now arose among the patriots, led by the rival orators, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood. The former had been led into error by his too generous credulity. At that very moment, English statesmen were contemplating the re-assertion of English supremacy, and the duke of Portland, encouraged by the divisions among the patriots, wrote to lord Shelburne on the 6th of June, 1782, that he had the best reason to hope that he would soon be able to obtain a recognition of the power claimed by England; although a few days after he was compelled to acknowledge that the state of popular feeling in Ireland rendered such a step impossible for the present. Mr. Flood's opinions gained ground out of doors, while those of his opponent continued to prevail in parliament. Most unworthy aspersions were thrown upon the motives of Mr. Grattan. It was said that he had obtained his reward, and that he was now ready to abandon the popular cause. On the other hand, Mr. Flood's friends urged that their leader had made an enormous personal sacrifice for his country, and as he would not, they said, stoop to accept any boon, an attempt, but a fruitless one, was made to induce the present government to restore his office, then in the hands of an unpopular man, sir George Young. Mr. Flood brought the question at issue between him and Mr. Grattan before the house, in the shape of a motion for leave to bring in the heads of a bill declaring the sole and exclusive right of the Irish parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, internal and external, for the kingdom of Ireland; but on the 19th of July the house divided, when only six members voted for his motion; the ground of rejection, as stated by Mr. Grattan, being, that the exclusive right of Ireland to self-legislation had already been asserted by Ireland, and fully and finally acknowledged by the English parliament.

A change of cabinets was brought about by the death of the whig minister, the marquis of Rockingham; and earl Temple was sent to re-place the duke of Portland in the government of Ireland. During the administration of the latter several important measures had been carried. The bank of Ireland was established; a habeas corpus act was given to this country; the dissenters were relieved from the sacramental test; the perpetual mutiny bill was repealed, and the independence of the judges was established. At length, on the 27th of July, the eventful session of 1782 was brought to a close. Popular discontent, however, was far from being set at rest. The question, whether the simple repeal of the 6 George I. were sufficient, or whether England should not be called upon to renounce formally her

claim of supremacy, was everywhere discussed.* Hence, "repeal," and "renunciation," became the watch-words of the two parties. Provincial, county, and district meetings of volunteer corps and delegates were frequently held, their resolutions were published in the newspapers, and every private soldier was taught to feel that he had a right to express his sentiments on the constitutional questions which occupied the legislature.† The conduct of the people was peaceable and orderly, yet public feeling was highly excited. It was a period of great national energy; but having in this already lengthy chapter traced the fortunes of Ireland from their very lowest ebb to what it has been the fashion to regard as their culminating point, we shall not add another word here to forestall approaching events.

* In the following session (23 Geo. III.) government brought into the British parliament an express act of renunciation, "for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judication," &c.

† For detailed accounts of the proceedings of the volunteers, the reader may refer to the Lives of Grattan and lord Charlemont; sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation;* MacNevin's *History of the Volunteers*, in Duffy's "Library of Ireland;" the Appendix to Grattan's Miscellaneous Works: *Historical Collections Relative to Belfast; Hist. of the Convention;* the public journals of the period, &c., &c.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE UNION.

Short-comings of the volunteer movement.—Corruption of the Irish parliament.—The national convention of delegates at the Rotunda.—The Bishop of Derry.—The Convention's Reform Bill—Bill rejected by parliament.—The convention dissolved and the fate of the Volunteers sealed.—The Commercial Relations Bill—Orde's propositions.—Great excitement in parliament—Mr. Pitt's project abandoned.—Popular discontent.—Disorders in the South.—The Right-boys.—The feud of the Peep-o'-day-boys and Defenders—Frightful atrocities of the former.—The Orange Society.—The regency question.—Political clubs.—Ferment produced by the French Revolution.—The Catholic Committee.—Theobald Wolfe Tone.—Formation of the Society of United Irishmen—Their principles.—Catholic Relief Bill of 1793.—Trial of Archibald Hamilton Rowan.—Mission of Jackson from the French Directory—His conviction and suicide.—Administration of earl Fitzwilliam—Great excitement at his recall.—New organisation of the United Irishmen—Their revolutionary plans.—Wolfe Tone's mission to France.—The spy system.—Iniquitous proceedings of the government—Efforts to accelerate an explosion.—The Insurrection and Indemnity Acts.—The Bantry Bay expedition.—Reynolds the informer.—Arrest of the Executive of the United Irishmen.—Search for lord Edward Fitzgerald—His arrest and death.—The insurrection prematurely forced to an explosion.—Free quarters, torturings, and military executions.—Progress of the insurrection.—Battle of Tara.—Atrocities of the military and the magistrates.—The insurrection in Kildare, Wexford, and Wicklow—Successes of the insurgents. Outrages of runaway troops.—Siege of New Ross.—Retaliation at Scullabogue.—Battle of Arklow.—Battle of Vinegar Hill.—Lord Cornwallis assumes the government.—Dispersion and surrender of insurgents.—The French at Killala.—Flight of the English.—The insurrection finally extinguished. The Union proposed—Opposition to the measure.—Pitt's perfidious policy successful.—The Union carried.

(A.D. 1782 TO A.D. 1800).

AT the close of the last chapter we left the volunteers in possession of a constitutional victory; but we then paused before the bright side of a picture, of which we have now to examine the shade. Turning aside from the glorious pageant of the national army, we are here, unhappily, doomed to find that the victory was deceptive and evanescent; that the parliament which was made free was venal, corrupt, and, unless reformed, worthless; that the popular leaders were in religion intolerant, in politics shortsighted, and many of them faithless and insincere; that although four-fifths of the population were Catholics, the just rights of this vast majority were not recognized by the very men who sought political freedom for themselves; that the country was consequently weakened

by disunion, and an unjust government enabled with security to refuse all reform of abuses and all redress of grievances; and, finally, that the volunteer association, deprived of moral influence, was after a few years suffered to die of inanition.*

On the 15th of July, 1783, parliament was dissolved and a new parliament summoned to meet in October. It was a moment when the question of reform was very earnestly and generally agitated. The Irish house of commons was then composed of 300 members, of whom 64 were returned for counties, and of the remainder at least 172, or a majority of the whole house, were sent in for close boroughs, the property of a few lords and wealthy commoners, and which were bought and sold like any ordinary merchandize. Other members besides those for close boroughs were also purchased by government; and the few who could be said to represent the people honestly, formed a minority insignificant in point of numbers. In this degraded state of venality and corruption, however, the Irish parliament was not unique; that of England at the same period presents similar characteristics, for which the debasing policy of the government and the profligacy of the times were responsible. The subject of parliamentary reform was now taken up warmly by the volunteers. A meeting of delegates was held at Lisburn on the 1st of July, 1783, preliminary to another held at Dungannon on the 8th of September, at which all the Ulster volunteer corps were represented. The subject of equal representation of the

* "The services of the volunteers," says Dr. Madden, "are, on the whole, greatly exaggerated by our historians; the great wonder is, how little substantial good to Ireland was effected by a body which was capable of effecting so much. As a military national spectacle, the exhibition was, indeed, imposing, of a noble army of united citizens roused by the menace of danger to the state, and once mustered, standing forth in defence of the independence of their country. But it is not merely the spectacle of their array, but the admirable order, conduct, and discipline of their various corps—not for a short season of political excitement, but for a period of nearly ten years,—that even, at this distance of time, are with many a subject of admiration.....But what use did the friends and advocates of popular rights make of this powerful association of armed citizens, which paralysed the Irish government, and brought the British ministry to a frame of mind very different to that which it hitherto exhibited towards Ireland? Why they wielded this great weapon of a nation's collected strength to obtain an illusory independence, which never could rescue the Irish parliament from the influence of the British minister without reform, and which left the parliament as completely in the power of the minister, through the medium of his hirelings in that house, as it had been before that shadow of parliamentary independence had been gained.....The other adjuncts to this acquisition were, a place bill and a pension bill, which had been the stock-in-trade of the reforming principle of the opposition for many years. No great measure of parliamentary reform or Catholic emancipation was seriously entertained or wrung from a reluctant but then feeble government. The error of the leaders was in imagining that they could retain the confidence of the Catholics, or the co-operation of that body, which constituted the great bulk of the population, while their convention publicly decided against their admission to the exercise of the elective franchise."—*The United Irishmen, their Lives and Times*, by R. R. Madden, M.D. *First Series*, p. 143, second edition.

people in parliament was discussed and commended to the attention of the volunteers of all Ireland. The movement was taken up in the same spirit by the other provinces, and the result of their provincial meetings was the project of a grand national volunteer convention, to assemble in Dublin on the 10th of November. These proceedings alarmed government, but the new parliament in the meantime met and passed a vote of thanks to the volunteers. This perhaps was only intended to conciliate. A warm debate took place on the question of retrenchment, and the opposition was as usual defeated. Grattan had latterly ceased to co-operate earnestly with the other popular leaders. On this occasion an angry altercation took place between him and Flood, whose policy was more progressive and uncompromising, and the mutual hostility of these two great men, which was so disastrous to their country, became henceforth more bitter than ever.

Monday, the 10th of November, arrived, and one hundred and sixty delegates of the volunteers of Ireland assembled at the Royal Exchange. They elected as their chairman the earl of Charlemont, and adjourned to the great room of the Rotunda, marching two and two through the streets, escorted by the county and city of Dublin volunteers, with drums beating and colors flying. Vast multitudes assembled; there was great enthusiasm, and the scene was altogether a most imposing one.* In the Rotunda the seats were arranged in semicircular order before the chair, the orchestra was occupied by ladies, and the delegates adopted in their proceedings the forms of parliament. One of the most prominent members of the convention was Frederick Augustus Hervey, earl of Bristol in the English peerage, and Protestant bishop of Derry in Ireland. This eccentric personage took the extreme popular side on all questions, and was idolized by the multitude. He assumed a degree of princely state; was daily escorted to the convention by a troop of light dragoons, commanded by his nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald, of duelling notoriety; and was only saved by the eccentricity of his manner from the serious consequences to which his bold assertion of opinion would have laid him open.

The convention had not made much progress in its deliberations before government contrived by an artifice to introduce the seeds of dissension. Sir Boyle Roche, a man notorious for his blunders and buffoonery, made his appearance at the Rotunda, with what purported to be a message from lord Kenmare, to the effect that the Irish Catholics

* See description of the procession in Gilbert's *Hist. of Dublin*, vol. ii., p. 61.

were satisfied with what had been done for them by the legislature, and that they only desired to enjoy in peace the benefits bestowed upon them. This occurred on the 14th of November, and the same day the general committee of the Catholics held a meeting, with sir Patrick Bellew in the chair, and resolved unanimously that the message to the national convention was totally unknown to, and unauthorised by them; and that they were not so unlike the rest of mankind as to prevent by their own act the removal of their shackles. This resolution was communicated to the convention in the evening by the bishop of Derry; but the assembly, with all its assumption of liberality, was anti-Catholic. Following the principles laid down by the Dungannon convention, it had, by its first resolution, restricted the Protestants the right of assuming arms; it now pretended not to be able to distinguish between the authenticity of sir Boyle Roche's message and that of the resolution of the Catholic committee, and concluded by an illiberal exclusion of Catholics from the constitutional privileges claimed for the Protestant minority. We cannot be surprised that such a course should have deprived the convention of Catholic sympathies.

Plans of reform were now submitted for consideration by several of the delegates. Hardy, in his "Life of Charlemont," describes them as "incongruous fancies and misshapen theories." Mr. Flood and the bishop of Derry took the leading part in digesting these plans, and out of them was at length composed the bill which Mr. Flood introduced in parliament on the 29th of November. A stormy debate in the house of commons ensued. Mr. Yelverton, the attorney-general (afterwards lord Avonmore), led the opposition to the bill. Although he himself had been a volunteer, he declared that originating as the bill did with an armed body, it was inconsistent with the freedom of debate in that house to receive it. They did not sit there to register the edicts of another assembly, or to receive propositions at the point of the bayonet. He admired the volunteers so long as they confined themselves to their first line of conduct, but when they formed themselves into a debating society, and with that rude instrument, the bayonet, probed and explored a constitution which required the nicest hand to touch, his respect and veneration for them were destroyed. Such was the logic employed against the bill. Mr. Flood defended the bill and the volunteers by a display of powerful eloquence. A writer who was present describes the scene as "almost terrific"—as one of "uproar, clamour, violent

menace, and furious recrimination."* Several supporters of the measure, and the delegates who were present, appeared in uniform. Mr. Grattan gave the bill but a feeble support, and the motion was rejected by a division of 159 to 77. Corruption was triumphant. The attorney-general then moved "that it had now become necessary to declare that the house would maintain its just rights and privileges against all encroachments whatsoever," and the resolution was carried by a similar majority. The gauntlet was fairly thrown down to the volunteers, and the consequences might have been most serious to the empire had not some of the popular leaders behaved with more than ordinary prudence. Lord Charlemont exerted himself privately and publicly to prevent a collision; and at length, on the morning of Tuesday, the 2nd of December, adjourned the convention *sine die*. This sealed the fate of the volunteers. Their prestige and influence were gone for ever. Mr. Flood retired in disgust to England, and on his return the following year introduced another reform bill, only to be again defeated. His object was to show that it was not because the former bill emanated from the volunteers it had been rejected, but because it was directed against the scandalous corruption of an unprincipled house of commons. An attempt was made by Flood, Napper Tandy, and others, to get up another national congress by addressing circulars to the high-sheriffs, inviting them to convene meetings of their respective counties and cities to elect delegates; but the high sheriffs were threatened by government with the vengeance of the law, and few of them had the hardihood to hold the required meetings. A few delegates were, however, returned, and in October, 1784, met in Dublin with closed doors. Flood attended their sittings; but some of them were offended at his hostility to the Catholics; the abortive convention dissolved; and Fitzgibbon, then attorney-general, to make an example, prosecuted the sheriff of the county of Dublin by an attachment. The volunteers, deserted by most of their aristocratic leaders, now became a democratic association. In Belfast and Dublin they commenced openly to train people of all classes and sects in the use of arms, and the example was followed elsewhere; but government, re-assured by the late triumph over the volunteers in parliament, now took bolder measures. The standing army was raised to 15,000 men, and in February, 1785, a sum of £20,000 was voted to clothe the militia; these forces, however, were

* Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, vol. ii., p. 146.

unpopular, and the volunteers having ceased to co-operate with the civil authorities for the preservation of the peace, every part of the country soon became disturbed by scenes of tumult and violence.

Hitherto we have seen the trade and manufactures of Ireland invariably sacrificed to the interests of England. The great question of 1785 was a bill for regulating the commercial relations of the two countries. William Pitt was the minister, and the duke of Rutland was viceroy of Ireland. The measure was introduced in the Irish parliament by Mr. Secretary Orde, in the shape of nine propositions, and did not pass without considerable opposition, as it was proposed that this country should contribute a quota for the protection of the general commerce of both countries at the discretion of the British parliament. The bill passed the Irish parliament on the 12th of February, and was introduced by Mr. Pitt in the English house of commons on the 22nd. The commercial jealousy of England had been roused, and petitions were poured in from all quarters against the measure. Pitt complained of this hostility as unjust and ungenerous, but secretly he took measures to allay the sordid fears of the English manufacturers, by assuring them that Ireland should derive little advantage from the bill; and he accordingly added eleven new propositions to the nine Irish ones, altering the bill so materially, that when returned to Ireland in August it had ceased to be the same measure which had passed the Irish parliament. By the new propositions, Ireland was to be debarred from all trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, and would be bound by whatever navigation laws the English parliament might thenceforth enact. The insulting restrictions, and the attempt to bind Ireland by English-made laws, produced a violent commotion in the Irish parliament. They were denounced in one of the most memorable efforts of his eloquence by Grattan, who now saw how grievously he had been mistaken about the constitutional arrangements of 1782. "This bill," he said, "goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and creeping union; a virtual union, establishing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and reposing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union where our parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary establishment without any proportion of parliamentary representation." The latent patriotism even of that corrupt house was awakened, and when a division on the altered bill took place,

after a debate which was sustained until eight o'clock in the morning, the numbers were found to be, for the bill, 127, against it, 108. So small a majority, yielded by its own hirelings, was properly regarded by the ministry as a defeat, and the bill was abandoned; but Pitt never forgave the Irish house of commons for this display of its nationality.

Popular discontent, arising from a variety of causes, social, political, and religious, pervaded the whole country, and gave rise in many places to scenes of tumult and disorder. Opposition to the importation of English manufactures was renewed, and led to some violent proceedings, particularly in Dublin. In the south, the whiteboys were revived under the name of right-boys, and in 1787 their turbulence and acts of intimidation filled several counties with alarm. Tithes, church-rates, and rack-rents had driven the famishing peasantry to madness; the law afforded them no relief, and against the unlimited exactions of tithe-proctors and middlemen, and the cruelties of unjust magistrates, they sought protection in their own system of wild justice. Mr. Grattan made various fruitless attempts in parliament to obtain an inquiry into the causes of this agrarian discontent. He was opposed by Fitzgibbon, who, defending the parsons, said he knew the unhappy tenantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords, and instanced cases in Munster, in which to his own knowledge, a poor tenant was compelled to pay £6 an acre for potato ground, which £6 he had to work out with his landlord at five pence a-day. He might have found cases much worse still in Connaught; but Grattan shewed that "the landlord's over-reaching, compared to that of the tithe-farmer, was mercy." To the relentless inhumanity of both these classes the wretched people were abandoned, and when goaded into resistance, they were refused by the legislature any remedy but the bayonet and the halter. Still, the outrages committed by the misguided right-boys were not to be excused, and they were denounced from the altars by the Catholic clergy, and more particularly in pastorals issued by the Most Rev. Dr. Butler, archbishop of Cashel, and the Right Rev. Dr. Troy, Catholic bishop of Ossory.

Meantime disturbances of a different nature commenced in the north between two parties called peep-o'-day boys and defenders. They originated in 1784 among some country people, who appear to have been all Protestants or Presbyterians; but Catholics having sided with one of the parties, the quarrel quickly grew into a religious feud, and spread from the county of Armagh, where it commenced, to the neighbouring districts of Tyrone and Down. Both parties belonged to

the humblest classes of the community. The Protestant party were well armed, and assembling in numbers, attacked the houses of Catholics under pretence of searching for arms; insulting their persons, and breaking their furniture. These wanton outrages were usually committed at an early hour in the morning, whence the name of peep-o'-day boys; but the faction was also known as "Protestant boys," and "wreckers," and ultimately merged in the orange society.* Their object was something more than a mere attack upon Catholics for their religion. They coveted the lands occupied by their Catholic neighbours, and adopted the Cromwellian principle of sending the Papists "to hell or Connaught." For this purpose they burned the houses of the Catholics, great numbers of whom were thus driven from the country, and their holdings afterwards given to Protestants; and Plowden tells us, that in the beginning of 1796 "it was generally believed that 7,000 Catholics had been forced or burned out of the county of Armagh, and that the ferocious banditti who had expelled them had been encouraged, connived at, and protected by the government." Against these savage atrocities the Catholics were compelled to band themselves for protection, and hence they assumed the name of defenders. The association of defenders, however, spread into some localities where no aggression from Protestants was to be apprehended, and in such cases the defenders leagued themselves for the redress of various agrarian grievances, especially that of the tithe system. They bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and had pass-words like other similar societies, but they were exclusively illiterate men, and their political opinions were generally limited to a vague notion that "something ought to be done for Ireland."†

In the autumn of 1788 George III. was attacked by insanity, and the regency was conferred in England on the prince of Wales, clogged with a variety of restrictions, upon which Mr. Pitt insisted. The Irish parliament, generally ready enough to assert its own privileges, refused

* The first orange lodge was formed in September, 1795, in the village of Loughgall, in Armagh. This society spread rapidly, and the frightful atrocities committed by its members on the Catholics helped to accelerate the insurrection of '98, and added fearfully to its horrors. "The original oath or purple test of this society was not produced by the officers of the society on the inquiry entered into by the parliamentary committee in 1835; but the existence of this diabolical test was given in evidence before the Secret Committee of 1798, by Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and the [illegible] of it confirmed by the confession on that occasion." *The United Irishmen*, &c., first series, p. 110, second edition.

† See D'Alton's *History*, vol. iv., c. 7; MacNevin's *Pieces of Irish History*, pp. 55, &c. The Trials of the [illegible]; Madden's *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, &c.

to be dictated to either by the English parliament or by the minister, and in the exercise of its national independence voted the regency without restriction or limitation. The lord lieutenant (the marquis of Buckingham) refused to forward the address to the prince of Wales; but the parliament appointed a commission to convey the address to England, and the deputation was most graciously received by the prince. The phalanx of corruption was for the moment broken up in the Irish parliament; the hirelings were uncertain whom they should obey; and Grattan seized the opportunity to introduce a pension bill and some other popular measures; but the king's health was suddenly restored, the servile majority resumed their ranks, and all attempts at reform were as hopeless as ever. Pitt was exasperated by the conduct of the Irish parliament on the regency question, and never after lost sight of his determination to deprive Ireland of her legislature.

No viceroy ever exerted the corrupting influence of government more shamelessly than the marquis of Buckingham He bargained openly for single votes, and during his short administration added £13,000 a year to the pension list. In 1790 he was succeeded by the earl of Westmoreland. It was an age of political associations; societies were springing into existence in every part of the empire. A whig club was established in Ireland similar to that of England; but not only were Catholics excluded, as they were from most of the other political societies, but even the discussion of the Catholic question was interdicted. The ferment in the popular mind was daily increased by the progress of the French revolution, and the wildest theories of democracy began to float on the tide of public opinion. Still the government was inexorable in its opposition to every proposition for reform, and it was openly asserted in parliament that such conduct seemed designed to goad the people to rebellion. Grattan arraigned the ministry in a long series of charges, and that other gifted and illustrious Irishman, John Philpot Curran, labored at this time in the same cause; but their efforts were in vain.

On the 11th of February, 1791, a general committee of the Catholics of Ireland met in Dublin, and resolved to apply to parliament for relief from their disabilities. The Catholics had hitherto refrained from all agitation, and their body was weakened by a division into an aristocratic and a democratic party, this breach being daily widened by the suspicion with which the excesses of the French revolution induced the friends of religion and order to regard all democratic tendencies. The most

active men of the Catholic committee at this time were John Keogh, Richard M'Cormic, John Sweetman, Edward Byrne, and Thomas Braughall. Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of considerable talent and of an ardent and aspiring disposition, proffered his services to promote their cause, as did likewise the Hon. Simon Butler, also a barrister, and some other patriotic Protestants and dissenters; and the accession of such men gave a fresh impulse to their efforts, and roused them to the adoption of more decisive language than they had hitherto used. Nothing was more calculated to excite the jealousy of government than this fellowship of Protestants and Catholics; and, on the other hand, the friends of the popular cause saw that nothing was more necessary to promote their views than unanimity between all classes of Irishmen. With this object in view Wolfe Tone visited Belfast in October, 1791, at the invitation of a volunteer club already existing there, composed of such men as Samuel Neilson, Robert Simms, Thomas Russell, &c., and in conjunction with them founded the first club, which took the name of the Society of United Irishmen. He then returned to Dublin, and with James Napper Tandy, Simon Butler, and others, founded a similar society in the metropolis. The fundamental resolutions of the society were :—"1st. That the weight of English influence in the government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce. 2nd. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament. 3rd. That no reform is just which does not include every Irishman of every religious persuasion."

Such were the principles of the first United Irishmen. Their society was perfectly constitutional, and in every respect as legal as any of the numerous political clubs which at that time existed in England and Ireland, and which boasted among their members some of the most distinguished statesmen of the day. Wolfe Tone and some of his associates had already imbibed republican ideas, but it is an unquestionable fact that they did not attempt to engraft these on the original constitution of the United Irishmen, which was thoroughly monarchical. The grand principle of the society was that of "union among all classes of Irishmen;" it was this which marked it out as specially dangerous in the eyes of a government, which, like every Irish government since the earliest times of English rule in this country, relied on the contrary principle of division amongst the people

—and it was this which gave the society so much political influence during the first period of its existence.*

In July, 1791, the anniversary of the French revolution was celebrated with military pomp at Belfast by the armed volunteers and townspeople. Democratic ideas became daily more prevalent, and in order to protest against such principles, sixty-four of the Catholic aristocracy seceded from the Catholic body, and presented an address of loyalty to the lord lieutenant. This proceeding was uncalled for, and was injurious to their cause; indeed, these were the persons of whose sentiments sir Boyle Roche undertook to be the worthy expositor to the volunteer convention in 1783. In 1792 the Catholic committee employed the son of the great Edmund Burke as their advocate to defend them against the imputations of the sixty-four addressors. In fact, the attention of the committee was then so exclusively confined to the one great point of obtaining a relaxation of the penal code, that they mixed themselves up with no other political agitation, and nothing could be more unjust than to impute to their proceedings a democratic character. A convention of Catholic delegates was suggested; this proposal (fraught with most important results) produced an outcry, and violent proceedings against the Catholics were adopted by the grand juries throughout the country. Nevertheless the Catholic delegates assembled in Dublin, and held their first meeting on the 2nd of December, 1792, at the Tailor's Hall in Back-lane. The Catholics next prepared a petition to the king representing their grievances; it was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan, on behalf of the prelates and clergy, and by all the county delegates. Five delegates, namely: sir Thomas French, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, and Mr. Bellew, were chosen to convey the petition

* The "test" of the first society of United Irishmen was as follows:—"I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, and identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."—See Wolfe Tone's *Memoirs*; Madden's *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, &c. "Strictly speaking," says the historian of the United Irishmen, "Samuel Neilson was the originator, and Tone the organiser of the society, the framer of its declaration, the pensman to whom the details of its formation was entrusted. The object of Tone in assisting in the formation of the Belfast and Dublin societies is not to be mistaken—he clearly announces it in his diary. In concluding the account of the part he took in the formation of the former, he plainly states: 'To break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assist the independence of my country—these are my objects.'"—Madden's *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, second series, p. 11. second edition.

to London, and on the 2nd of January, 1793, they presented it to his majesty, by whom they were very graciously received.

Under the pressure of renewed war with France, and in order to detach the Catholics from the more active and dangerous politicians of other creeds, government brought in the relief bill of 1793;* but in the same session were passed a militia bill, and the gunpowder and convention bills; the two latter coercive measures being directly aimed against the volunteers and the United Irishmen, the former having still retained a nominal existence. Mr. Pitt's favorite tactics were to create disunion and alarm, and thus to prepare the way for strong measures. He enveloped the proceedings of the executive in mystery, and reckoned on the fears, and never on the confidence of the people.

A meeting of the United Irishmen, held in Dublin in February, 1793, published an address protesting against the inquisitorial nature of certain proceedings of the secret committee of the house of lords, then conducting an inquiry relative to the defenders' association. For this the hon. Mr. Butler, who acted as chairman of the meeting, and Mr. Oliver Bond, the secretary, were called before the bar of the house, and adjudged to be each imprisoned six months and fined £500. In January, 1794, Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan was prosecuted for an address to the volunteers adopted at a meeting of the United Irishmen, of which he was secretary, and which was held nearly two years before. He was defended by Curran, who made one of his most celebrated speeches on the occasion; but by the aid of the nefarious jury-packing system, then newly introduced by the notorious John Giffard, the sheriff, and on the testimony of a perjured witness, Mr. Rowan was convicted of a seditious libel, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £500. These proceedings increased the popular ferment, and an address from the society of United Irishmen was presented to Mr. Rowan in Newgate; but on the 1st of May he made his escape, and although £1,000 reward was offered for his apprehension, he succeeded in making his way to France and thence to America.

In the beginning of April, 1794, an emissary arrived in Ireland

* This act (33 Geo. III.), restored the elective franchise to the Irish Catholics, and threw open to them certain offices in the army in Ireland, and all offices in the navy, even that of admiral, on the Irish station. In the army three offices were still excepted, viz.: those of commander-in chief, master-general of the ordnance, and general on the staff. The preceding year the Irish house of commons refused to receive a petition from Belfast in favour of the Catholics; and yet, in 1793, the only bigots in that den of corruption who were consistent enough to vote against the relief bill were Dr. Duigenan and Mr. Ogle.

from the French convention, to sound the popular mind relative to an invasion. This person was the Rev. William Jackson, a Protestant clergyman of Irish extraction, but who had been born in England, and had resided many years in France. He rashly confided his secret to his legal adviser, Mr. John Cockayne, a London solicitor, by whom it was immediately revealed to the prime minister, Mr. Pitt. By Pitt's advice, Cockayne accompanied Jackson to Ireland, and was present at his interviews with Leonard M'Nally, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, then in Newgate, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and other leaders of the United Irishmen. Fortunately for the Irish leaders they looked at first with some suspicion on Jackson, and avoided committing themselves in the presence of Cockayne. Thus did the first overtures from France to Ireland come, as it were, through the very hands of William Pitt himself; and the government having made this first experiment in treason manufacture, had Jackson arrested on the 28th of April. Three days after, as we have seen, Hamilton Rowan made his escape, and on the 4th of May the meeting of United Irishmen at the Tailor's Hall was dispersed by the sheriff under the convention act, and their papers seized. Many of the more prudent members of the society now thought it high time to withdraw.

The latter part of 1794 witnessed some strange political intrigues. Pitt professed to abandon his policy of coercion, and thereupon many of the old whig party entered into a coalition with him. The earl of Westmoreland was recalled from Ireland, and on the 4th of January, 1795, earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman of liberal principles and most estimable disposition, arrived to replace him. Lord Fitzwilliam came over with the express understanding that he was to pursue a policy of conciliation. At Dublin castle he found a system established utterly incompatible with any honest, constitutional plan of government, and he at once set about reforming it. His first acts were to dismiss secretary Cooke, and to deprive Mr. Beresford of the power which had enabled him and his family for many years to monopolise a vast proportion of the public emoluments, and to exercise an uncontrolled sway over the Irish government. The new viceroy surrounded himself with liberal-minded men; the Catholics were promised complete emancipation; the people were inspired with a confidence which they had never felt till then; and extraordinary joy was diffused through the country. But this was only for a moment. When the hopes of the nation were raised to the highest pitch lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. The effect was heart-

rending. Addresses and resolutions poured in from all sides to avert the calamity, but to no purpose. On the 25th of March lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland amidst the anguish of the people. His coach was drawn to the water side by some of the most respectable citizens of Dublin; the city wore an aspect of mourning, but the public grief was equalled by the public indignation at the heartless duplicity of the minister. Pitt had made up his mind for the Union, cost what it might, and he knew that it was through the humiliation and misfortune, not through the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, that such a measure could be brought about. To realise his favorite project this unhappy country was to be deluged with crime and blood.

On the 23rd of April, 1795, the Rev. William Jackson was put on his trial for treason, and convicted on the evidence of Cockayne. When the unfortunate man was brought up for judgment on the 30th he took a dose of arsenic before entering the dock, and to give time for the poison to take effect, he caused his counsel, Mr. Leonard M'Nally, to plead in arrest of judgment. Externally he concealed the frightful tortures which he endured; his gaolers did not perceive a muscle change; and the ingenuity of counsel protracted the argument until the wretched prisoner fell in the agonies of death. A coroner's inquest closed the scene. Jackson's object in anticipating the law was, to save for his wife and children the little money which he possessed, and which would have been confiscated had judgment been pronounced.

The society of United Irishmen had already assumed a new character. Desperation having succeeded to hope in the public mind, physical force and foreign aid were thought of. The original objects of reform and emancipation were merged—at least in the minds of many of the leaders—in revolution and republicanism. The original test of the society was changed into an oath of secresy and mutual fidelity; and for the words "equal representation of the people in parliament," was substituted in their declaration the phrase "a full representation of all the people of Ireland;" the word "all" being added and "parliament" omitted. Baronial, county, and provincial committees were established; each society was limited to twelve members, including a secretary and treasurer; five of these secretaries formed a lower baronial committee, which delegated one of its members to an upper baronial committee; and so on for the committees of counties and provinces. Each of the four provinces had a subordinate directory delegated by a

provincial committee, and in Dublin there was an executive directory of five persons, elected by ballot in the provincial directories. The executive directory exercised supreme command over the entire union, and its members were only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees; but the result proved that all this secrecy and complicated organisation afforded no protection against treachery. From the very commencement every important proceeding of the United Irishmen was known to the government.

By the 10th of May, 1795, the new organisation of the society was complete on paper; and on the 20th Wolfe Tone left Dublin for Belfast, on his way to America. He had been implicated by the evidence on Jackson's trial, but through the influence of very powerful friends he was saved from prosecution on condition of quitting the country. From America he proceeded to France, in fulfilment of a promise which he had made to the leaders at home that he would lay such representations before the French republican government as would lead to an invasion of Ireland. He arrived at Havre on the 1st of February, 1796, and hastened to Paris. His credentials consisted only of two votes of thanks from the Catholic Committee, of which he had been secretary, and his certificate of admission to the Belfast volunteers. The American ambassador was friendly to him; he introduced himself to Carnot; and his success, under many disheartening circumstances, was so complete, that on the 16th of December, the same year, a French expedition under general Hoche sailed from Brest for Ireland. It consisted of 17 ships of the line, besides frigates, &c., to the number in all of 43 sail, having on board 15,000 troops and 45,000 stand of arms, with artillery, ammunition, &c.; Theobald Wolfe Tone himself, with the rank of adjutant-general, being on board the same ship with general Grouchy, the second in command. It was madness to undertake the expedition at such a season. Scarcely had the shores of France been cleared when foul winds and foggy weather, "the only unsubsidised allies of England," dispersed the fleet; the admiral's ship, with the commander-in-chief, separated, and such of the vessels as kept together cruised for six or eight days at the entrance to Bantry Bay, waiting in vain for Hoche, and then returned to France; Grouchy having refused to attempt a landing without the orders of the chief in command. It was one of those cases in which the destinies of nations seem to hang by a slender thread. Had the weather been more propitious, it is quite possible that the result of the expedition might have been a

successful civil war in Ireland, and the loss of this country for ever to the crown of England.*

The horrible drama which was to be played out in Ireland during the two or three ensuing years was now commenced in right earnest. Earl Camden succeeded lord Fitzwilliam as lord lieutenant; Robert Stewart, viscount Castlereagh, a political apostate, who had entered parliament as a pledged reformer, but who soon proved himself the most unprincipled foe to popular rights, became an active member of the Irish executive; lord Carhampton, the worthy grandson of the infamous Henry Luttrell, got the command of the army, and exercised his power with fierce and reckless cruelty; early in 1796 an Insurrection Act was passed, making the administration of an oath like that of the United Irishmen punishable with death; a discretionary power was given to magistrates to proclaim counties; houses might be entered between sun-set and sun-rise, and the inmates seized and sent on board tenders without any formality of trial; lord Carhampton, had, indeed, in the summer of 1795, banished in that way one thousand three hundred persons on his own authority and without any legal form; the ferocity and fanaticism of the Orangemen, as the Peep-o'-day-boys were now denominated, were employed for the extirpation of the Catholics;† and acts of indemnity were passed to shield the magistrates and military from responsibility for the cruelties in which they exceeded the law. In parliament nothing would be done to ameliorate the condition of the country or allay the popular ferment; but everything that could most effectually provoke and foment discontent. The results

* For the details of the events here related, and of those which are immediately to follow, the reader is referred to *The United Irishmen, their Lives and Times*, by Dr. R. R. Madden, M.R.I.A. —a work of immense labor and research, and which constitutes in itself a repertory of Irish history for this period; also to the *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone;* Dr. W. J. Mac Neven's *Pieces of Irish History;* Moore's *Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald;* Mac Nevin's *Lives and Trials of Eminent Irishmen;* Teeling's *Personal Narrative of the Rebellion; William Samson's Autobiography,* edited by William Cooke Taylor; *Autobiography of Hamilton Rowan*, edited by Dr. Drummond; Hay's *History of the Insurrection in Wexford;* Cloney's *Personal Narrative;* O'Kelly's *General History of the Rebellion; History of the Rebellion*, by the Rev. James Gordon (a Protestant clergyman); Alexander's *Account of the Rebellion;* C. Jackson's *History of the Rebellion*; Musgrave's Work (a tissue of prejudice and falsehood); Reports from Committees of Secrecy of the Houses of Lords and Commons; Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*; the Lives and Speeches of Henry Grattan and John Philpot Curran; Lord Cloncurry's *Personal Recollections;* the Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh and of the Marquis Cornwallis, &c.

† The Peep-o'-day boys and Defenders fought a pitched battle at a place called the Diamond, near Armagh, on the 21st September, 1795. The former were much better armed, and the latter, although more numerous, were beaten with the loss of forty-eight killed. It was notorious that government encouraged the Peep-o'-day-boys or Orangemen.

were only what were to be expected. If revolution can, under any circumstances, be justified—and upon revolution the constitution of England is founded—it would be monstrous to blame the unhappy victims of Pitt's policy in Ireland for meditating resistance at that fatal period. Accordingly we find that the leaders of the United Irishmen formed the plan of engrafting a military organisation on their civil organisation. This was commenced in Ulster about the end of 1796, and in Leinster in the beginning of 1797. The secretary of a society of twelve became a petty officer; the delegates to the lower baronial committees became captains; the delegate from the lower to the upper baronial committee was, in most cases, a colonel; but every commission higher than that of colonel was in the appointment of the executive directory. The members did not for some time adopt these titles, nor was the Leinster directory elected until the close of 1797. The society spread rapidly among the humbler classes, especially in localities where Orange clubs were established. On the eve of the outbreak in 1798 the total number of enrolled members was computed at 500,000, and of these very nearly 300,000 might be counted on as effective men. A few years before the leaders complained that the people were sluggish and hard to be moved; they now found that the great difficulty was to restrain them under the system of provocation practised by government. Some of the leaders were too enthusiastic; but it was a settled point among them that without foreign aid an insurrection should not be hazarded; that the country should not be exposed to the horrors of a war like that of La Vendée, and that the impatience of the people should be restrained by every means until the arrival of a French invading army. Agents were therefore repeatedly sent to solicit the aid of France. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the duke of Leinster, and who had served with great distinction in the English army in Canada, went on one of these missions to France in 1796, accompanied by Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a member of the Irish parliament. They proceeded to Switzerland, where they had an interview on the frontier with general Hoche, previous to the departure of the Bantry Bay expedition. In March, 1797, Mr. Lewines, an attorney of Dublin, was sent on a similar mission, and remained in France as a permanent agent of the Irish Directory; Wolfe Tone being also at the same time in Paris. In June, 1797, Dr. MacNevin was despatched to France on a similar errand, but only got to Hamburgh, where he imprudently ventured to communicate by letter with the French government, and a

copy of his memorial came into the hands of the British minister through the treachery of an employée in the French foreign office. Indeed, the English government was thoroughly informed of every movement of the Irish leaders, and might at any moment have broken up the scheme which was thus hatched under its very eyes. A regular system of espionage was employed by government so early as 1795, and was rendered complete by the end of the following year. Besides the common gang of informers who, like the infamous Jemmy O'Brien and his associates, were under the immediate control of town-majors Sirr and Swan, there was a "higher class" of miscreants in the pay of government for the same vile purposes. The former were exclusively persons taken from the dregs of society, and were employed in the lowest work of iniquity. They were usually called "major Sirr's people," or "the battalion of testimony;" but among the other class were some in the rank of "gentlemen," and some whose baseness was not divulged until long after their death, when they appeared in public documents as the recipients of secret service money and of government pensions. Some of these men had expressly entered the society and wormed themselves into the confidence of the members for the purpose of betraying their associates; others were the legal advisers and advocates of their unfortunate victims, with whose most intimate secrets they had thus made themselves acquainted; others betrayed their bosom friends and benefactors. One of the informers, M'Gucken, was the solicitor of the United Irishmen of Belfast. Mr. Leonard Mac Nally, their advocate, was in the secret pay of the government, and received a pension of £300 a-year for life; but what the precise service was which he rendered for the wages we are not informed. The notorious Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkea castle, in Kildare, became an United Irishman, and got himself raised to a high grade in the society, that he might betray his friends. In the same base manner captain Armstrong, of the King's County Militia, betrayed Henry and John Sheares. Nicholas Maguan, of Saintfield, in the county of Down, was a member of the county and provincial committees, and attended the meetings of his betrayed dupes until June, 1798, communicating all the time the secrets of the society to government through a third person. John Hughes, a bookseller of Belfast, another spy, was repeatedly arrested and confined along with members of the society in order to learn their secrets as a fellow-victim; and John Edward Newell, of the Belfast

society, Frederick Dutton, and a man named Burd, or Smith, also figured in the same vile capacity.

On the 13th of March, 1797, general Lake, commanding the northern district, issued a proclamation virtually placing a great part of Ulster under martial law; and his orders were executed with excessive rigor by the military. The illegal and violent nature of the proceedings resorted to was described some months after by the earl of Moira in the English house of lords, in a fruitless effort to elicit the sympathy of the legislature on behalf of this suffering country. Among the cruelties which he himself had seen practised, lord Moira mentioned, that if any man was suspected to have concealed weapons of defence, his house, his furniture, and all his property were burned; nor was this all, for if it were supposed that any district had not surrendered all the arms which it contained, a party was sent out to collect the numbers at which it was rated, and in the execution of this order, thirty houses were sometimes burned down in a single night; officers took upon themselves to decide arbitrarily the quantity of arms which should be forthcoming, and if this quantity were not yielded up, these barbarous cruelties were inflicted. "When a man was taken up on suspicion," said his lordship, "he was put to the torture; nay, if he were merely accused of concealing the guilt of another. The punishment of picketing, which had been for some years abolished as too inhuman even in the dragoon service, was practised.* He had known a man, in order to extort confession of a supposed crime, or of that of some of his neighbours, picketed until he actually fainted; picketed a second time until he fainted again; as soon as he came to himself, picketed a third time, until he once more fainted; and all upon mere suspicion! Nor was this the only species of torture; many had been taken and hung up until they were half dead, and then threatened with a repetition of the same cruel treatment, unless they made confession of the imputed guilt. These, observed lord Moira, were not particular acts of cruelty, exercised by men abusing the power committed to them, but they formed part of our system. They were notorious, and no person could say who would be the next victim of this oppression and cruelty." On the rejection of Mr. Ponsonby's motion for reform in 1797, Mr. Grattan and the other leading members of the opposition seceded from the house of commons. No proceeding could have conveyed a stronger condemnation.

* The punishment of picketing consisted in making a man stand with one foot on a pointed stake

In the autumn of 1797 Mr. William Orr, of Antrim, was tried at Carrickfergus on a charge of administering the United Irishmens' oath to a soldier named Whately, who was the only witness against him. The jury, who were locked up during night, were copiously supplied with spirituous liquors, and under the influence of intoxication and of threats of prosecution as United Irishmen, if they did not convict the prisoner, they at length brought in a verdict of guilty. Some of the jurors at once confessed the circumstances under which they had been induced to find against their consciences; Mr. Orr, who was a man of high character and respectability, solemnly protested his innocence, and the soldier, smitten with remorse, declared on oath before a magistrate, that his testimony at the trial was false. Petitions to the lord lieutenant, praying that the prisoner's life might be spared, were poured in from all parts of the country, but to no purpose. Three times a respite was granted, but, with the most convincing evidence of the prisoner's innocence before him, lord Camden, nevertheless, ordered his execution, which took place on the 14th of October. This judicial murder destroyed any remaining confidence the people might have had in the law or the government, and "remember Orr" became a watch-word with the United Irishmen.

Irish agents were actively engaged throughout the year in France, endeavouring to obtain military aid; and at home the people, maddened by the cruelties to which they were subjected, were only restrained from rising by assurances of an immediate French invasion, without which, they were told, it would be utter folly to attempt resistance. Another expedition for the Irish coast was indeed prepared in the Texel, under a Dutch admiral, but was prevented from sailing by lord Duncan's victory near Camperdown; and finally, promises were again held out by the French directory, that an invasion would take place in April, 1798, and again the Irish were doomed to be disappointed. Bonaparte's jealousy of Hoche, and his ambitious designs against Egypt, were fatal to the hopes of the United Irishmen; and there is no reason to think that the affairs of Ireland excited any interest with the French government of that day, beyond the consideration of keeping England occupied by a civil war in this country.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, an experienced and upright officer, was appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, in December, 1797; but he soon became disgusted at the disorderly and outrageous conduct of the troops, and at the system of murder and rapine which he was

expected to countenance. In general orders which he issued on the 26th of February, 1798, he censured the irregularities and disgraceful conduct of the military, as "proving the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which rendered it formidable to every one but the enemy;" but at the close of April he was recalled, to the great triumph of the orange faction, and was succeeded by general Lake, a man who had already shewn himself to be uninfluenced by feelings of justice or humanity. A system of coercion and terror was now regularly established; torture was employed; every man's life and property were at the mercy of informers; the country was abandoned to the fury and licentiousness of the soldiery in "free quarters," and in a word, everything was done that can be conveyed by the atrocious admission made by lord Castlereagh himself, namely, that "measures were taken by government to cause the premature explosion" of the insurrection.*

* This diabolical design of the government has been over and over again admitted, and is a fact as notorious as any in history. The reader will find abundant admissions of it in the parliamentary debates of the period, and in the recently published papers of lords Castlereagh and Cornwallis. For the manner in which the design was carried out, we may refer to the first series of Dr. Madden's work already quoted, chap. xii, second edition; but the following passage from lord Holland's *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, gives a picture of the state of Ireland at this precise moment at once most vivid and of undoubted credibility. After alluding to the "burning cottages, tortured backs, and frequent executions," in the midst of which the orange faction "were yet full of their sneers at what they whimsically termed 'the clemency' of the government, and the weak character of their viceroy, lord Camden," his lordship writes:—"The fact is incontrovertible, that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance, which, possibly, they meditated before, by the free quarters and excesses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare, even in an enemy's country. Trials, if they must so be called, were carried on without number under martial law. It often happened that three officers composed the court, and that of the three two were under age, and the third an officer of the yeomanry or militia, who had sworn in his orange lodge eternal hatred to the people over whom he was thus constituted a judge. Floggings, picketings, death, were the usual sentences, and these were sometimes commuted into banishment, serving in the fleet, or transference to a foreign service. Many were sold at so much per head to the Prussians. Other more illegal, but not more horrible, outrages were daily committed by the different corps under the command of government. Even in the streets of Dublin a man was shot, and robbed of £30, on the bare recollection of a soldier's having seen him in the battle of Kilcullen, and no proceeding was instituted to ascertain the murder or prosecute the murderer. Lord Wycombe, who was in Dublin, and who was himself shot at by a sentinel between Blackrock and that city, wrote to me many details of similar outrages, which he had ascertained to be true. Dr. Dickson, (lord bishop of Down) assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from mass, assailed without provocation, by drunken troops and yeomanry, and the wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his remonstrances nor those of other Protestant gentlemen could rescue them. The subsequent Indemnity Acts deprived of redress the victims of this wide-spread cruelty." Referring to the "free quarters" barbarity, sir Jonah Barrington (*Rise and Fall*, &c., pp. 159, 431, ed. 1843) says:—"This measure was resorted to, with all its attendant horrors, throughout some of the best parts of Ireland previous to the insurrection;" and he adds, "slow tortures were inflicted, under the pretence of extorting confession; the people were driven to madness; general Abercrombie, who succeeded as commander-in-chief, was not permitted to abate these enormities, and therefore resigned with disgust. Ireland was reduced to a state of anarchy, and exposed to crime and cruelties, to which no nation had

Matters being thus ripe, government, acting on the information of the traitor, Thomas Reynolds, caused the Leinster delegates to be seized, when assembled at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street,* on the 12th of March, 1798. The warrant was executed by justice Swan. The pass-words were, "where's Mac Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?" but the officers rushed up stairs to the place of meeting without encountering any obstacle. Fifteen persons were seized on this occasion, including Mr. Bond himself, who was a wholesale woollen draper, and, like the majority of the leaders of the United Irishmen, a Protestant.† Thomas Addis Emmet, the head-piece and chief organiser of the society, and Dr. William James Mac Neven, Henry Jackson and John Sweetman were taken the same day at their several places of abode, and all committed to Newgate. Arthur O'Connor, a leading member of the executive directory, was at that time in custody, having been arrested in the beginning of the year, at Margate, on his way to France, in company with father Coigley or Quigley. The latter was convicted on the 22nd of May, that year, at Maidstone, and hanged on evidence so inconclusive that lord chancellor Thurlow said: "If ever a poor man was murdered it was Coigley!"

Lord Edward Fitzgerald was still at large. In consequence of not attending the meeting at Bond's he had escaped capture on that occasion; and a reward of £1,000 was offered for information that would lead to his arrest. For some months he had been recognised as the military head of the Union; and of all the leaders was alone fitted by military experience to take the command in the field; but though admirably suited for that purpose, he was not the man to organise a revolution. The men

ever been subject. The people could no longer bear their miseries; Mr. Pitt's object was now effected. These sanguinary proceedings will, in the opinion of posterity, be placed to the account of those who might have prevented them." We can have no difficulty, then, in accepting the statement unanimously made by Dr. MacNeven, Thomas Addis Emmet, and the other State prisoners, in their examination before the secret committee, in 1798, when, upon being asked the immediate cause of the rising that year, they replied, that it was owing to "the free quarters, the house-burnings, the tortures, and the military executions," resorted to by the government.

* The house was then No. 13, but is now known as No. 9, Lower Bridge-street. See Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, vol. i., pp. 336, &c., where the particulars of the arrest are given; as also in Dr. Madden's [illegible]

† In a list given by Dr. Madden of 162 of the most eminent or leading members of the Society of United Irishmen, 106 are Protestants or Presbyterians, and only 56 Catholics. "There never was a greater mistake," observes Dr. Madden, "than to call the attempted revolution of 1798 a 'Popish rebellion.' Alike in its origin and organisation, it was pre-eminently a Protestant one. Neither the 'Popish religion,' nor the Celtic race of Ireland, can lay any claim to the great majority of the founders and organisers of the Society of United Irishmen."—First series, pp. 385, 386. Second edition.

fitted to project and advise were Emmet, O'Connor, and Wolfe Tone; and their services were no longer available for their country. Those of the leaders who were still at liberty were divided in opinion. Lord Edward insisted that the time for action had arrived, and that the insurrection should take place without waiting longer for succour from France. He held the royal troops in contempt, and had great confidence in the numbers who were prepared to rise, and in the strength which the people would acquire by a little experience in warfare. Some other members entertained similar views, but the more prudent were wholly opposed to an immediate attempt at insurrection; and some felt so strongly on this point as to threaten with denunciation to government any one who would insist upon raising the standard of revolt under such circumstances. There was, on the whole, a want of harmony among the members, and the Protestant and Catholic leaders had lately begun to feel distrust in the firmness and ulterior views of each other.*

Lord Edward was concealed for some weeks in various retreats about Dublin, but chiefly at the house of a widow lady, named Dillon, on the bank of the canal at Portobello, where he remained three weeks. After several intermediate removals he was conveyed on the night of the 18th of May, for the second time, to the house of Mr. Nicholas Murphy, a feather merchant, of 153, Thomas-street, where he was immediately tracked and arrested the following day. It was about seven in the evening on the 19th; lord Edward, who was ill from cold, was lying on the bed in the back room of the attic story, and Mr. Murphy, who had just entered, was speaking to him. Justice Swan, accompanied by a soldier in plain clothes, rushed into the apartment and exclaimed to lord Edward, "you are my prisoner." Instantly lord Edward sprung from the bed, and drawing a formidable zig-zag-shaped dagger wounded Swan in the hand, but only slightly. Swan fired a pistol at lord Edward without effect, and ordering the soldier to remove Murphy, shouted out, "I am basely murdered." His cries brought to his assistance a Mr. Ryan, who was both a captain of yeomanry and one of the staff of Giffard's orange newspaper, the "Dublin Journal."

* Arthur O'Connor affords, in his sentiments, a melancholy instance of this spirit of disunion and distrust. He disliked the Catholic leaders in general; and towards Emmet, although a Protestant, he entertained a positive enmity. It is probable he would have disliked any man who acknowledged religious convictions of any kind; and some other leading members of the Union were, like him, unhappily imbued with the infidel principles which the example of France had rendered fashionable at that day.

Ryan threw himself upon lord Edward and endeavoured to hold him down upon the bed, but in the struggle received several desperate wounds from lord Edward's dagger, one of which, in the stomach, proved mortal a few days after. Swan appears, at this moment, to have rendered little assistance, if, indeed, as one account has it, he did not leave the room altogether to call for help, and the struggle between the wounded Ryan and the enraged Geraldine was fearful; but town-major Sirr, with half-a-dozen soldiers, now rushed in, and Sirr having taken deliberate aim with his pistol, shot lord Edward in the right arm and the dagger fell from his hand. Still it required the efforts of the whole party of soldiers to hold lord Edward down with their muskets crossed upon him until he could be secured, a drummer having, while this was doing, wounded him very severely in the back of the neck with a sword. The deadly struggle did not occupy more than a few minutes.* A large military force, collected from different posts, was, by this time, drawn up outside; an attempt, made by the crowd assembled, to rescue lord Edward was at once overcome; and the noble prisoner was carried in a sedan chair to the castle, where his wounds were dressed. He was then removed to Newgate, where none of his friends would be permitted to see him until a few hours before his death, when his aunt, Lady Louisa Connolly, and his brother, lord Henry, obtained access to his bed-side. A few days had developed fatal symptoms; on the 4th of June he expired, and his remains were deposited in the vaults of St. Werburgh's church. Thus perished one of the most disinterested and noblehearted patriots that Ireland had ever produced. The greatest enemies of the cause for which he was immolated have never ventured to cast a slur on the memory of lord Edward Fitzgerald. He was virtuous and amiable, open, unselfish, high-minded, and chivalrous. His stainless character, and gentle and generous disposition, endeared him to all who knew him. Of all his cotemporaries he was, at that fearful juncture, the best suited to command the confidence and respect of his fellow-countrymen. He possessed military skill and heroism which might have led them to victory in battle; and had it pleased divine Providence

* See Madden's *United Irishmen*, 2nd. ser. pp. 412 to 437, 2nd ed.. where Murphy's narrative of the capture of lord Edward is given, together with the statement of Mr. D. F. Ryan, whose father lost his life on the occasion, and accounts of the transaction on the authority of Sirr and others. Mr. Adrien, an eminent surgeon, being at the house of Mr. Tighe in the neighbourhood, was sent for by the major, and lord Edward, on learning from him that his wounds were not mortal, expressed regret.

to relieve Ireland at that time from her heavy yoke of oppression, he was, apparently, the person most likely to have been her deliverer. Had lord Edward's retreat remained undiscovered one day longer, he would have been beyond the reach of major Sirr and his myrmidons, and, perhaps, with a very different issue to the contest, would have been ready to place himself at the head of those brave men of Kildare and Wexford, who, a few days later, devoted themselves so heroically, but hopelessly, for their country.*

* It is a most singular fact, that for more than 60 years the name of the betrayer of lord Edward Fitzgerald remained a profound secret. Even the indefatigable researches of Dr. Madden failed to unmask the scoundrel, although he made an important step towards that result, when he published the "secret service money" accounts, in which occurs the item.—"F. H., discovery of L. E. F., £1,000." This disclosure of the initials rescued the memories of several honorable men from the suspicions that had been cast upon them in the matter by other investigators, and by public rumour; but it was not until the appearance in the course of the past year (1859), of the *Correspondence of the Marquis of Cornwallis*, edited by Charles Ross, son of general Ross, the governor of Fort George, that the mystery of F. H. was finally unveiled, and that the infamy was fixed upon the right owner—namely, Francis Higgins, a well known character of that day in Dublin. This person, who was nick-named the "sham squire," from a very disgraceful proceeding, had become the proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, which he diverted from its hitherto steady advocacy of popular rights, making it a base organ of an unprincipled government. He was notorious for his domestic and social misdeeds, had been convicted of public crimes, and was in fact a man who might have been guilty of any baseness. These disclosures were first made public in the following curious note by the editor of the Cornwallis correspondence:—"A sum of £1,500 per annum was placed at the disposal of the lord lieutenant, by an act passed in 1799, to be distributed as secret service. Towards the close of 1800, Mr. Cooke drew up for the use of lord Castlereagh the following confidential memorandum, which still remains in the castle of Dublin:—'Pensions to Royalists—I submit to your lordship on this head the following,—First, that Mac——," (Leonard MacNally); 'should have a pension of £300. He was not much trusted in the rebellion, and I believe, has been faithful. Francis Higgins, proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, was the person who procured for me all the intelligence respecting lord Edward Fitzgerald, and got ——— to set him, and has given me much information, £300. M'Cuichen, who is now in Belfast, ought to have £150. I wish a man of the name of Nicholson, whom I employ regularly, should have £50. Darragh ought to have for himself and his wife at least £200, (at first written £300). Swan—— Sirr——, I think, it might be right to get rid of many of our little pensioners, and major Sirr's gang, by sums of money instead of pensions.'"

As to the character of lord Edward, we gladly borrow the beautiful words of the late lord Holland, who, in his *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, writes as follows:—"More than twenty years have now passed away. Many of my political opinions are softened—my predilections for some men weakened, my prejudices against others removed; but my approbation of lord Edward Fitzgerald's actions remains unaltered and unshaken. His country was bleeding under one of the hardest tyrannies that our times have witnessed. He who thinks a man can be even excused in such circumstances by any other consideration than that of despair, from opposing a pretended government by force, seems to me to sanction a principle which would insure impunity to the greatest of all human delinquents, or, at least, to those who produce the greatest misery among mankind. . . . . Lord Edward was a good officer. The plans found among his papers shewed much combination and considerable knowledge of the principles of defence. His apprehension was so quick and his courage so constitutional, that he would have applied, without disturbance, all the faculties he possessed to any emergency, however sudden, and in the moment of the greatest danger or confusion. He was, among the United Irish, scarcely less considerable for his political than his military qualifications. His temper was peculiarly formed to engage the affections of a

In the face of every possible discouragement, with their plans exposed to government, their leaders seized, and the forces of their enemies concentrated against them, the United Irishmen still madly resolved to make their attempt, and fixed the 23rd of May for their rising. The plan of insurrection was to surprise Dublin, and on the same night to take the castle, the camp at Loughlinstown, and the artillery barracks at Chapelized. The rising was to be simultaneous in Dublin and the rural districts; and the signal for the country was to be the stoppage of the mail coaches on the morning of the 24th. On the 22nd lord Castlereagh delivered to parliament a message from the viceroy announcing the design; and the vigilance and energy of the executive received a due meed of praise from both houses. But we have here to mention a few incidents of a somewhat earlier date. It appears that for a few months previous to this time frequent visits were paid to the shop of Mr. Byrne, a Catholic bookseller of Grafton-street, by a captain John Warneford Armstrong, of the King's County militia, a corps in which it was understood that national opinions had made some progress, and which was stationed at the Loughlinstown camp. Captain Armstrong spoke with enthusiasm about the projects of the United Irishmen, and plainly intimated that not only he but his men would be ready to aid

warm-hearted people. A cheerful and intelligent countenance, an artless gaity of manner, without reserve, but without intrusion, and a careless yet inoffensive intrepidity, both in conversation and in action, fascinated his slightest acquaintances, and disarmed the rancour of even his bitter opponents. These, indeed, were only the indications of more solid qualities—an open and fearless heart, warm affections, and a tender compassionate disposition." Dr. Madden tells us that lord Edward was "a sincere and ardent believer in the Christian religion." Murphy, in his narrative, describing the personal appearance of lord Edward, says, "he was about five feet seven inches in height, had a very interesting countenance, beautiful arched eyebrows, fine grey eyes, handsome nose, high forehead, and thick, dark-colored hair." He was "as playful and humble as a child, as mild and timid as a lady, and, when necessary, as brave as a lion—Peace to his name." From *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors*, edited by the marquis of Kildare, and printed for private circulation in 1857, we obtain the following authentic data. Lord Edward was born in 1763, and was the twelfth child, but fifth son, of James, the 20th earl of Kildare, and first duke of Leinster. "He succeeded to the estate of Kilrush, in the county of Kildare. He entered the army in 1789, and served with distinction in America. In 1783 he was elected M.P. for Athy, and in 1790 for the county of Kildare. In that year, refusing to support the government measures, he was informed he would not be permitted to have the rank of lieutenant-colonel. On this he took the cockade from his hat, and dashing it to the ground, trampled upon it. In 1792 he went to France, where, in December, he married Pamela Sims, said to be the daughter of Madame de Genlis, (and Philip Egalité, duke of Orleans). Whilst there he was dismissed from the army. In 1796 he joined the United Irishmen, and having been arrested on the 19th of May, 1798, he died of his wounds in Newgate prison, on the 4th of June. He had one son and two daughters. After his death he was attainted by act of parliament, and his estate forfeited and sold. This act was repealed by a private act in 1819."—See, for ample details, Dr. Madden's *United Irishmen, &c.*, second series, second edition; and the *Life and Death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald*, by Thomas Moore.

in any enterprise that might be undertaken by them. He induced Byrne to introduce him to the brothers Henry and John Sheares, barristers of respectable family, and who, since the arrests at Bond's, had become members of the directory of the United Irishmen. Armstrong saw the two brothers frequently during the month of May, 1798; dined at the house of the elder brother, Henry, in Baggot-street, where he was introduced to their mother and the other ladies of the family; and effectually wormed himself into their confidence; while, as he himself afterwards stated, for each of these interviews with the Sheares he had one with his colonel and lord Castlereagh, to whom he disclosed all the circumstances he had learned! On Sunday, the 20th of May, the base informer dined for the last time at the house of his victims, knowing well that the next day they would be arrested for high treason on his information. At their trial, on the 12th of July, he swore their lives away, and two days after they were executed. John, the younger brother, was deeply involved in the schemes of the United Irishmen, and the night before his arrest wrote the rough draft of a proclamation to be issued at the outbreak. The strongest passages of this document were produced in evidence against both brothers. For the sake of his wife and children he supplicated for mercy. His friend, sir Jonah Barrington, at his solicitation, applied to lord chancellor Clare (Fitzgibbon), who, from personal pique, had urged on the prosecution of the brothers, and had appointed, with that view, as attorney-general, Toler, afterwards the notorious lord Norbury. At the last moment, however, a respite was granted for Henry, but it came a few minutes too late. The two brothers, falling hand-in-hand from the drop, had been just launched into eternity, and the executioner having, according to barbarous usage, added the indignity of decapitation, was holding up the head of Henry Sheares, and exclaiming, "This is the head of a traitor," when sir Jonah arrived with the reprieve. The fate of the Sheares was one of the saddest episodes in the woful story of '98.

The 23rd of May at length arrived. The city of Dublin was placed under martial law; the guards at the castle were trebled; all the loyal citizens were put under arms; in the law courts the barristers pleaded in regimentals, with side arms, and one of the judges (baron Medge) sat on the bench in the same costume; at each house the names of the inmates were posted on the outer door; the city assumed the appearance of a vast barrack, and the people were alarmed by false rumours of massacres and outrages. Late in the evening Samuel Neilson rashly

exposed himself under the walls of Newgate, as if planning an attack on that prison. He was transferred at once to a cell within the walls. The lamp-lighters rebelliously neglected their duty on that night, leaving the city in almost total darkness, for which treasonable conduct several of them were hanged from their own lamp-posts! The country people had risen in the neighbourhood, and were preparing to march on the city, but were attacked and slaughtered at Rathfarnham and Santry. At the latter place lord Roden and his foxhunters did notable execution; and the next morning the killed and prisoners having been taken into town tied together on carts, the dead bodies were exhibited in the castle-yard—a ghastly spectacle!—and the prisoners were hanged from lamp-irons, and on the scaffolding at Carlisle-bridge.

The country was now plunged in all the horrors of a sanguinary civil war, but the rising was premature and partial; by the capture of the leaders it was reduced almost to a rising of illiterate peasantry, without any matured plans, or men of the least military skill or knowledge to form a plan or execute one, almost without arms or ammunition, and altogether without money or discipline: it was confined to the counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford, with the exception of a few efforts in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Carlow; and in every instance it was the immediate result of the free quarters, burnings, floggings, and other varieties of outrage practised by the military, yeomanry, and magistrates. The ferocity of the Orange yeomanry was indescribable: a notion appeared to have generally prevailed among them that the time to extirpate the Catholics had arrived, and they acted accordingly; their conduct during the insurrection was that of incarnate fiends; the North Cork, Armagh, and some other militia regiments rivalled them in inveterate animosity against the people; the Ancient Britons, commanded by Sir Watkins William Wynn, covered themselves with infamy by their merciless cruelties; and innumerable atrocities were committed by the Homsperg dragoons, German mercenaries in the king's service.* It was a fearful dragonnade, in which the usages of civilized war were set aside; and such being the case on the part of the royal troops, it is not wonderful that the undisciplined peasantry should have been guilty of many acts of barbarity. The crimes of the latter, however, were done in retaliation; they were often prompted by private malice, and it should be remembered that they were the work

* That the terms employed above to characterise the cruelties and animosity of which the unhappy insurgents of '98 were the objects are not too strong, many authorities might be adduced

of exasperated multitudes, goaded by injuries and unrestrained by authority.*

Early in the morning of the 24th of May the fighting was commenced in Kildare by a body of insurgents who marched against Naas, but were repulsed with slaughter: the military there, under the command of lord Gosford, having been reinforced and prepared for the attack. The troops had two officers and about thirty men killed, but many of the people were shot down while crowded together in the street or attempting to escape from the burning cabins which were set on fire; others of them were taken out of the houses and instantly hanged in the streets; "and such," says Plowden, "was the brutal ferocity of some of the king's troops, that they half roasted and eat the flesh of one man named Walsh, who had not been in arms." The insurgents were

to show, but the following passages from the recently published correspondence of the Marquis of Cornwallis will suffice. Lord Cornwallis arrived in Ireland on the 20th of June, 1798, invested with the two-fold authority of lord lieutenant and commander in chief; nearly three weeks after, on the 8th of July, he wrote as follows to the duke of Portland:—"The Irish militia are totally without discipline, contemptible before the enemy when any serious resistance is made to them, but ferocious and cruel in the extreme when any poor wretches, either with or without arms, come within their power; in short, *murder appears to be their favourite pastime.* The principal persons of this country, and the members of both houses of parliament, are, in general, averse to all acts of clemency, and although they do not express, and are too much heated to see the ultimate effects which their violence must produce, *would pursue measures that could only terminate in the extirpation of the greater number of the inhabitants*, and in the utter destruction of the country. The words Papists and priests are for ever in their mouths, and by their unaccountable policy they would drive four-fifths of the community into irreconcilable rebellion; and in their warmth they lose sight of the real cause of the present mischief." Describing the feelings of the ascendency party he continues—"The minds of the people are now in a state that *nothing but blood will satisfy them*, and although they will not admit the term, their conversation and conduct point *to no other mode of concluding this unhappy business than that of extermination.*" Again his lordship writes—"*I am much afraid that any man in a brown coat who is found near the field of action is butchered without discrimination.*" And writing to General Ross, he says—"The violence of our friends and their folly in endeavouring to make it a religious war, added to the ferocity of our troops, *who delight in murder*, most powerfully counteract all plans of conciliation." . . . . . "*We are engaged*," he writes, "in *a war of plunder and massacre;*" and after referring to the horrors inseparable from martial law, he adds—"*but all this is trifling compared to the numberless murders that are hourly committed by our people* without any process of examination whatever. . . . . The conversation of the principal persons of the country all tends to encourage this system of blood; and the conversation, even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., &c., &c. *And if a priest has been put to death the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company.*" These being the words of a lord lieutenant sent over to complete the cold-blooded project of Mr. Pitt, and to accomplish the Union, it will be understood how inadequately they must describe the actual state of things as felt by the persecuted people themselves; but such a testimony speaks volumes.

* Mr. Cloney undertook the unpleasant task of making out a comparative statement of the outrages in cold blood perpetrated in the county of Wexford in the year 1798, by the magistrates, military, and yeomanry on the one side, and by the insurgents on the other; and on the side of the former there is a fearful balance in point of number and enormity. See Cloney's *Personal Narrative*, pp. 216-219, and Madden's *United Irishmen*, first series, pp. 321-325.

more successful in other parts of Kildare. At Prosperous, a party of the North Cork militia, under captain Swayne, were attacked in their barrack, which was set on fire, and these men having made themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their outrages in free quarters, having burned the Catholic chapel, and several cabins and farm-houses, and frequently employed the pitch-cap in torturing the suspected rebels, were now in their turn treated without mercy, and any of them who attempted to escape from the flames were piked. Dr. Esmond, of the Sallins yeomanry corps, was compelled by the people to join them in this attack; and was immediately after tried by court martial in Dublin, where he was hanged on the scaffolding of Carlisle bridge. At Rathangan the peasantry also cut off a military party and took possession of the town. The same day captain Erskine's troop of dragoons were encountered by the insurgents at Old Kilcullen, and almost annihilated—only a sergeant and four men of the entire troop having escaped, although the party of Irish were scarcely more numerous, and were armed only with pikes. The insurgents then marched to Kilcullen bridge, where general Dundas had his head-quarters, but here they were repulsed with considerable loss. Several minor affairs took place about the same time in the counties of Kildare and Dublin, in all of which the country people were repulsed and slaughtered; and to discourage them the more, all the prisoners were, without any form of trial, immediately hanged. A large body of insurgents attacked the town of Carlow in a tumultuous manner, shouting as they entered, and incautiously penetrating into the interior, where they were received with a murderous fire by the military. A great number of the people then took refuge in the houses, which, being thatched, were barbarously set on fire by the soldiers, and eighty houses, with some hundreds of the unfortunate insurgents, were consumed in the conflagration. About two hundred more were made prisoners, and hanged or shot. These massacres were followed by the court-martial judicial murder of sir Edward Crosbie, on whose lawn the insurgents had mustered before the attack, although it did not appear that that gentleman was himself a rebel. The disaster at Carlow was one of the most deplorable during the outbreak. Disheartened by so many reverses, the men of Kildare now began to see how hopeless was their undertaking. A body of two thousand men, encamped under a leader named Perkins on the historic Hill of Allen, near the Curragh, entered into a negociation with general Dundas to lay down their arms and return home. This arrangement was finally carried out on the

28 h of May when some cartloads of pikes and rusty muskets were surrendered; general Dundas having on this and several other occasions during the war shown himself a man of a humane and honorable disposition. The next day a multitude assembled at the Gibbet-Rath on the Curragh of Kildare, for the purpose of following the example of the men on Knock-Allen; their arms were to have been delivered up to major-general Duff, then on his march from Limerick, but the troops were ordered by that officer to fire on the defenceless people, and lord Roden's cavalry went in to hew them down; and thus exposed on that vast plain, without a hedge to shelter them for miles, the wretched peasantry were slaughtered without resistance and without mercy; the number slain on that occasion in cold blood being, according to Musgrave, 350.*

A military force of over 400 men, with one cannon, marched on the 26th of May to attack a body of some 3,000 insurgents encamped on the hill of Tara. The latter were chiefly armed with pikes, yet for about four hours of hard fighting they continued to maintain their ground, and at one time had surrounded the cannon; the steady fire of the military, however, mowed down their irregular masses; they were dislodged from the cemetery near the summit of the hill, and obliged to retreat with the loss, it was said, of 400 men killed and wounded. It was the barbarous practice of the royal troops to give no quarter, so that all the unhappy Irish who were left wounded on the field or fell into the hands of their enemies were slaughtered in cold blood or hanged immediately after. This defeat crushed the rebellion in that quarter.†

The insurrection now broke out in the county of Wexford with a fury that soon threw into the shade the movements which had taken place elsewhere. There was a larger admixture of the old Anglo-Norman blood in this county than in any other part of Ireland, and the ancient Celtic race of Hy-Keinnselaigh was always distinguished for an independent spirit. The people were almost all Catholics; they were remarkable for their industry and peaceable habits; and the

* As an excuse for this frightful massacre it was said that when the insurgents were about to deliver up their arms, one of them fired a gun which provoked the military; but the shot appears to have been discharged into the air, and most probably by accident, while it is quite certain that the order for the massacre was deliberately given by general Duff.

† The earl of Fingall's yeoman cavalry were the most prominent in the attack upon the insurgents at Tara. An address, signed by lords Fingall and Kenmare, the president of Maynooth, and other Catholics of distinction, to the number in all of forty-one, was presented about that time to the lord lieutenant, to vindicate themselves from the attempts made to fasten the charge of rebellion upon the whole Catholic body.

organization of the United Irishmen scarcely made any progress among them till the very eve of the outbreak. The gentry, however, were Protestant and exclusive. The North Cork militia, commanded by lord Kingsborough, quartered in the county in April, introduced the Orange system there, and in a brief space almost all the Protestants had become open and sworn Orangemen. The Catholics were terrified with rumours of intended massacres like those of Armagh, and on some occasions the people for a distance of thirty miles deserted their homes at night and slept in the open fields. The militia paraded in orange ribbons, fired at the country people when at work in the fields, burned their houses, and frequently applied the pitch-cap to the heads of the "croppies," as the United Irishmen were termed, from the practice which many of them adopted of cutting the hair short.* These unprovoked aggressions had the natural result: as Orangeism spread, so did the principles of the United Irishmen. On the 27th of April the county was proclaimed by a meeting of magistrates at Gorey, and from that moment the magistracy acted in the most ruthless manner. A few days before any outbreak took place, Mr. Hunter Gowan paraded Gorey at the head of his yeomanry with a human finger on the point of his sword, and various disgusting freaks were performed in the course of the evening, among others, that of using the "croppy's finger" to stir punch! On Whit-Sunday, the 27th of May, some yeomen burned the Catholic chapel of Boulavogue, in the parish of Kilcormack, at the foot of Oulart hill, but Father John Murphy, the parish priest, at the head of his parishioners, fell upon the miscreants, several of whom, with two officers who commanded them, were slain in the conflict. The people now flew to arms, and before many hours had elapsed two large bodies were assembled, one on the hill of Oulart, and another on that of Kilthomas. The gathering at the latter place was scattered by a party

* "It is said," writes Mr. Hay, in his history of the Wexford insurrection, "that the North Cork regiment were the inventors—they certainly were the introducers—of pitch-cap torture into Wexford. Any person having his hair cut short, and therefore called a croppy (by which name the soldiery designated an United Irishman), on being pointed out by some loyal neighbour, was immediately seized and brought into a guard-house, where caps, either of coarse linen or strong brown paper, besmeared inside with pitch, were always kept ready for service. The unfortunate victim had one of these, well heated, pressed on his head, and when judged of a proper coolness, so that it could not be easily pulled off, the sufferer was turned out amidst the horrid acclamations of the merciless torturers." The same writer tells us, that a sergeant of the North Cork's was called "Tom the Devil," from his ingenuity in devising torments. Sometimes this wretch cut the hair of his victims in the form of a cross, and instead of a pitch-cap, applied moistened gunpowder, which he rubbed into the seam and then set on fire; sometimes he applied a lighted candle until all the hair was singed off, and the head covered with blisters!

of 200 yeomen from Carnew, and 150 of the fugitives were killed; the yeomen burning in their progress two other Catholic chapels and above 100 cabins and farm-houses of Catholics, and shooting several of the poor country people whom they called to their cabin doors. At Oulart hill, where Father Murphy commanded, the result was different. A detachment of 110 men of the north Cork militia under lieutenant colonel Foote attacked the people, who, at the onset, fled; but 300 pikemen having been rallied by Father Murphy, bore down upon the royalists, and in an instant slew the whole party except the lieutenant-colonel, a sergeant, and three privates. The insurgents marched next day to Camolin, where they procured 800 stand of arms that had been just deposited there by lord Mountnorris. They then marched to Enniscorthy, which they took after some fighting; the garrison flying to Wexford, together with the Protestant inhabitants. About the same time Gorey, though not attacked, was evacuated by its garrison, which fled to Arklow. All was consternation, and the country smoked with the burning homesteads of both parties. In Wexford, the yeomanry could with difficulty be prevented from entering the jail and murdering the prisoners, among whom were Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, Mr John Henry Colclough, Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, and other gentlemen who had been arrested on suspicion. Mr. Colclough and Mr. Fitzgerald were sent as messengers to Vinegar Hill (a lofty eminence overlooking Enniscorthy, and which the insurgents had chosen as their principal rendezvous), for the purpose, if possible, of persuading the people to return to their homes; but the embassy had quite a contrary effect. The insurgents retained Mr. Colclough at the camp, and sent back Mr. Fitzgerald to announce their intention of immediately attacking Wexford itself. On the morning of the 29th colonel Maxwell, with 200 of the Donegal militia and a field-piece, arrived from Duncannon fort to reinforce the Wexford garrison, and the same evening general Faucett, with the 13th regiment, four companies of the Meath militia and some artillery, halted at Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, sending forward a detachment for the latter town. Early on the morning of the 30th this detachment was intercepted by the Irish at the Three Rocks, almost the whole party slain, and two howitzers taken. Faucett immediately retreated to Duncannon fort, and the same day an offer was made to surrender Wexford to the insurgents, but before any terms could be arranged, the garrison disgracefully evacuated the place, leaving it to the mercy of the people. Mr. Bagenal Harvey, who was

still in the jail, was now chosen general by the insurgents, who were regaled with drink by the inhabitants; the town was decorated with green boughs; such houses as had been deserted by their owners were pillaged, and the flying troops, on their side, signalised their retreat by plunder, devastation, and numerous murders, burning the cabins and shooting the country-people in their progress.

On the 4th of June a corps of 1,500 men, under general Loftus, with five pieces of artillery, having arrived at Gorey, marched in two divisions by different routes to attack a position taken up by the Irish on Carrigrua hill. One of these divisions, under colonel Walpole, was surprised and routed with great loss at Tubberneering, near Gorey, the colonel being killed and three cannon left in the hands of the Irish. A party of 70 men of the Antrim militia, sent across some fields by general Loftus to relieve Walpole, was also cut off, scarcely a man escaping, and the general himself retreated to Carnew, and thence to Tullow, so that the Irish were left masters of the entire county, except Duncannon fort and New Ross at the south-western extremity. An Irish force having mustered at Carrickburne hill, six miles from New Ross, marched on the 4th of June to Corbett hill, within a mile of that town, and Mr. Harvey, who commanded, sent a summons next morning to the garrison to surrender. The messenger was shot by a sentinel, and this so exasperated the Irish, that without waiting to carry out general Harvey's plan of attack, a column of pikemen rushed on with irresistible impetuosity, drove the British cavalry back in disorder upon the infantry, and entering the town pell-mell with both pursued them to the bridge, over which some of the royal troops fled in a panic, leaving the Irish masters of the artillery and of the principal part of New Ross. This gallant exploit, however, was not followed up. Instead of pursuing the enemy, the Irish, unrestrained by authority or discipline, abandoned themselves to intoxication. The royal troops rallied and twice attempted to recover the place, and as often were repulsed; but the infatuated insurgents continued to drink, and late in the evening the military having come a third time to the charge, drove them with great slaughter from the town. The fighting had been sustained with little intermission for ten hours, during which Harvey was merely a spectator on a neighbouring hill; the troops had about 300 men killed, and among them lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia; but it was estimated that the insurgents lost about four times that number, the greater part of them being killed in cold blood after the action was over. It was

supposed that Harvey had an irregular army of 30,000 men before New Ross; and those of them who took part in the battle fought with wonderful intrepidity; in the end they owed their defeat to insubordination and drunkenness.

Unfortunately another circumstance cast a slur on the cause of the insurgents that day. They had left a number of prisoners under a guard at Scullabogue house, near Carrickburne Hill, and in the afternoon some fugitives from the Irish army at New Ross came up, and pretended that Mr. Harvey had issued orders to have the prisoners executed, assigning, as a reason, that the royalists killed all the Irish prisoners who fell into their hands at Ross. Three successive messengers brought these pretended orders; and at length a tumultuous mob, composed of persons who had, each of them, bitter injuries of their own to revenge, overcame the resistance of the guard, and commenced the massacre. Thirty-seven unfortunate people were shot or piked at the hall-door, and the remainder, over a hundred in number, being collected into the barn, fire was applied to the roof, and all of them were consumed in the flames. It is said, that among them were sixteen Catholics who had made themselves obnoxious, and a few of the Protestants were rescued from destruction. It would be most unfair to throw the odium of this inhuman barbarity upon the Wexford insurgents in general, who were guilty of few outrages under so many provocations; but, above all, if the difference between the infuriated rabble who committed this crime, and the disciplined troops of the royalists acting under educated officers be considered, the systematic atrocities of the latter greatly eclipse even the savagery of Scullabogue.*

Several minor encounters had taken place between the military and people in the county of Wicklow, where a man named Joseph Holt, who had been driven into rebellion by a system of frightful persecution, was one of the most enterprising leaders. The Wicklow men having formed a junction with some of the Wexford insurgents at Gorey, marched on the 9th of June to attack Arklow, which was garrisoned by 1,600 effective men under major-general Needham. In their first charge the

* Twenty-eight persons were massacred by the military in the ball-alley of Carnew, on the 25th of May, and 34 were shot in cold blood at Dunlavin. After the battle of Vinegar-hill, the hospital of the Irish at Enniscorthy was set on fire, and according to one account, over 30, but according to another, 76 wounded men perished in the flames. The Rev. Mr. Gordon, rector of Killegny, in Wexford, says, he was told by a surgeon that the hospital was only accidentally set on fire by the lighted wadding, when the troops were shooting the wounded men in their beds!—See Hay's, Cloney's, and Gordon's *Histories of the Insurrection.*

pikemen drove back the picquets of cavalry, and the assailants came on in such numbers and in such good order, that general Needham, although very strongly posted, talked of the propriety of retreating. This suggestion was gallantly opposed by colonel Skerret, who commanded the Durham fencibles, and to the firmness of that officer in the first instance, and the death of Father Michael Murphy, who was killed by a cannon ball, within thirty yards of the English lines, the success of the loyalists was mainly to be attributed. This battle was the most regular in its plan of any during the civil war, and it was decisive of the contest in Wicklow.*

After the battle of Ross the Wexford men chose the Rev. Philip Roche to replace Bagenal Harvey, who resigned the command; and for several days the county remained in their undisputed possession; but a powerful army was being concentrated against them, and the catastrophe of the war in Wexford was near at hand. In the interval a scene of a melancholy and disgraceful nature took place in the town of Wexford. A number of prisoners, among whom were lord Kingsborough (afterwards earl of Kingston), colonel of the North Cork Militia, thirteen military officers, several officers of yeomanry, and many of the principal gentry of the county were confined in the jail, chiefly as a place of security against the violence of the exasperated populace. At the instigation of a person named Dixon, the master of a coasting vessel belonging to Wexford, and who has been described by all parties as a sanguinary monster, cries were repeatedly raised for the execution of these prisoners; but for a long time every attempt of the kind was successfully resisted by the leading men among the people. At length, on the 20th of June, while the fighting men of the Irish were mustering at Vinegar Hill, preparing for the expected battle of the morrow, captain Dixon collected a number of cowardly wretches like himself at Wexford, and having plied a chosen party of them with liquor, forced an entrance to the jail, and selecting some of the prisoners, marched them to the bridge, and there, after a mock trial, had them put to death one by one. The unfortunate prisoners were taken from the jail in batches of ten or fifteen, but when thirty-five of them had been disposed of in this way, the slaughter was

* The Rev. Mr. Gordon relates that, "some soldiers of the ancient British regiment cut open the dead body of Father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took out his heart, roasted his body, and oiled their boots with the grease which dripped from it."—*History of the Rebellion*, p. 212.) The authority of the reverend writer, who was a Protestant clergyman of the highest respectability, and resided in the very midst of all the horrors which he described, cannot be questioned on this and other acts of military ferocity which he records.

stopped by the interference of Father Corrin, a priest, who, after vainly supplicating the assassins to desist, commanded them, in an authoritative tone, to kneel down and pray before they proceeded farther with the work of death. Having got them on their knees he dictated, in a loud voice, a prayer, that God might show the same mercy to them which they would show to the surviving prisoners. These solemn words had the desired effect, and the batch of victims, then waiting for their doom, were conducted back to prison.

At that moment the rebel camp on Vinegar Hill was beset by the royal troops, approaching from different sides. Many of the peasantry had dispersed to a distance through the country, but at the call of their leaders they rallied in great numbers, and with a devotedness that was wonderful under such circumstances. Several women also came with the men; and their bodies were found in the piles of slain after the battle. The Irish were almost destitute of gunpowder, having been unsuccessful in their attempts to manufacture some at Wexford. The attack was planned by general Lake, who did not think it prudent to undertake it with a smaller force than 20,000 men, besides a numerous artillery train. Generals Loftus, Dulfe, Needham, and Moore, acted under his orders; the hill was to have been surrounded at every point, and the attack to have commenced at seven o'clock on the morning of the 21st of June. General Needham, however, from some unexplained cause, did not arrive at his appointed position until two hours later, when the fighting was over. For an hour and a-half the Irish maintained their ground with great intrepidity under a shower of grape shot, and a dense fire of musketry, while the want of ammunition rendered their own artillery nearly useless. At length they gave way: the space left unoccupied, or "Needham's gap," as it was sarcastically called, afforded a means of retreat too tempting for their stability; and with a loss not in proportion to the numbers engaged, they made good their way to Wexford unpursued by the enemy. The most savage cruelties were now perpetrated by the soldiery. A building in Enniscorthy, used by the Irish as an hospital, was set on fire, and the sick and wounded inmates consumed in the flames. Some hundreds of stragglers were killed after the battle, and several loyalists suffered in the indiscriminate carnage and destruction. At Wexford the gallant and humane general Moore prevented the troops under his command from entering the town while excited by victory; but the rest of the army poured in the following morning; the wounded in the hospital at Wexford were immediately

put to the sword, as were also many of the inhabitants and others, who, owing to an understanding with lord Kingsborough that protection would be extended to them on the evacuation of the town by the insurgent army, imagined themselves secure. General Lake refused to grant any protection unless all the leaders were delivered into his hands; the surrounding country became a scene of frightful destruction and slaughter, and a court-martial, which assembled so hastily that the members were not even sworn, proceeded to order the execution of a number of respectable persons, among others, of the Rev. Philip Roche, Mr. Bagenal Harvey, Mr. Grogan of Johnstown (an aged gentleman of very large fortune, whom the people had compelled to act in the capacity of commissary), captain Keogh, Mr. Prendergast, Mr. Kelly, of Killan, and others.

Let us now transfer our attention for a moment to Ulster, where the popular organisation had been most complete; but where, owing to some misunderstanding among the leaders, and the betrayal of all their plans to government, the rising did not take place simultaneously with that in other quarters, and where the movement, though spirited, was brief and partial. In Antrim the person chosen by the United Irishmen as their adjutant-general having resigned his appointment at the last moment, Mr. Henry Joy M'Cracken, a young man respectably connected, and of an enterprising spirit, was induced to place himself in the hazardous position of chief. On the 7th of June he led a body of insurgents in an attack on the town of Antrim, where a meeting of magistrates was to have been held that day. The assault was made with great order and steadiness, and the town was carried after an hour's fighting; but the military having obtained large reinforcements, returned to the charge, and dislodged the insurgents after a stubborn resistance. M'Cracken retired to the heights of Slemmish, with a small band of followers, who gradually dispersed; he escaped arrest until the beginning of July, when he at length fell into the hands of the royalists, and was tried and executed at Belfast on the 17th of the month.* Unfortunately in the latter part of the fight at Antrim, lord O'Neill, a humane and popular nobleman, while entering the town with the yeomen, received some wounds from the pikemen, which caused his death a few days after. In Down the rising was more considerable, and the people had several successful conflicts with the military. At Saintfield they

* See the beautiful and affecting account given by his sister of his trial and execution in Dr. Madden's *United Irishmen*.

cut off a body of cavalry, and having marched to Ballinahinch they took up a strong position on Windmill hill, and on some elevated ground in lord Moira's demesne, adjoining that town. Their leader was Henry Munro, who was of Scottish descent, and, like M'Cracken, had been engaged in the linen manufacture. He possessed some knowledge of military matters, having been trained to the use of arms as a volunteer. In the disposal of his irregular force at Ballinahinch; he displayed considerable tact. On the 12th of June the royal troops under generals Nugent and Barber marched against him from Belfast. A good deal of skirmishing took place that evening, and the army having set fire to the town passed the night in every kind of excess. Munro was urged to attack them while in the midst of their debauch, but he considered the attempt would be disgraceful, and declined. The action commenced next morning. The people had eight small cannons, mounted on common carts, but only a scanty supply of ammunition, while their adversaries, who had some heavy artillery, mowed them down with a terrific and well-sustained fire of musketry and grape. One account describes the Monaghan regiment of militia, which was posted with two pieces of ordnance at lord Moira's gate, as thrown into confusion by an impetuous charge of pikemen, and falling back upon the Hillsborough cavalry, which also reeled in disorder; but, in the meantime, the Argyleshire fencibles entered the demesne and attacked the insurgents on another side, and the militia regiments got time to rally. Charles Teeling, in his personal narrative, states that Munro had penetrated to the centre of the town, and that the British general had ordered a retreat, but that the sound of the bugle was mistaken by the insurgents for the signal for a fresh charge, whereupon they instantly fled. In a moment all was lost. Although hotly pursued Munro endeavoured to rally his men on the heights of Ednavady, but the royal troops almost surrounded the hill, leaving but one passage for retreat, and by this Munro led off his men, now not exceeding 150 in number. As usual on those occasions, the Irish lost more in the retreat than in the battle; but no reliance can be placed on the accounts of the numbers slain in the several conflicts during the rebellion. It was the custom of the loyalists to exaggerate extravagantly the losses of the insurgents, who of course kept no regular muster-roll; and the number of casualties on the side of the military, unless where trifling, was studiously concealed in the official reports. Soon after the battle of Ballinahinch the insurgents of Down surrendered their arms; Munro fled to the mountains, but was betrayed to

the military, tried by court-martial, and hanged at Lisburn opposite his own door. Thus was the outbreak in Ulster suppressed.

On the 21st of June the marquis of Cornwallis assumed the civil government and supreme military command. The country having been sufficiently dragooned, he was sent over with instructions to check the ferocity of the Orange faction, and to substitute moderation for terrorism. But before the new policy was carried out, a remnant of the Wexford rebellion was still to be crushed. The inhuman tactics of general Lake in refusing protection had compelled the people to stand together in their own defence, and two large bodies of the armed peasantry quitted Wexford, one entering Wicklow, and the other penetrating into the interior as far as Castlecomer, in the county of Kilkenny, where they hoped to raise the mining population. The town of Castlecomer was plundered on the 25th of June; but early on the following morning the insurgents were attacked on Kilcomney hill by a strong military force under general sir Charles Asgill, and after standing a brisk cannonade for about an hour, they retreated by the Scollagh gap in the direction of the Wicklow mountains. After their departure one of the most savage and gratuitous massacres of that sanguinary contest was perpetrated; the unoffending people of the locality, to the number of one hundred and forty, having been put to the sword by sir Charles Asgill's orders. It is needless to follow any further the wanderings of the fugitive Wexfordmen, some of whom crossed the Boyne, and were finally defeated on their return southward in the vicinity of Swords. Their fine county was nearly depopulated, and in one of the districts of it called the Macomores, the diabolical project of exterminating the last remnant of the people was actually undertaken. The rebellion was now extinguished.* On the 3rd of July lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation of a very questionable character, authorising the generals to grant protection to such of the insurgents as, being guilty of rebellion *only*, laid down their arms, took the oath of allegiance, and complied with other conditions; and on the 17th an act of

* For some years after this the embers of the insurrection still smoldered in various parts of the country; in Robert Emmet's attempted rising, in July, 1803, they flickered for a moment for the last time; and a small party of desperados, amidst the fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains, bid defiance for years to the attempts of government to exterminate them. The captain of these Wicklow outlaws was Michael Dwyer, a brave, honorable, active, and hardy man, the very type of an outlaw hero, whose exploits and hair-breath escapes have all the interest of the wildest romance. He at length surrendered in December, 1803, on a promise of pardon, but was sent to Botany Bay, where he died in 1825. See the curious particulars collected about him by Dr. Madden in his *Memoirs of Robert Emmet*.

amnesty (as it was called) was passed, including all who had not been leaders in the insurrection.*

Another step in the way of conciliation on the part of the government was to induce the principal state prisoners confined in Dublin to enter into a compromise, by which, on certain conditions, including permission to emigrate to some foreign land not at war with England, they undertook to give all the information in their power as to the internal transactions of the United Irishmen, and their negociations with foreign states, without, however, implicating individuals; and also to give security not to return to Ireland without permission, or to pass into an enemy's country. This agreement, which was brought about through the instrumentality of Mr. Dobbs, was signed by seventy-three of the state prisoners on the 29th of July; and in pursuance of it Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Thomas Addis Emmet, Doctor McNeven, Mr. Samuel Neilson, and others, were examined on oath before secret committees of both houses of parliament; but it was afterwards confessed that government had been already in possession, through sinister

* According to the estimate generally received, the losses in the rebellion of 1798 amounted to 20,000 men on the side of the loyalists and 50,000 on that of the people; the number of the latter who were put to death in cold blood greatly exceeding that of the killed in battle. Had the other counties risen like those of Wexford and Kildare, and had the people leaders of organising and military capacity and the necessary resources of war, or had they the co-operation which they expected of adequate succour from France, it is more than probable that they would have succeeded in making their country independent. In Wexford, where it is admitted that the rising was not preconcerted, or connected with that of Dublin or other places, about 35,000 men are supposed to have turned out, and the force which might have been raised in the whole of Ireland in the same ratio to the population would have been enormous. Those who rose were undisciplined, unpaid, most imperfectly armed, and without even one competent leader in the field; yet to suppress the outbreak required a military force of 137,000 men—regulars, militia, and yeomanry—commanded by five general officers, and cost the government a vast amount of treasure. The secret service money paid to informers from the 21st of August, 1797, to the 30th of September, 1801, was, according to official reports, £38,419, and the similar payments to 1804, which must be set down to the account of suppressing this rebellion, swell the amount in that particular list to £53,547. The indemnities paid to loyalists for destruction of property was £1,500,000; the cost of the military force kept up in Ireland for three or four years was estimated at £4,000,000 per annum. In fine, the total cost of carrying the union, towards which the fomenting of the rebellion was the principal step, has been estimated by some writers at £21,500,000, by others at £30,000,000, and by others at even a higher amount. No estimate has been attempted of the destruction of the property of Catholics. A list of 35 Catholic chapels destroyed by the Orange yeomanry and militia in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Kildare, Carlow, and the Queen's County during the rebellion, was authenticated by the most rev. Dr. Troy; but this was considerably under the truth, for Mr. Cloney gives a list of 33 chapels burned in the county of Wexford alone during 1798 and the three succeeding years, while it it stated that only one Protestant church, that of Old Ross, was burned by the insurgents. As to the conduct of the latter Dr. Madden observes, that "throughout the rebellion there was an abundant evidence of their frenzy being more the impulse of a wild resentment against Orangeism than any spirit of hostility to the sovereign or the state."—1st Ser. p. 349. 2nd Ed. It is right to add, that in all cases of retaliatory vengeance the insurgents invariably respected female honour, while numerous outrages to the contrary were committed by the military.

means, of all the material information elicited on this occasion; so that considering the little value of the revelations they were able to make, the prisoners purchased at a cheap rate their escape from the consequences of an unsuccessful insurrection. They originally stipulated that Mr. Oliver Bond and Mr. William Byrne, then under sentence of death, should be included in the pardon; but while the negociations were still pending Byrne was hanged, as was likewise M'Cann and the Sheares, and Bond did not long enjoy the respite obtained for him, having died suddenly in Newgate on the 16th of September. From the act of amnesty passed on this occasion about fifty persons who had already fled beyond the seas were excluded, among others Theobald Wolfe Tone, and James Napper Tandy; and eighty-nine were compelled to go into banishment; but with respect to these latter, the compact was broken by government, twenty of the leading men being detained in prison until the 19th of March, 1799, when they were shipped to Scotland, and there immured as state prisoners in Fort George until after the peace of Amiens, which was signed in March, 1802.

When the insurrection had been suppressed as we have seen, the country was once more thrown into a state of consternation by an unexpected after-clap in the west. On the 22nd of August, 1798, a small French force of 1,060 men, besides officers, landed at Killala, under the command of general Humbert, an enterprising soldier who had risen from the ranks, and who had actually sailed with this diminutive armament without any immediate instructions from his government. He brought some arms for distribution among the people; hoisted the green flag with the motto "Erin go bragh," and invited the Irish to his standard. The party composing the garrison of Killala having attempted to oppose his landing, were made prisoners; but the French evinced such excellent discipline that the property, even of the loyalists, was quite safe while the town remained in their hands, and by the same orderly conduct and decorum, not less than by their gallantry before the enemy, the French maintained the high character of their national army during their stay in Ireland. It still suited the policy of the English government to keep up a feeling of terror and alarm in Ireland, and the present opportunity was turned to account for that purpose. Large masses of troops were moved to the west; majors-general Moore and Hunter marched to the Shannon with 7,000 men; a line of posts, guarded by large bodies of yeomanry, was established through Leinster; strong reinforcements were sent to Sligo, while the troops at the latter place were ordered into Mayo. General Lake got the command in

Connaught, but lord Cornwallis himself proceeded towards the Shannon to superintend the operations. On the 25th of August the French took possession of Ballina, where they met a more spirited resistance the preceding day than they were prepared to expect. Major-general Hutchinson, who hitherto had the command in Connaught, mustered his troops at Castlebar, where he was joined on the night of the 26th by general Lake, with a large reinforcement. For a very intelligible reason there has been a studied silence observed in official accounts as to the precise number of royal troops assembled on this occasion in Castlebar, but there is ground to believe that it was not under 6,000 men, with 13 pieces of artillery. An attack from the handful of Frenchmen and their irregular Irish auxiliaries was not anticipated; but early next morning the alarm was given that the French were at hand. The attack commenced about seven in the morning. The French, estimated at about 800, with some 1,500 of the peasantry, appeared beyond a small lake, a short distance from the town. The British, drawn up in front of the town, presented a formidable line, and their artillery, which was well served, told with severe effect upon the foe; but men who had lived so long at free quarters, and who had displayed such fiendish activity in the destruction of villages and the slaughter of unarmed peasantry, could not, as sir Ralph Abercrombie had foretold, stand before an enemy. Humbert perceiving how strongly the English were posted, and how powerful they were in artillery, contemplated retiring to Ballina, and to cover his retreat ordered general Surrazin to make a feigned attack with some light troops under his command. This movement was mistaken by the English for an attempt to turn their flank, and produced an immediate panic. The opportunity was not lost upon the French general, who, changing his plan, pressed upon the wavering enemy, and turned their disorder into a total route. The retreat was most disgraceful. All the artillery, a great quantity of small arms, and five pair of colors were taken by the French. General Lake's official return admitted a loss of about 350 men in killed, wounded, and missing; but the amount in truth was much greater. A part of the Louth and Kilkenny regiments of militia remained not unwilling prisoners, and transferred their allegiance to the opposite side, for which offence ninety of them were subsequently hanged. The only stand made was by a party of Highlanders, who defended the bridge which the French were obliged to take at the point of the bayonet. Mr. Bartholomew Teeling, who, with a few other Irishmen,

had accompanied Humbert from France, pursued for some distance the flying royalists in company with nine Frenchmen, and was traversing a six-pounder on an eminence to harass the fugitives, when a party of lord Roden's light cavalry, observing the small number of the pursuers, turned and cut down four of the Frenchmen. Thus terminated what has been called the "races of Castlebar." The British retreated in disorder through Hollymount to Tuam, which place they reached that night, although nearly thirty Irish miles distant.

The news of this disaster induced lord Cornwallis to hasten to Athlone, and move to the west with all the troops he found available. On the 2nd of September he reached Tuam, and having waited for two regiments of regulars, he proceeded on the 4th to Hollymount. Here he learned that the French, who had made too long a stay at Castlebar, had marched that day to Foxford. Humbert expected reinforcements from France, but in this he was disappointed, and his chief reliance was now on the United Irishmen, who, as he was told, were prepared to rise in Roscommon and some of the northern counties. It appeared, however, that both French and Irish were deceiving each other by vain promises. The leader of the Roscommon United Irishmen gave himself up to the Protestant bishop of Elphin on the eve of the day fixed for the rising, which, consequently, did not take place. Humbert marched through Foxford, Swineford, Ballaghy, and Tobercurry to Colooney, where, in a brisk skirmish, he routed a part of the garrison of Sligo, which Colonel Vereker had led against him; but supposing this to have been the vanguard of a large army, the French general abandoned his plan of marching to Sligo and thus penetrating to Ulster, and proceeded by Ballintogher to Manor Hamilton, whence he took a southerly course by the shore of Lough Allen. Humbert's rapid and irregular movements perplexed the English commanders; but he was closely pursued by general Lake and colonel Crawford, while lord Cornwallis, with the bulk of the army, crossed the Shannon at Carrick, for the purpose of intercepting his progress towards Granard. On the morning of the 8th of September, at Ballinamuck, a village in the county of Longford, near the borders of Leitrim, Humbert prepared to give battle to his pursuers. His band was now reduced to about 800 men, and his undisciplined Irish auxiliaries could render but little assistance, while the army which was closing round him exceeded 20,000 men. Regarding their position as hopeless, 200 of the French laid down their arms at the first attack; but the remainder made a gallant resistance for a short

time, capturing lord Roden, who charged at the head of his cavalry; and general Lake then coming up with the bulk of the English army, Humbert was obliged to surrender at discretion. The French, to the number of 96 officers and 748 rank and file, became prisoners of war; but no stipulation was made for their unfortunate auxiliaries, who were pursued and slaughtered without mercy, the number of Irish slain, according to Gordon, being 500. Lord Cornwallis in his despatch says, "numbers of them were killed on the field and in their flight." Bartholomew Teeling and Mathew, the brother of Theobald Wolfe Tone, were taken prisoners and sent to Dublin, where they were tried and executed. Mr. Richard Blake, of Galway, was also among the prisoners, and was hanged. He had been a cavalry officer in the British service. All the horrors of the rebellion were renewed; executions were multiplied; on the 22nd a body of 1,200 men, under the command of major-general Trench, with five pieces of cannon, arrived at Killala, and the insurgents, who still held the town, having dispersed after a short but spirited resistance, the cavalry entered the place along with the crowds of the dismayed and flying people, and hewed them down in the street without resistance; about 400 men were thus slaughtered, and when there had been sufficient carnage to sate the most sanguinary appetites the viceroy proclaimed an armistice, and allowed the people sufficient time to come in and surrender their arms. Seventy-five persons were tried by court martial at Killala, and a hundred and ten at Ballina. Such was the boasted "lenity" of lord Cornwallis.

Humbert's quixotic enterprise was part of a plan that had been concerted by the French directory with some of the Irish refugees, to send small detachments from different ports into Ireland; and although he had actually sailed without orders, and had on his own responsibility levied contributions on the merchants of Rochelle for the outfit of his ships and men, still it was resolved that he should not be abandoned, and another small expedition, consisting of one 74 gun ship, eight frigates, and two smaller vessels, with a land force of 3,000 men, under general Hardy, was got ready for sea, and sailed from Brest on the 20th of September, before the news of Humbert's surrender had reached France. Four Irish refugees accompanied this expedition, one of whom, Theobald Wolfe Tone, embarked in the commodore's ship, the *Hoche*. Such paltry attempts at invasion, could, at best, only serve to keep alive the embers of the Irish insurrection. They were unworthy the great nation by which they were made, and were fraught with ruin to the

unhappy Irish, who felt that they had been deserted by the only country to which they could look for aid, and which, by inspiring delusive hopes, had hurried them into a most disastrous civil war. On the other hand we know that the revenue of France was at that time in crippled state, that her military resources were wielded by Bonaparte for his own ambitious purposes elsewhere; that her navy was in a so wretched a condition that no armament could be shipped with safety from her coast, and that in fact she was not in a position to render efficient aid to Ireland, however inclined to do so. The English had notice of Hardy's expedition before it sailed, and when four ships of the squadron, after encountering heavy gales, arrived off Lough Swilly on the 12th of October, they were encountered by four British sail of the line and a frigate. A terrific action ensued; the *Hoche* had to bear the brunt of the battle alone. "During six hours," says Wolfe Tone's son, "she sustained the whole fire of the fleet, till her masts and rigging were swept away, her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke, and let in five feet of water in the hold, her rudder was carried off, and she floated a dismantled wreck on the waters." At length she struck. During the action Wolfe Tone commanded one of the batteries, fighting with desperation and courting death, but still untouched in the shower of balls. For some time after the capture he was confounded with the French officers, but being recognised among them at the earl of Cavan's table by an old fellow-student, sir George Hill, was ironed, sent to Dublin, and tried by court-marshal on the 10th of November. He made no attempt to deny the charge against him, but read a vindication of his motives, and only requested that he might be shot not hanged. This request was not granted, and rather than submit to the ignominy of dying like a felon he attempted to destroy his own life by cutting his throat with a pen-knife the morning fixed for his execution. The wound was not mortal, and he would have been taken to the scaffold had not the court of king's bench interfered. On a motion grounded on the affidavit of the prisoner's father, Mr. Curran argued in a powerful speech that the sentence was illegal. He showed that the prisoner, not holding any commission in the British army, should have been tried before the ordinary tribunals, and not by a court-martial, and finally an order was made by the chief justice, lord Kilwarden (Wolfe), to stay the execution. Eight days after poor Tone died from the effects of the wound in his throat.

"Mr. Pitt," says sir Jonah Barrington, "now conceived that the moment had arrived to try the effect of his previous measures to promote a legislative union, and annihilate the Irish legislature. The loyalists were still struggling through the embers of a rebellion, scarcely extinguished by the torrents of blood which had been poured upon them; the insurgents were artfully distracted between the hopes of mercy and the fear of punishment; the viceroy had seduced the Catholics by delusive hopes of emancipation, whilst the Protestants were equally assured of their ascendancy, and every encouragement was held out to the sectarians. Lord Cornwallis and lord Castlereagh seemed to have been created for such a crisis and for each other. An unremitting perseverance, an absence of all political compunctions, an unqualified contempt of public opinion, and a disregard of every constitutional principle, were common to both."* The Union was first proposed indirectly in a speech from the throne on the 22nd of January, 1799. The project was next announced openly in a pamphlet written by Mr. under-secretary Cooke, which was replied to in one by Mr. (afterwards lord chancellor) Plunkett. The question was discussed at a meeting of the Irish bar, on the 9th of December that year; when the division was, against the union, 166; in favour of it, 32. Five debates on the subject took place in the Irish house of commons. On the one side, it was pretended that there was no safety for Ireland except in the arms of England; on the other, it was insisted by the ablest lawyers that the parliament was incompetent even to entertain the question of a union. "Such," says Barrington, "was the opinion of Mr. Saurin, since attorney-general; Mr. Plunkett, since lord chancellor; sergeant Ball, the ablest lawyer of Ireland; Mr. Fitzgerald, prime sergeant of Ireland; Mr. Moore, since a judge; sir John Parnell, then chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Bushe, since chief justice; and lord Oriel, the then speaker of the house of commons." Such was also the opinion of Grattan, Curran, Ponsonby, Burrowes, and other eminent men. But the statesmen who had waded to this measure through the blood of a nation were not to be diverted from it now by the arguments of lawyers in or out of parliament. It is a remarkable fact that many of those persons who were officially concerned in the accomplishment of the union destroyed their papers, for the obvious purpose of burying, if possible, in oblivion the flagitious means employed to carry it;† but these means were too notorious at the time,

* *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, pp. 463, 465, ed. 1843.

† See the important statement made on this subject in the preface to the *Cornwallis Correspon-*

and too many historic evidences of them have been preserved, to leave the matter in any obscurity. The most nefarious corruption was openly practised. Votes were publicly bought and sold. Money, titles, offices, were given as bribes in the face of day. Whatever the public conduct of lord Cornwallis might have been, and it was bad enough, he was capable of feeling and acknowledging in private the abominable nature of the work he was obliged to do. Writing to his friend, general Ross, he uses the following most significant expressions: "I trust I shall live to get out of this most cursed of all situations, and most repugnant to my feelings. How I long to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court!" And, again, addressing the same friend on the 8th of June, 1799, he writes: "My occupation is now of the most unpleasant nature, negociating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without a union the British empire must be dissolved." The now published correspondence both of lord Castlereagh and lord Cornwallis contain abundant disclosures to show the dark and disgraceful nature of these transactions.* Lord Castlereagh publicly announced a tariff of corruption under the guise of "compensation." For each rotten borough the price fixed was from £14,000 to £16,000; each member who had purchased his seat was to be repaid the amount of the purchase-money from the public treasury; all who might be otherwise losers by the union were to be

dence, to which publication, and that of the letters and papers of lord Castlereagh, the reader is referred for a great deal of important information relative to the passing of the union.

* The attempts of the English ministers to repudiate the promises made by their agents in Ireland elicited some strange admissions on the part of the latter. Thus, in a letter of the 21st June, 1800, to Mr. Cooke, who was then in England, lord Castlereagh permits himself to use some strong and significant expressions. "It will be no secret," writes the unprincipled statesman, "what has been promised, *and by what means the union has been carried.* Disappointment will encourage, not prevent, disclosures; and the only effect of such a proceeding on their (the ministers') part will be, to add the weight of their testimony to that of the ante-unionists, *in proclaiming the profligacy of the means by which the measure has been accomplished.* . . . . I should hope, if lord Cornwallis has been the person to buy out and secure to the crown for ever the fee-simple of Irish corruption, that he is not to be the first sacrifice to his own exertions." And writing to lord Camden on the 25th of the same month, his lordship delicately alludes to the corruption in which they had so deeply dealt in order to carry the union:—"The Irish government is certainly now liable to the charge of having gone too far in complying with the demands of individuals; but had the union miscarried, and the failure been traceable to a reluctance on the part of government to interest a sufficient number of supporters in its success, I am inclined to think we should have met with, and in fact deserved, less mercy. Several of our supporters were speculating on which side the strength would ultimately lie, and things were so balanced as to enable single individuals, conversant with cabal, to produce a very serious impression. If reluctance is felt on your side of the water to the accomplishment of the proposed favors, be assured they were not entertained and promised without pain by lord Cornwallis."

compensated for their losses, and for that purpose a vote of £1,500,000 was demanded; but these sums were quite distinct from those paid for the private purchase of votes, which in some instances were enormous. The entire amount paid for the rotten boroughs, at an average of £15,000 each, was £1,260,000, of which the marquis of Downshire received £52,000 for his share, the marquis of Ely, £45,000, the earl of Shannon as much, lord Clanmorris, £23,000 and a peerage, lord Belvidere, £15,000, and other great proprietors in proportion to the number of boroughs at their disposal.

The last session of the Irish parliament was opened on the 15th of January, 1800. The viceroy's speech contained no allusion to the great question of the day, and the omission gave rise to many conjectures; but on the 5th of February lord Castlereagh read a message from the lord lieutenant to the house of commons, formally bringing forward the measure of a legislative union. Every preparation had been made during the preceding year for this event, and on the motion for taking the message into consideration the ministry had a majority of 158 to 115; 27 members being absent. This division was decisive in the opinion of the government; but, considering all the engines of corruption, persuasion, and intimidation that had been so long at work, it is wonderful that the minority was so large. The incorruptible purity of 115 members, under such extraordinary circumstances, redounds to the honour of that Irish house of commons which, with a proper measure of reform, might have been rendered so excellent. In the upper house, where lord Clare domineered with a brow-beating style of oratory that was peculiar to himself, the ministerial majority was 75 to 26. The progress of the measure through its various stages occupied the interval to the 1st of August, on which day the royal assent was given to the Act of Union. On the 1st of January, 1801, the act came into operation, and from that date Ireland ceased to be a distinct kingdom; for an independent legislature she received an inoperative minority in the imperial parliament; her local interests were no longer under the care of her own representatives; her debt accumulated; her taxation multiplied to an excessive amount; her commerce fell into decay; her nobility and gentry became absentees; her wealth was drained into another country with scarcely any appreciable return; and in exchange for all these sacrifices she acquired—the honour of being an integral portion of the British empire!

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 2, line 22—For *or* Barrymore, read *of* Barrymore.

Page 11—*Dele* the first note. *Gaedhuil Glas* was a typographical error in the Irish Nennius for *Gaedhiul* Glas.

Page 28, line 8 of first note—For *Aible*, read *Ailill*.

Page 39, line 20—The terms "female college or boarding-school," though applied by certain writers to the institution alluded to, involve an anachronism. The ladies who were murdered at Tara were educated at king Cormac's court on the old Irish system of fosterage.

Same page, note—The O'Mearas were not of the tribe of Deisi, but were descended from Cormac Cas. *See Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 174.

Page 65, line 25—For *Holm* Patrick, read *Inis* Patrick.

Page 73, lines 6, &c., from bottom—This conclusion may justly be disputed, as St. Patrick necessarily associated with pagans in many transactions of that time. Daire was still a pagan when he bestowed Ard-Macha on the apostle long afterwards.

Page 314, line 2 of note—Ffine-Ghall was the usual Irish name for what English and Anglo-Irish writers call the English Pale. *See Four Masters*, v. 1633, note *l*.

Page 330—The observation in the note is explained by the first note in page 384.

Page 353, line 2 of note—For *port* of the three enemies, read *fort*, &c.

Page 563, line 13 from bottom, and page 566, note—The celebrated Sir Alexander MacDonnell, so frequently mentioned by Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Scottish writers as Colkitto (Colla-Ciotach) was son of the real Colkitto, who was not famous as a warrior, and probably never left Antrim. The pedigree of Sir Alexander has been ascertained beyond any doubt by Professor Curry, and the application to him of the surname Colkitto was unquestionably a popular error.

Pages 612-614, note—The Book of Armagh, mentioned at the end of the note, has lately passed into the possession of Trinity College, and is about to be published by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, to whom Primate Beresford has most liberally given a sum of £600 to aid the publication. The life of Dr. Plunkett, cited in the note, is from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Crolly, and has been published by Mr. Duffy in a separate form; but it contains some errors as to dates; thus Plunkett left Ireland for Rome not about 1649, but in company with Father Scarampi in February, 1647, and again left Rome about the end of August, 1769, as appears by documents recently discovered at Rome.

Page 620, line 10 from bottom—The Irish troops here referred to were sent into Hungary to fight for William's ally, the Emperor, and were never allowed to return to Ireland.

Pages 665, 666—Balidearg O'Donnell.—Since the preceding pages went to press, documents of an authentic and most important character, placing the conduct of this much-maligned Irish warrior in an entirely new light, have come into the possession of the learned editor of the Four Masters, through whose extreme kindness the author is enabled, before this volume passes from his hands, to make the *amende* to the memory of a brave and patriotic chief. The historical facts mentioned in the text about O'Donnell are mainly correct; the calumnies against him relate chiefly to his motives; and the obscurity in which his history has been hitherto involved has been, in a great measure, caused by those very calumnies, which were sufficient to induce even such a man as Mr. Hardiman, the historian of Galway, to think it not worth while to follow up his inquiries about him. The person popularly known as Balldearg O'Donnell was not Manus (as stated in the note, p. 666, on the authority of the Appendix to the Four Masters, p. 2380), but Hugh.

son of John, son of Hugh Boy, son of Calvagh (whose pedigree is correctly given by Dr. O'Donovan, in p. 2398 of the aforesaid Appendix, and has also been ascertained by Professor Curry from independent sources). He was born in Donegal, and his boyhood was spent in Ireland. Repairing to Spain, where so many of his family had risen to distinction, he entered the army there, and rose to the rank of brigadier, but he never abandoned his allegiance to the House of Stuart; and on the accession of James II., he waited on the English ambassador in Flanders, to offer his services should they be required by that monarch. When the Irish took up arms in defence of James, and of their own national and religious rights, Spain being then at war with Louis XIV., the ally of James, O'Donnell could not obtain permission to leave the Spanish service for that of an enemy's ally; and, forfeiting his high position in his adopted country, he hired a small vessel to convey him to Cork, whence he went to Kinsale and saw James in his flight to France after the Boyne. Subsequently he obtained a commission to raise what men he could in James's service, and soon succeeded in enrolling 10,000 men, who were embodied into thirteen regiments of foot and two of horse; but from the first he was thwarted by Richard Talbot, who had obtained from James the title of Earl of Tirconnell—the hereditary title of O'Donnell, and that by which he was acknowledged in Spain—and this was the true cause of all O'Donnell's misfortunes in Ireland. He was sent after the first siege of Limerick to the Upper Shannon to defend the passes into Connaught, and to protect the keeriaghts—that is, those Irish who, having lost all besides, retained their cattle, with which they moved about in the old nomadic style. After the surprise of Athlone O'Donnell could be no longer useful on the Shannon and retired more westerly, but still had the keeriaghts under his protection. Tirconnell deprived him of his best armed men, and failed in his promises to obtain supplies of arms or clothing for the remainder; as to pay, it was out of the question; and O'Donnell was not raised beyond the rank of brigadier, although promised a higher grade. After Aughrim, where O'Donnell's other duties did not allow him to be present, the authorities in Galway declined his offer to garrison that town, but called on him to do so when it was too late, and when the enemy was before their walls. O'Donnell, with a small party, proceeded from Cong across the lake, and advanced to the hills close to Galway on the west, but found the place invested at both sides, so that it was impossible for him to enter the town. The war was then virtually over; and a few days later O'Donnell received a letter from Ginkell, who regarded him as a Spanish officer, and therefore offered him most favorable terms. These terms, however, O'Donnell did not then accept, but he stipulated for the safety of the poor people who had been committed to his protection. When the last struggle was over in Limerick, O'Donnell could not join the ranks of his countrymen going to France—a country then at war with Spain, to which he was bound by every tie of fealty and gratitude. He accepted a commission under William III. to command two regiments of his followers who still adhered to him, but it was that he might serve in Flanders, which was then Spanish ground; and when he found that he would be sent into Hungary to fight under the Emperor, he proceeded to Piedmont and thence to Spain, where he was honorably received, and raised to the rank of major-general. Wholly destitute of fortune, it is not surprising that he should accept pay from William, which was in lieu of that to which he was entitled as a general officer in the Spanish army. In fact, there was no act of Balldearg O'Donnell's which was not worthy of a brave, honorable, and disinterested man, and a true Irishman, and all the calumnies against him may be attributed to the jealousy of Richard Talbot and the hostility of the Anglo-Irish interest. The impression left by these so prejudiced the public mind against him, that the statements of his friend, Colonel O'Kelly, in the *Macariæ Excidium*, in his favor, have hitherto been treated as valueless. His *soubriquet* of Balldearg (of the red-mark) was so popular that he was never called in cotemporary writings by his real name of Hugh.

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